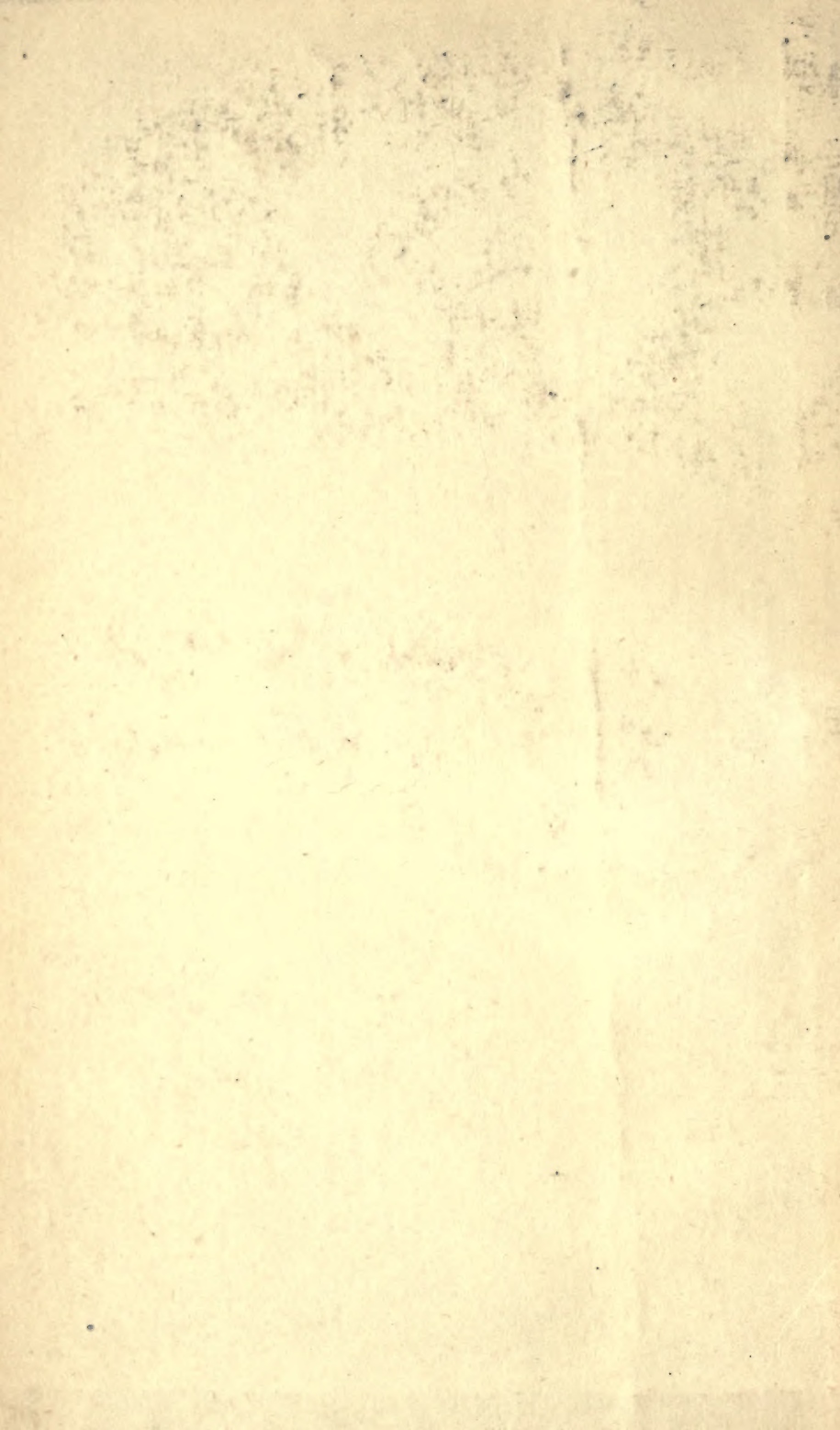


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Edited by

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University of London*

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HISTORY

APRIL, 1917.

THE GROWTH OF AN IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT: A REJOINDER.

THE two criticisms of my Creighton lecture which Professor Ramsay Muir and Mr. Malcolm were good enough to contribute to the January number of *HISTORY* claim the compliment of a reply out of respect to the weight of their arguments, the standing of their authors, and the importance of the subject not merely as a vital problem of politics, but as an object-lesson in the methods and value of historical study and argument.¹ Unless we are citizens first and students and teachers of history as a means to that end, we cannot expect and we do not deserve that the public should pay much heed to our professional claims or show much interest in the controversial details of education. They may bulk large in the mind of the individual or of teachers of history as a class, but they are small compared with the issues which confront the community as a whole; and among those issues the future organisation of the British Empire is paramount for its citizens and hardly less important for mankind at large. No apology should be needed for returning to the subject, particularly if truth and agreement can be extracted from the jaws of debate.

A substantial measure of agreement is probably not so difficult as may appear on the surface of this discussion, and I hope that I have only myself to thank if my critics have misunderstood a large part of my argument and failed to appreciate the qualifications of my thesis. The late Professor Freeman is reported to have maintained that it is a mistake to attempt to impress more than one general idea on an audience in a single lecture, and it

¹ I only regret that we have not the privilege of printing herewith the text of the Master of Balliol's annual address on the subject to the Historical Association, which would amplify and perhaps modify the brief summary given in the Association's leaflet "Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, 1917."

would appear to be vain to expect in these days of over-emphasis much attention to any remark, even in print, unless it is over-emphasised. But I am a little surprised at the unanimity with which my critics have assumed that my suggestion for Imperial reorganisation was "to leave it to growth"; for the phrase I used was "leave it to growth *and cautious experiment*," and the quiet omission of the second half of the expression and neglect of the experiments I suggested gives a misleading turn to the argument and creates an entirely false antithesis. Mr. Malcolm, indeed, contends that my lecture was "based" on this false antithesis, and devotes a good deal of his article to its demolition. With much that he writes I cordially agree because, in point of fact, I was also engaged in an attempt to demolish the same antithesis. Mr. Malcolm has forgotten that it was not mine, but that of the reviewer who wrote "human institutions do not grow; they are made by human will for the realisation of human purposes," a dictum which I selected as an epitome of the position I impugned. My object was to show that institutions do grow, and that they commonly grow into things very different from their design. I did not deny that institutions were also made, and, indeed, no small part of my discourse was devoted to showing that institutions and constitutions, which had been deliberately made, had frequently failed to respond to the notions of their makers.

Indeed, were it not that the critics say so, I should hardly have gathered from some of their criticisms that they were aimed at anything I had written. Professor Muir begins, for instance, with the remark that "at the most" I suggested "we should invite a few colonial statesmen to occupy seats in the House of Lords." The words I used were "any number of Dominion statesmen" (p. 144); and so far from being "at the most," my suggestion for a reconstituted Second Chamber was only one of a series of steps which I said might be taken towards the better organisation of the Empire. They have all, like the cases other than America, which Professor Muir says I "never mention," merely escaped his notice or his recollection; and upon that lapse of memory or attention he founds the charge that I advocated a policy of "doing nothing in particular"—an odd charge, perhaps, to be brought by one who avows that he is "not arguing in favour of any particular solution of the problem" (p. 198). I am still impenitent enough to think that my "cautious experiment" is a more positive and practical policy than an abstract belief in what Mr. Malcolm terms "catastrophic change."

The charge of abstraction does not lie against Mr. Malcolm.

He appears to have pinned his faith to that definite fundamental change in the constitution of the Empire advocated by Mr. Lionel Curtis. I, too, have read Mr. Curtis's books with profound interest and admiration, though I cannot accept with the same enthusiasm either their history or their conclusions. I must, however, demur to Mr. Malcolm's representation of my lecture as an "attack" upon Mr. Curtis's conclusions. The actual working of the constitutions of the United Kingdom, its Dominions, and Dependencies is a subject on which I have had to give regular courses of lectures for a dozen years and more, and my Creighton Lecture was but a brief indication of a view of the development of the British Constitution, which I worked out more fully in a book, written two years ago but still unpublished owing to the war. To that unpublished volume I must depute the justification of some historical statements in my Creighton Lecture which may seem heretical to others besides Mr. Malcolm and Professor Muir, whom I must leave to cherish meanwhile their faith in Magna Carta and the Three Estates. But I hope it is possible to give public expression to views of growth that have long been forming in one's mind without appearing as a gratuitous assailant of catastrophic manufacture. The occasion of that expression was not sought by me; the reasons for seizing it were that the late Prime Minister had publicly invited a national discussion, and that the form, which that discussion was assuming, seemed to be degenerating into an attempt to stampede the Empire into a dilemma which has no real existence, and to frighten us by the bogey of disruption into a manufactured union alien to our growth and much more likely to provoke friction than strength. The danger is not so great as it was six months ago. The informal exchange of views which has taken place in responsible quarters, and has been reinforced by more public debates and events throughout the Empire, has had a sobering effect on missionary zeal. Lord Curzon has told us, with reference to the present Imperial meeting, that "the representatives are not coming here to endeavour to construct a brand new Constitution for the British Empire"; General Smuts has declared that autonomy must be the basis of the organisation of the British realms; and fervid apostles of Imperial fusion have been constrained to postpone for a generation the catastrophe they desire or apprehend.

We can therefore revert to the academic argument with less fear of distraction by politics, and reconsider historically the respective merits of growth and design as factors in Constitutions. Now, I thought I had made it clear in my lecture that we could

not regard man as a mere automaton; and I do not think that anyone who did me the honour to read my little volume in the "Home University Library" could accuse me of blindness to the growth of men's control over themselves and their national destinies. For to sketch that growth was the motive of that volume, and I described it as "the main content of English history." But inasmuch as it is obviously possible for one who tries to think historically rather than polemically to be roundly charged by Professor Muir with being a Tory and suspected by Mr. Malcolm of being a Radical, I must not be surprised at being attacked for *laissez faire* predilections in the matter of Imperial reorganisation. Nevertheless, it might be natural even for a reformer to remind a revolutionist that he is dealing with human nature, and that the elaboration of an idea is a simple matter compared with its practical realisation; and to my mind the best prophylactic against that haste which means less speed is to be found in an appreciation of the conditions which historical growth imposes on political manufactures. No historian can be blind to the difference between a jungle and an orchard, but he would not attempt to make an orchard in a factory.

Here, I think, Mr. Malcolm agrees. "No man," he writes, "could by taking thought create the conditions of public opinion and opportunity necessary to the successful achievement of Imperial Union." But those conditions are the essential thing; it is a Prussian delusion, not unknown in England, to think that you can manufacture public opinion and base on that concoction a stable Constitution. Public opinion in British realms is a natural growth of intelligence in free peoples, and when it has grown it finds in our elastic system an easy means of expression. I remarked in my lecture that the problem of Imperial Federation or Union would be comparatively simple if conditions throughout the Empire were analogous to those in Australia in 1900 or in South Africa in 1908; and I said that we need not assume the impossibility of such a communal growth, but that it was not a growth which we could force (pp. 141, 143). The issue therefore seems to narrow down to two specific points: first, have those conditions, which cannot be made, already grown? and, secondly, assuming that they have, is a single centralised Parliament the best means of giving legal expression to these centripetal forces? The first is a question of interpreting the evidence of current Imperial politics; the second is one of interpreting the evidence of history. Mr. Malcolm deals principally with the first and Professor Muir with the second. I propose to take them in that order.

Mr. Malcolm has a short way with the conditions of Imperial Union. He assumes that they exist, and proposes it as the proper task for an Imperial Convention to draft a Constitution based on the assumption. I think it was Frederick the Great's criticism of Joseph II. that he always wanted to take the second step before he had taken the first; and before we have an Imperial Convention to draft a brand new Constitution for the Empire it might be well for an Imperial Conference to ascertain whether it was really wanted by the Dominions and ourselves; for clearly an Imperial Union with even one of the great Dominions left outside would be worse than the Empire as it is. So far there has been no demand from any Dominion for a parliamentary union, and efforts to stimulate such a demand have met with a good deal of hostile criticism. The course of Australian politics and of the recent provincial elections in Canada do not point in that direction. The Premier of a third Dominion has expressed the opinion that the proposal is one to drive in the thick end of the wedge first, and Mr. Merriman, who speaks with some authority in South Africa, has recalled Lord Melbourne's question: "Why can't you let it alone?" That is not a counsel of perfection, but it is not the custom of British peoples to draft revolutionary legislation until a general mandate has been secured from the constituencies, and so far no political party in any Dominion has ventured to ask for such a mandate from its electorate. To convoke a Convention by executive action, to dominate its deliberations with the threat that it must produce an Imperial Constitution or wreck the Empire, and then to force such an issue on the electorate with an imperative "Yes" or "No," would be the work of an artist in Imperial dissension. You cannot drive British peoples into what they do not want by logical dilemmas.

The odd thing about Mr. Malcolm's dilemma is that he does not accept it himself. "There are," he says, "but two courses open. . . . These two courses are: formal separation from and independence of the Mother Country . . . and organic union, the course adopted by Scotland" (p. 213). But while, like all of us, he loathes the idea of the first, he warmly repudiates the second. "Nobody proposes," he writes, "to abolish the Dominion Parliaments or to limit in any respect their freedom to deal as they please with their own local affairs" (p. 210). This, however, is precisely what was done at the Scottish Union, which Mr. Malcolm recommends for imitation. The Scottish Parliament was abolished, and Scotland relinquished all its freedom to deal as it pleased with its local affairs. Mr. Malcolm shrinks from the

horns of his own dilemma, but the preacher can hardly invite the unconverted into a quandary which he creates himself and then attempts to evade. The point is not a verbal quibble. Mr. Malcolm, while speaking of Union, is thinking of Federation; but I agree with Mr. Curtis that the distinction between the two is fundamental, and unless I misunderstand Mr. Curtis his proposal is that all the British Dominions should surrender what is now, practically though not technically, their freehold to a single sovereign Parliament and only to receive back as its tenants-at-will so much as the newly-erected sovereign pleases in the way of local autonomy. That would be an *auto-da-fè*, which means, of course, an "act of faith"; but faith I took to be the essence of this crusade. Mr. Malcolm, I fear, is somewhat of a backslider, and Federation is a less exalted matter. In a true Federation the different States are not tenants-at-will. They only surrender so much as *they* like, and they retain their individual sovereignty. I gathered that the point of Union was to avoid the manifold problems of Federation; but if we mean Federation we need not be so insistent on the Scottish and Irish and South African precedents, all of which are Unions, and not Federations at all.

But whether we want organic Union or a looser Federation, we do not help the cause by telling the Dominions that "all the freedom that they have to-day" is "their freedom to deal as they please with their own local affairs" (p. 210). Is it a "local affair" to be able to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign Powers, levy tariffs on British goods, exclude British citizens not merely from one's franchise but from one's borders, raise armed forces, disestablish churches, accept or repudiate conscription, and contribute or not to the maintenance of the Empire's Navy? And if these things are to remain as they are, and Mr. Malcolm guarantees that they shall, of what is his "organic union" and "catastrophic change" to consist? The bait he holds out to the Dominions is that they are to surrender nothing, but to receive in exchange a vital share in the direction of foreign policy. Putting it bluntly, it means that the Dominions are to share in declarations of war and peace without any legal obligation to pay or provide for either. That, I am sure, is not the view of any Dominion statesman. They know perfectly well that power involves obligation, and that an Imperial Parliament, in which Dominion representatives vote for war, must be a Parliament which can raise men and money in the Dominions to conduct it. We cannot pretend that declarations of war are Imperial matters, but conscription and taxation local affairs. Indeed, Mr. Malcolm

admits it when he suggests that the new Imperial Parliament might enact that conscription should be applied to one part of the Empire and not to another (p. 211). But conscription is one of those "local affairs" with which Australia, for instance, deals as she pleases; and what becomes of Mr. Malcolm's guarantee if that local affair is "enacted" by the Imperial Parliament?

Space fails me to deal with Mr. Malcolm's objections to the use I made of colonial history, though it is an attractive field; and I can only illustrate the dangers of his logical method by reference to his parallel between South African and Imperial diversities. He implies that differences as great were overcome in the South African Union as would confront Imperial Union. But he selects the smallest population to compare with the biggest in South Africa, while he chooses not the smallest, but the biggest, Dominion to compare with Britain, and even so excludes the coloured population. The whites of Natal may be no more than one-sixth of those in Cape Colony; but the population of Newfoundland is not one-sixth but one-hundred-and-sixtieth that of the United Kingdom. These details are, however, insignificant compared with the colossal assumption which underlies the whole of this argument from analogy. Mr. Malcolm assumes that because six Australian States and four South African colonies formed themselves into a Federation and a Union in order to achieve a national status, they will be equally ready to merge in an Imperial Commonwealth in order to surrender it. It is that national status of which they are proud, with its freedom to deal as they please with all, and not merely their local, affairs; and I find it difficult to take Mr. Malcolm seriously when he compares that national status with the national status of Scotland and Wales. That the Dominions desire and ought to have a due share in the control of foreign policy no one doubts. But the avenue to its achievement will be found through the Crown in Council rather than through the Crown in Parliament; and assuredly it does not lie through a paper-made Parliament in which a British majority could commit Australia to conscription or Canada to an income-tax for naval purposes, or either of them to an Imperial Zollverein. Those measures may all come in time, but if they do they will come, not by a majority vote in a composite Parliament, but through the free consent of each Dominion deciding for and by itself. Imperial unity, which has grown to reality, will be made formal through experience and experiment, and not by catastrophic change.

That has been our method in the past, and history has proved

its wisdom both by examples of growth and by warnings against the presumption of design. Here Professor Muir takes up the cudgels for the conscious creators of Constitutions, and indignantly asks why I did not discuss the Constitution of the Third French Republic, for instance. My answer would be, first, that there are limits to the Constitutions one can discuss in a fraction of an hour's lecture; secondly, that if I had illustrated my point from foreign Constitutions rather than from British, I should have been told by my critics that this was a British problem and that foreign imperfections were irrelevant; and thirdly, that I took the American Constitution as the best and most nearly British example of a Constitution that was made according to design. I did not select it as an awful example, nor seek to ransack the world for the wrecks of unions by design with which it is strewn. If I had done so, I should have pointed to Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Norway, Holland and Belgium, and the brittle mosaic of Habsburg dominions. And if I had found time to discuss French Constitutions at all, I should not have limited myself to that of the Third Republic, but should have felt bound to point to the fourteen Constitutions France has designed since 1789, all of them written and all of them rigid; and I should have failed to discover in that multitude of manufactures any model of flexible stability to act as a substitute for our own tenacious growth. I did not mention the Belgian Constitution either, but a distinguished Belgian who was present at my lecture was good enough to illustrate my point by indicating the grave difficulties in which Belgium had been involved by the fact that its written Constitution had never contemplated such a thing as the Congo State, which was thus left to the uncovenanted mercies of Leopold II.

Professor Muir, however, objects particularly to my statement that "we cannot fuse States into one by statute," and retorts that "the Americans did it; the Australians, Canadians, and South Africans did it; Bismarck did it; even our ancestors did it in the Acts of Union" (p. 197). This statement almost takes one's breath away. I was under the impression that, as there were thirteen American colonies before the adoption of their Constitution so there were thirteen States afterwards; that there are now some forty; and that in the interval nearly half those States fought a civil war under the impression (now generally admitted as correct) that the "statute" to which Professor Muir alludes, so far from fusing them into one, left to each its individual sovereignty. I am perfectly aware that during the last half century a

change has been in process which leads Americans to say "the United States *is*" rather than "the United States *are*"; but that fusion has been a process of growth with which statutes have only interfered. I was likewise under the impression that there were six States in the Australian Commonwealth, though I should be at a loss to enumerate the "States" that ever existed in Canada. I am sure, however, that the Kings of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony, to say nothing of German Grand Dukes, would repudiate Professor Muir's airy fusion of them into one, and would hotly contend that Germany is a *Staatenbund* and not a *Bundesstaat*. Anglo-Scottish unity I concede, though the Act of Union was only an incident in its growth; but, not being perhaps so sound a Tory as Professor Muir thinks, I deny that the Act of 1800 fused Great Britain and Ireland into one. If so, what is the point of the Home Rule Act, of which I infer that Professor Muir approves?

I agree, however, with Professor Muir that the events following 1763 provide a more apposite analogy to our present problem than any foreign episode; and it was because of their importance that I drew attention to the parallel in my lecture. But I cannot agree with the deduction he draws; nor, indeed, can I make Professor Muir agree with himself. On p. 197 he writes that the "mistaken proposals" of George III.'s Ministers "intensified the earlier difficulties, and led to the dissolution of the Empire," thereby agreeing with my remark that the Empire "was not reft in twain in the eighteenth century because we let things drift." But on p. 198 he writes that these same Ministers "were content to follow Professor Pollard's method and let things drift," and that was why the Empire was reft in twain. Personally, I should not describe Grenville's Stamp Act, Townshend's Tea Duties, and North's closing of Boston port and quashing of the charter of Massachusetts as "letting things drift"; and if, as Professor Muir says, "the circumstances of 1763 are reproducing themselves with remarkable exactitude to-day," there is all the more reason for circumspection before we commit ourselves to "catastrophic change." Moreover, if Professor Muir is right in saying that "the nineteenth century found a solution for this problem," why not let the solution alone?

What Professor Muir calls a solution Mr. Malcolm thinks means dissolution. But I hope that Mr. Malcolm does me injustice in attributing to me any suggestion that the "great gulf fixed" between disunion and union could be "crossed by imperceptible steps" (p. 213). My point is that Mr. Malcolm and

his friends have invented this great Imperial gulf in order to advertise the virtues of their patent airship of a Convention as a means of transport. Both invention and advertisement, while apparently indispensable to political propaganda, are alien to historical study; and nothing seems to me more profoundly unhistorical than the argument of dilemma. It is a mere trick of controversy. "Either he or I," said Luther of Zwingli, "must be the devil's minister." If you are not white, you must be black; if you do not go to heaven, you will certainly go to hell. It is the method by which Hobbès sought to convince men, not of sin, but of the necessity for an absolute sovereign; the life of man in a state of nature was "nasty, short, brutish, and mean"; he had no alternative but to submit to absolute rule. And here we have Mr. Malcolm with his "great gulf fixed" between union and disunion; if we are not converted to his Imperial fusion we shall go straight to Imperial perdition.

If there is one thing that history demonstrates it is the utter falsity of this kind of reasoning. Even in the religious sphere you may grow in grace, but you are not made perfect in this world; and the growth of nations and of institutions proves almost *ad nauseam* to those who are historical students that in order to avoid Charybdis there is no need to run on Scylla. Of course, it is always the contention of the political controversialist that you must swallow his panacea or perish of your diseases. But the nation has never adopted entire the programmes of its parties; by a wonderful instinct for selection and capacity for assimilation it has taken something from them all and grown to greater stature than it could ever have done on prescriptions. Not once but a hundred times in its history it has been confronted with the dilemma of rival programmes. But Tudor England was neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian; Chatham's England was neither Puritan nor Cavalier; we are neither Whig nor Tory; and the future British Empire will be neither a fusion nor a fraction of the British realms.

Yet Mr. Malcolm will have us believe that the Empire can only be saved by catastrophic change, and he cites in support of his contention the parlous distraction of Ireland before 1800 and of the American States before 1787. What is the point of the lurid descriptions he gives or quotes? I may say that I condemn neither Pitt nor the fathers of the American Constitution for the work of union they did. I think that neither had much option in the matter; but I entirely deny the pertinence of the analogies and the logic of the assumption that because desperate cases

require desperate remedies, drastic measures are equally necessary in circumstances which are far removed from desperation. Mr. Malcolm, indeed, assumes, first, that the Empire is so disruptive that only catastrophic change can save it; and secondly, that its conditions are so centripetal that union is a feasible project; and his method of avoiding one horn of the dilemma would seem to be impaling himself on both. I doubt the necessity of either, and I disbelieve in British realms that are panting for either fusion or disruption. It is true that there have been two rebellions in the Empire during this war, and Mr. Malcolm may be pleased to note that both occurred in countries enjoying Unions. But we are not in that hopeless state of disunion which precipitated the catastrophic changes of 1787 and 1800.

The truth is that the crusade for formal union has been provoked by an over-emphasis of form at the expense of the spirit. In spirit the Empire has never been more united than it is to-day, and its future unity will depend upon the growth of that spirit and not upon any Constitution-mongering whatever. A Constitution does not consist of parchment and paper. Even ex-President Taft did not say that the American Constitution was the greatest document that God had ever drafted; and if we enact an Imperial Union we shall not be "making" a united Empire. We should merely be giving legal form and expression to a unity which would have grown. If it had not, a paper Union would be a catastrophic change indeed. Meanwhile, thanks to that elasticity in our system which no written Constitution has yet destroyed, responsible statesmen from all the Dominions (save one which provides a striking example of "hustle") are engaged on the more prudent and practical task of discovering how far that growth has proceeded and by what tentative steps and cautious experiments the machinery of an adaptable Constitution may be adjusted to its future development. It is a step towards that expansion of "spasmodic occasions into the custom of an Imperial Constitution" which I mentioned in my lecture as the first of those measures of consolidation which could be taken without a Constitutional revolution or even an Act of Parliament. If I am tainted with historical fatalism in Imperial politics it is a fatalism of faith and not of fear. British realms have grown, and will continue to grow, together in the quickening spirit which gives them liberty; and the world will grow together, too, when it is equally free. My advocacy of "doing nothing in particular" was a warning against the particular peril of killing our communion of service by an act of uniformity. A. F. POLLARD.

SOME EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL SALONICA.¹

OF the cities which have been made remarkable in human history, most owe their interest to peculiar qualities in the citizens themselves, which have, at times, made their towns in some way eminent—either as city-states, or as cities embodying or typifying the social and political life of a nation. Under the former category come Athens, Florence, Venice; under the latter Paris, the Jerusalem of the Jews, old Edinburgh—in a slighter degree London. Other cities have, in a sense, “had greatness thrust upon them.” They have not permanently stood for an idea, a people, or a type of civilisation; they owe their celebrity to their geographical position, which has forced them to take part in many conflicts of contending peoples and of social and religious principles. The same circumstances have brought them wealth, vicissitudes, and an external aspect splendid in the days of their grandeur, picturesque in their decline. Their population has always been mixed; they have changed hands frequently without any essential change in characteristics. The great men whom they honour or the villains who have ruined them are scarcely of their own production. They belong to the world rather than to any nation or even to any period of history. Among such cities is Salonica.

The present-day interest in the city dates, for some people, from its cession by Turkey to Greece by the Treaty of Bukharest; to a few, perhaps, from the events of the year before last, when

¹ This paper was read to the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association on January 26th, 1917. The following authorities have been used:—*Corpus Byz. Hist.*, especially works of Nicetas Choniates, Acropolita, Cantacuzenus, Gregoras, John Anagnostes.—MIGNE, *Patrologia Græca*, esp. vols. 136, 140, 150, 151, for Eustathius, Palamas, Greg. of Sinai, etc.—O. TAFRALI: *Topographie de Thessalonique and Thessalonique au 14^{me} Siècle*. Paris, 1913.—FINLAY: *Hist. of Greece*. Vol. III. (Tozer's Edition, Oxford, 1877).—BURY's *Gibbon*. Vols. VI. and VII.—K. KRUMBACHER: *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (Müller's Handbooks).—NORDEN: *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*.—C. DIEHL: *Études Byzantines*.—ADRIAN FORTESCUE: Article on *Hesychasm* in *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

it was occupied by the armies of the Allies. I had come across interesting episodes in its history in the course of my rambles into the story of Greek, Frank, and Oriental rivalries in the times before and after the momentous Fourth Crusade. But such interesting episodes multiplied before me when I undertook to write a little magazine article for the students of this University on the vicissitudes of the city. Imagining myself to be a bird of prey that had hovered over the region for more than two millennia, I saw the hosts of Xerxes on their way to invade Greece, marching along the coast of the Gulf of Therma, on which the city (perhaps even its forerunner) had not yet been built. Afterwards came the foundation of the city by Cassander of Macedon,¹ from whose wife, a half-sister of Alexander the Great, it was to receive its name. Later on, the Gulf was all alive with ship-building—the fruitless preparations of the last Philip of Macedon and his son Perseus to resist Roman supremacy. Later, again, the conflicts of the Romans themselves are felt in these parts. Cicero arrived there, a banished man, full of pain at the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens. Then, in the first Civil War, Pompey, with the remains of the Senatorial party, made the city his headquarters. In the second Civil War it suffered from the exactions of the “Liberators,” Brutus and Cassius. For Thessalonica, as for other Greek cities, a better age dawned with the advent of Augustus. It counts as a “free city,” and the word “Liberty” is stamped on its coins. In that age St. Paul appears, and acquires influence, be it observed, not only with male citizens, but with “honourable women not a few,” until a hostile party among the Jews, from that day to this an important element in the city, forced him to depart. During the period of splendour and luxury occurs the frightful massacre ordered in haste and officially repented of by Theodosius the Great.

Times of danger and threatenings came with the movements among the peoples—Goths, Huns, Slavs, Bulgars, Saracens—which last-named people acquired ephemeral possession in A.D. 904. But the city seemed to have a wonderful power of recuperation, and the noble Byzantine churches with which it is adorned testify to its wealth, piety, abundance of labour, and artistic skill. Later on the city falls a prey, in turn, to Normans, Frank Crusaders, and Turks. I had originally intended to confine this paper to the first and third of these last-mentioned captures, my reason being that in each of them a considerable Greek scholar was shut up in the town during the attack and wrote an account of it

¹ Another, but less safe, tradition ascribes it to Philip II. of Macedon.

afterwards. But on looking into the whole story it seemed to me that the narratives of barbarian captures are too gruesome to dwell upon in detail, without special obligation; also, by consulting a recent and excellent investigator, who has unearthed many Greek MSS. in Paris relating to the subject,¹ I have realised the great interest of two movements—one religious, the other political—that shortly preceded—perhaps helped to bring about—the submission of the city to the Turks.

During the last three centuries, at least, of the Byzantine Empire, Thessalonica counted as its chief city after Constantinople. When the Empire was divided into Themes (or military and administrative districts), Thessalonica was the capital of the "Theme of Macedonia and the First Thessaly"—geographical terms which, we may say, were not quite constant in their scope, any more than they are at the present time. The excellence of the harbour, which had been improved by Constantine the Great, and the accessibility of the city, along the course of the Vardar, or Axios, to the north, the Via Egnatia to the west, and the routes from island to island of the Ægean Sea, and to the Asiatic coast, ensured constant streams of traffic. The soil, favourable to the growth of corn and of wine, might have nourished a hardy and well-fed peasantry, if the good intentions of some Emperors and various patriots had been effectual against large proprietors and money-lenders. The wealth and cosmopolitanism of the city were promoted by, and in their turn greatly promoted, the ecclesiastical splendour of Thessalonica. As I have said, there were from early times magnificent churches, and the saints in whose honour they had been built presided over the city in its commerce and its mirth, as in its devotions. Foremost of these was, and is, St. Demetrius. The historical Demetrius is said to have suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, but in hagiology he ranks among the warrior-saints, like St. Michael, St. George, and St. Theodore, who in many cases succeeded to the cult of some Thracian horseman-hero.² His festival lasted a whole week in the month of October, and comprised both magnificent religious processions and a veritable Vanity Fair of all nations. Some of the foreigners were residents in the city, the population of which must have been as mixed in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries as it is to-day. There were Greeks, Slavs, "Gasmules" (mixed Greek and Western), Armenians, Jews, "Vardariotes"

¹ O. Tafrali: *Thessalonique au 14^{me} Siècle* and *Topographie de Thessalonique*.

² In the museum of Sofia there are a great many sculptured stones in honour of a certain knight-hero, supposed to be of Thracian origin.

(said to be Persian), and also settlements of Italian merchants from Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, and some Spaniards. The Government of so heterogeneous a population employed numerous officials. The Governor (*dux*, ἐπίτροπος, ἄρχων) had large powers—dangerously large, perhaps, especially as he was commonly related to the reigning imperial family. Justice and finance were—on paper—well secured, and were supposed to rest on ancient privileges, guaranteed to the city even under changes of government. The functionaries were almost always of the wealthy class, though a middle class with some popular sympathies becomes an influential element during the fourteenth century. The monastic and clerical bodies were strong. The Bishop was an important person, though more, perhaps, by way of influence and prestige than of direct political functions.

At the time of the great Norman invasion Thessalonica ought to have been in a satisfactory position for self-defence. But the measures necessary for its protection had been neglected. The Emperor, Andronicus I., generally a capable villain, not without some statesmanlike ideas, was a usurper and insecure on his throne, and had entrusted the care of Thessalonica to a particularly incapable and weak-kneed man, David Comnenus.¹ The story of the siege has been given by the great Bishop Eustathius, who was burning with indignation at the incompetence of the defenders. Eustathius was a learned commentator on the Greek poets, and a church-reformer in so far that he recognised the danger of a wealthy and idle body of monks who no longer respected their vocation. On this occasion he did something to prevail on the Norman leaders to check the horrors, and acted up to his reputation of poor man's friend. It may be noted here that the "frightfulness" which attends the sack of a wealthy city by a half-disciplined army seems to be much of the same kind and degree when carried out by real Huns or—as in this case—by ancestral kinsmen of our bluest-blooded aristocracy. But the cause and significance of the event must be briefly explained.

The rivalry of Normans and Greeks had first been prominently shown in the conflict between Alexius the Great and Bohemond of Sicily, who obtained the principality of Antioch in the First Crusade. It was natural enough that the Greek Emperors should take a different view of the main purpose of the Crusades from that held by Western adventurers. It was not the carving out of feudal principalities in Asiatic lands—poor exotics doomed to a

¹ Of course his name shows him to have been connected with the imperial family, though I have not been able to trace his affinity.

speedy extinction—not even the recovery of the Holy Places for Christian worship, that inspired the appeals of the Eastern Emperors to Western Christendom to unite against the encroaching Mohammedan power. They, as might have been expected, aimed first at their own security, and next at the recovery of the lands previously under their sway. True, compromises had to be made, and the Eastern Emperors gained something by the First Crusade, but to the knights of the West the Eastern peoples were as remote from Christianity as the Turks. The caterwauling of the Norman soldiers in Thessalonica, as the Greek priests sang mass in the churches, and their utter contempt of all sacred places, vessels, and persons, as described by Eustathius, bear witness to the religious animosity between the two Churches. Certainly great prelates and great statesmen had tried to take a broader view. In order to keep the Turk at bay, some kind of reconciliation among the antagonistic States and Churches of Europe was quite essential. For a time the dissensions between Popes and Western Emperors led the Eastern rulers to put out a feeler, so to speak, towards Rome; but though there were lengthy negotiations, nothing was effected. The Greek clergy and people were intensely opposed to anything like a recognition of Roman supremacy, and it is not, on the other hand, to be supposed that either the Pope or the secular Western Powers would have been content to allow free course in the East to the Byzantine Government.

I may seem to have been wandering from Thessalonica; but this is not the case, as the main excuse for the expedition sent by William II. of Sicily was furnished by a hideous massacre of Italians in Constantinople,¹ sanctioned, if not instigated, by the Emperor Andronicus. William sent an army which took Durazzo (or Dyrrhachium) and advanced on Thessalonica by land; while a fleet rounded Cape Matapan (Tænarum) and advanced to the harbour. The siege lasted ten days, with the result already given.

The rash confidence of the Normans was the salvation of the city. The misdeeds and blunders of Andronicus were culminating to bring about his ignominious fall. His successor—a distant cousin—Isaac Angelus, though not a man of great ability, was a new broom that swept clean. His general, Branas, defeated the Sicilians on their march towards Constantinople. The leaders were captured, and all who could escape took to their boats.

The contemplation of what *might* have been the result of a

¹ In Constantinople the merchants of various Italian cities had acquired special quarters and privileges.

permanent Norman conquest of Salonica opens up a curious vista to the historical dreamer. If the Normans had then succeeded in capturing Constantinople, they would have anticipated the Fourth Crusade, and would probably have done the work more efficiently and founded a stronger dynasty. If they had only kept Salonica, it would have been a thorn in the side of the Byzantine Empire. But the ultimate issue would have been the passing of the East into even abler hands than those of the Normans. For the very year before the expedition there was celebrated one of the most fateful marriages of the Middle Ages—Constance, heiress of Sicily, to Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, whose son became *Stupor Mundi*, Frederick II. Whether Frederick's great contest with the Papal Power would have ended otherwise if he had been possessed of authority and power in the East as in the North is a speculation in which we need not now indulge.

During the period of "Latin," or French, domination, which followed the Fourth Crusade—the most disgraceful and lamentable event in mediæval history—Thessalonica underwent many vicissitudes. It became for a time the centre of government of the ablest and most venturesome of the crusading leaders—Boniface of Savoy. Disappointed, probably, in his hopes of being elected head of the new-formed Empire of Constantinople, or Rumania, Boniface refused the offer of territory in Asia, and preferred to play an independent game in Macedonia and Greece.

Thus he made himself master of Thessalonica, and was only with difficulty induced to do homage for it to the "Latin" Emperor Baldwin. But Boniface soon after fell fighting the Bulgarians, now a rising Power, whom we find allied with one nation or another, according to circumstances, throughout this tangled story. His son succeeded him, but was shortly expelled by an able adventurer related to the Greek Imperial family—Theodore Angelus. The Angeli maintained themselves, with various vicissitudes and conflicts, in Salonica for about twenty-five years. Theodore Angelus was ambitious enough to set up this second city of the Greeks as a temporary substitute for Constantinople, and caused a local bishop to place on his head the Imperial crown. This step, most unfortunately, brought him, his family, and his ecclesiastical supporters into bitter conflict with the Greek Empire, now established in the Lascarid dynasty in Nicæa, awaiting its opportunity to recover the Queen City of Constantinople. It was ever the misfortune of the Greeks, in mediæval as in ancient and modern times, to find

themselves hopelessly divided at a moment when the national cause required union. It was not only the crusading Empire of Roum, but the King of the Bulgarians, John Asan, who threatened the new Empire of Thessalonica. At this point we have a few romantic incidents which enliven a dreary story. The Bulgarian King got possession of the person of Theodore Angelus and, according to a practice not confined to Byzantines, had his eyes pierced. But, at the same time, he fell in love with Theodore's beautiful daughter, Irene, and married her. The result was a liberation of the wily Greek, who, by ingenious shifts, succeeded in recovering Salonica, where, being himself hardly capable of governing, he placed his elder son in possession. But his younger son, Demetrius, who shortly succeeded the elder, proved an incapable libertine, and the Emperor in Nicæa, anxious to strengthen himself on the European side of the Bosphorus, took advantage of the complaints of the Thessalonians and seized the city for his own dynasty. The scene which occurred is graphically described by a contemporary, who was probably an eye-witness.¹ The beautiful Irene was in the city with her brother, who, on discovering his danger, was about to fly to the citadel. She came out and implored the Nicæan Emperor, John Vatatzes, that at least the youth might not lose his eyes. On receiving an assurance to that effect, she led him forth, and her sisterly zeal, together with the handsome face and figure of the unfortunate boy, moved the heart of the Emperor, who descended from his chariot to speak with her. After this, both empire and despotat² of Salonica became included in the Empire of the Lascarids, and thus, when that Power had obtained its own again, Thessalonica belonged once more to the Empire wielded from Constantinople—that city having been recovered by Michael Palæologus in 1261.

This complicated story of Thessalonica during the critical time of Latin dominion in the East may seem to belong to the byways of history, yet it illustrates tendencies operative in Eastern Europe which were of extreme importance, and the traces of which we see even to-day. Rival Powers—Greek, Bulgarian, and Western—are ever shifting in alliances and hostilities, and even within the ranks of Greek and of Western peoples, respectively, there is scope for rivalries on a smaller scale. The city of Salonica was one of the prizes to be contended for in all cases; yet it survived, and its reputation for wealth and culture remained.

¹ George Acropolita, 45.

² The successors of Theodore had been obliged to content themselves with this lesser title.

For it must ever be borne in mind that the period of the Palæologi was not all of decadence, but manifests the beginnings of the Renaissance, which it would be absurd to regard as a peculiarly Western movement. M. Charles Diehl¹ has called attention to the new development of scholarship and of art which marks, in the East, the time succeeding the expulsion of the Crusaders, and the great historian of Byzantine literature² remarks: "The philologists of the time of the Palæologi are, in character, powers, and point of view, heralds of a new order. In their methods and purposes of study they are connected less with such writers as Photius, Arethas, and Eustathius than with the first pioneers of the Classical Renaissance in the West." In this new life Thessalonica had her part. Literary men flourished, and at least one literary woman. There seems to have been rather more freedom in intellectual discussion there than in Constantinople, where conservative and ecclesiastical influences were stronger. In the upper circles of society life was pleasant and enlightened, but the deluge—in the form of the Turkish power—checked from time to time, was advancing, to overwhelm it all, and the religious and social dissensions referred to earlier had a weakening result which led to the collapse of Salonica even before that of Constantinople.

The religious controversy, that of the Hesychastæ, which raged for fourteen years, and occupies considerable space in contemporary writings, was concerned with ideas so remote from politics or from the ordinary thoughts of men that one would have to apologise for treating of it at all, were it not that it was bound by subtle chains to causes which helped to decide the fate of the East. The very remoteness and abstract character of the disputed propositions form a characteristic feature in the mind of the mediæval Greek. But after all, the controversy has its analogy in a religious faction and persecution of the enlightened seventeenth century, that of the Quietists, of whom Mme. Guyon is the best known type, and who, up to a certain point, received the sympathetic approbation of Abbé Fénelon. There is always some risk in tracing resemblances between old and more recent party divisions, whether in religion or politics, and I do not want to put Palamas and Barlaam in the places respectively of Fénelon and Bossuet, yet the fundamental ideas of Hesychasm and of Quietism seem at least to be akin—to point to a possible illumination of the spirit by the cultivation of physical apathy and intellectual

¹ *Études Byzantines*.

² Karl Krumbacher: *Byzantinische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 451.

quiescence. It can only flourish among recluses, and is sure always to irritate both the man of the world and the ecclesiastical disciplinarian. It may do mischief by exciting excessive admiration among the ignorant and susceptible, and it is generally at variance with a rational attitude towards religion and towards the world in general.

It has already been said that the monastic element was strong in Thessalonica. Not only were there large and important monasteries in or near the city itself, but it was very accessible to that hive of Greek monasticism, the promontory of Mount Athos. I would not for a moment disparage the debt which modern scholarship owes to the monks of Mount Athos, in that they copied and preserved for us classical manuscripts of the highest value. But if withdrawal from the world gives scope for intellectual and artistic effort, it also leaves the way clear for mental and spiritual aberrations.

Although some teaching of the kind had been current in Mt. Athos, the founder there of Hesychastic practices and propaganda was Gregory of Sinai.¹ He developed the idea of *νοῦς θεωρητικός* and *νοῦς πρακτικός*, the former purifying the soul from passion, the latter uniting it to Divinity, by means of *νοερά προσευχή* or inward mental prayer. The state of mind in which the silent worshipper is made capable of the beatific vision or of divine ecstasy, is to be reached by sitting in a cramped position, restricting respiration, and uttering certain ejaculations. Painful sensations ensue, but in time they give way to intense joy. It may be added that the grosser means of attaining to ecstasy are not much dwelt on by Gregory himself, and that in what he and others of the leading Hesychasts write, a good deal belongs to the body of spiritual aspiration common to all mystics, Pagan and Christian, of all the ages. But the grotesque elements were made prominent by their opponents, and became all the more weird when linked to metaphysical conceptions. Those who practised the Hesychastic discipline enjoyed the spectacle of a glorious light. This light which the illuminated beheld and which the Apostles had seen on Mt. Tabor, was it an uncreated emanation of Deity or a mere creature? With this question was connected another, familiar to Pagan Neo-Platonists; whether we should distinguish the energy or operation of God from His Essence or Being. And, again, it was asked how did this question stand in relation to the dogma which ever hindered the union of Eastern and Western Churches, of the single or double

¹ There are several of his works in Migne's *Pat. Gr.*, vol. 150.

procession of the Holy Ghost? Certain it is that *some* of those who opposed the Hesychasts were inclined to accommodate themselves to the Latin view. This point is of importance, as the help of the West was becoming more and more necessary to the East. And there is another link between the supermundane ideas of quietist monks and the decidedly mundane objects of Byzantine politicians; John Cantacuzenus, who had practically been ruling in the name of the boy-Emperor, John V. (Palæologus), had an idea of superseding him and becoming Emperor himself. But in Thessalonica the reigning dynasty, and especially Anne of Savoy, mother of John V., were popular. It was the policy of Cantacuzenus to gain to his side the monastic influence, and especially that of the Hesychasts.

The party opposed to the Hesychasts was led, as one might suppose, by some eminent representatives of ancient learning, the most notable of whom was a monk from Calabria, Barlaam. He stands for the earlier phase of the Renaissance, in that he and Petrarch gave each other "exchange lessons" in Greek and Latin.¹ He was well versed in Plato and Aristotle, and also in Euclid, and accustomed to the use of Greek dialectic. To him the attempt to attain to knowledge of the highest truth by means of stupefaction rather than of reasoning seemed foolish in the extreme. He applied his own reasoning powers in the great controversy between Greek and Latin Churches with impartial effect, as we have writings of his on both sides. But there is also a statement by him, which one would like to be able to set down as his latest decision, that if we were asked whether the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene creed were to be accepted, the answer should be: "I don't know." According to Cantacuzenus, Barlaam, in his attempts to learn all about Hesychasm, put himself under a stupid instructor, who increased his prejudices.

The opponent of Barlaam was Gregory Palamas, a Byzantine of good family, and though a partisan of the Hesychasts, a man of considerable learning. The discussions held between these protagonists and their followers became so exciting as to endanger the public peace, and the Governor began to intervene. This only made feelings more bitter, and each side accused the other of innumerable heresies. In 1341 the Patriarch summoned both parties to Constantinople. The doctrine of the created or uncreated light was examined. Barlaam relied on syllogisms, Palamas on authority. Imperial influence was used on the side of the monks, and Barlaam was obliged to go abroad. His place,

¹ I think at Avignon, where certainly both resided for a time.

however, as opponent of Palamas, was taken by a learned Slav, who had formerly been his pupil, Gregory Akindynos. In 1347 another synod was held, and by the influence of Anne of Savoy the party of Barlaam was rehabilitated. Akindynos was for a time made Archbishop of Thessalonica, but in a third synod Cantacuzenus, now Emperor, again pronounced for Palamas. This step caused great indignation in Salonica, and Palamas, when appointed Bishop, could not obtain recognition from his flock. The opposition to him was led by men of some eminence in Greek learning, and apparently taken up by the educated middle class.

In the end, the tenets of Barlaam, Akindynos, and the others were condemned, and, as I have said, the result has been regarded¹ as one of the causes of the fatal descent of Salonica. For it marks the intervention of political power on the side of obscurantism, and the suppression, in the second Greek city of the Empire, of the Greek Renaissance. Yet we may doubt whether the opponents of Palamas, with all their learning and respect for ancient logical and philosophic method, could have supplied what the times needed. Certainly the Mystics, too, had a cause, and in setting limits to the powers of human reason they too showed something of the Greek spirit—as was, indeed, acknowledged by their adversaries. The attempts to prove theological dogmas by syllogisms, and even to illustrate them by mathematical diagrams, which we find in some theologians of those times, appear to us quaint and unactual. Yet there can be no doubt that the controversy involved a terrible loss of force at a moment when all the mental and moral and physical energy of the Thessalonians were needed to meet their grave emergencies.

The political movements which more or less coincided with the religious were in like manner disastrous in their results and illustrative of what one may call a certain wayward energy in the ill-fated city. It has been seen that Cantacuzenus, in his ambition for himself and his family, had to contend with a party devoted to the House of Palæologus, and that his reliance was chiefly placed on the Byzantine, and especially on the Thessalonian, nobility, together with the Hesychast party among the monks. The interesting point to notice here is that his conduct and the arrogance of the nobles led to the rise of something like a democracy, which for a time obtained the ascendant in Thessalonica and some neighbouring cities, insisted on the rights of the people, and endeavoured, at any rate, to obtain a levy of the wealth and power of the city for the good of the whole community.

¹ Especially by Tafrali: *Thessalonique au 14^{me} Siècle*.

It is not easy to conceive enthusiasm¹ for the principles and actions of the democrats: *Ζηλωται* as they were called. Their most prominent leaders were treacherous, the mob was sanguinary and fickle. The patriotic spirit of the zealots was not strong enough to prevent them from throwing themselves into the arms—if only they could be received therein—of the great king of the Serbians. It is a poor excuse for them to say that the usurper and the nobles were equally removed from anything like humanity, fidelity, and patriotism, and that they even called in the Turks. But what can be said on the Zealot side is, strange to say, to be gleaned from the accusation of a monastic advocate, which quotes the apologies they may be supposed to have made for their irregularities. If they had confiscated monastic property it had only been for the good of the State, and they had from the revenues obtained provided for the continuance of public worship; if they had continued certain illegal exactions, these again were demanded by public necessity, as well as being permitted by custom; they claimed to have repaired the defences of the city and to have bettered the condition of the poor cultivator. What is specially interesting to notice is that just before this time a similar revolution had taken place in Genoa,² where the people had risen and formed a republican government which was to give their city a long season of splendour and of free activity. There was much communication at that time between Salonica and the Italian ports. Did Salonica consciously copy the great maritime city second only to the Queen of the Adriatic, and if the fates had been propitious might it have risen to a like fortune?

In any case, the fates were not propitious. The Zealots were put down, and our information about them only comes from the reactionaries who suppressed them. This does not, however, imply any increased security or prosperity in the aristocratic class. Pirates, loose mercenary bands, Serbians, Bulgarians, finally Turks, soon made independence and even life precarious for the whole community. Manuel, son of the Emperor John Palæologus, held his ground well for a time in Thessalonica, but in or about 1380 a Turkish general (Khairredin Pacha) obtained the city. For some years, however, it seems to have kept its autonomy under the Empire. Again it fell and again was recovered, but before long the Emperor, unable to defend it, made it over to the Venetians for a large sum of money. In 1430 it was again

¹ As Tafrali does.

² Special stress is laid on this point by Tafrali. I should be more inclined to refer to general democratic spirit in the air, in absence of superior state control. It seems important that the Zealot party was strong among the sailors.

attacked by the Sultan Amurath II. The "Latins" (as the Venetians were called by the old inhabitants) and the Greeks were unable to make a strong resistance. As in former sieges, a Greek Scholar (John the Reader) was present at the terrible scenes, and the unfortunate city had again a story of its capture and a monody which deplored the destruction of what, in spite of all vicissitudes, was still regarded as a joy and delight to the world. The rest is silence.

In the sketches I have brought before you I have seemed rather to be giving a set of kaleidoscopic views than to be tracing part of the history of a great city. But, as was said at the outset, there can be little unity or organic development in a city of which the population is always mixed, the situation open and tempting to armies and fleets of warring peoples. If I were to pursue the story further, it would still be to give episodes, not to follow lines of continuous life. One of the great episodes is that of the present moment (I mean the moment at which I *write*), with armies of the Allies entrenched in the fields, and British men of war in the Gulf, while the mighty struggle is raging, as of old, among Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Italians, Jews, Turks, and men (like the Crusaders) of northern climes. The city, as we have seen, suffered much in the old times from hostile incursions; yet it never obtained or never retained for long the one compensation for the sufferings of war, the civic and national pride that grows from vigorous self-defence. If one might look forward to the future, one would desire that such a cosmopolitan city might reap one advantage from its cosmopolitanism, in receiving some guarantee and exemption from participation in the struggles of the nations. But whatever its fate, the tragic element in its background will commend it to the respectful notice of the historians of all nations, and its very lack of unity, which marks its inferiority to more famous cities of antiquity, brings home to our minds the unity of the drama of human life and history.

ALICE GARDNER

THE ZULU PROBLEM OF 1878-9.¹

IN a recent number of HISTORY² Sir Charles Lucas has considered it necessary to emphasise once more the importance in our national history of the fact of insularity. The special problems which confront an island Power are not less acute and formidable than those which concern a continental State. Bismarck, thinking of the geographical situation of modern Germany, said that it is quite true that the idea of coalitions gave him nightmares. The problem which has worried English statesmen, on the other hand, has been that of intervention or non-intervention. Can the balance of power ever be safely left to take care of itself?—the great question for all island Powers.

The characteristic indecision of English diplomatists when faced by this ever-recurring problem has not been confined to European politics. The intense interest of the Zulu War of 1879 lies in the fact that here the old maxims and habit of mind of our statesmen came into contact with old problems presented in a new form. The existence of an intensely military and autocratic State alongside of a community which imperfectly understood its neighbours and was governed by men the mainstring of whose policy was a benevolent *laissez faire*; in this there is nothing very unfamiliar. But the whole question of the attitude of the Colonial Governments towards the native subject races complicated matters and brought to the forefront new decisions and new habits of mind. Not merely was it a matter of intervention or of *laissez faire*, but of what kind of intervention, and how it was to be applied. To the average Natal and South African politician a firm handling of

¹ The dispatches of Sir Bartle Frere and Sir T. Shepstone, from which quotations have been made, are to be found in the Blue Books relating to Transvaal and Natal Affairs, 1878-9. Notes of the Legislative Council of Natal debates are published for the year 1880 and contain illuminating references. Lord Blachford's article on the causes of the Zulu War appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* of March, 1879. See also Martineau's *Life of Frere*, Vol. II, and a paper read by J. Noble at the Royal Colonial Institute on February 18th, 1879 (*Proceedings*, Vol. X., 103).

² See above, New Series, Vol. I., pp. 7-9.

the Zulu question meant intervention in the form of repression. A prominent member of the Legislative Council of Natal stated with approval in the House on February 3rd, 1880, that : "It all came of the same kind of policy—playing with the Zulus as if we were dealing with rights as between two civilised nations. . . . Rights between barbarians must be dealt with with full justice, but with a paternal care which is necessary in dealing with such people. If we had acted firmly, the war would never have taken place." In accordance with this view, the road to the Zulu War was paved with good intentions, along which the Government drifted through unwillingness to use strong measures. Now for the other kind of intervention : "By neglecting to invest money in the profitable occupation of improving, we have been forced to lavish it in the unproductive, miserable, melancholy work of repression ; and the necessity for this last kind of expenditure will increase in the exact proportion in which we continue to neglect the first " (Sir T. Shepstone).

That there should be inevitable differences of opinion was not merely the result of this divergence of view as to method ; the difficulty of the Zulu situation of 1879 lay in the diagnosis of the problem itself. How far had the internal process of militarisation gone? To what extent could the situation be left to right itself by internal dissolutions? These are the questions which an alliance of autocracy and militarism always brings to the forefront, and the answer differed in 1879 just as it did to a similar problem in 1914. And it was in relation to the condition and menace of Zululand that new and illuminating ideas of imperialism were thought out by a handful of British statesmen, who originally brought to their task little more than the typically insular attitude of their countrymen.

According to Lord Blachford, the situation should have been left to right itself. "The Zulu Kingdom," he wrote in March, 1879, "though capable of being cemented under the stimulus of a popular war, was decomposing, and if let alone would have torn itself to pieces perhaps soon, almost certainly on the death of the present King." Whether it was consistent with the duty of the Imperial Government to allow the continuance of the existing state of bloodshed within Zululand during Cetewayo's lifetime he does not stop to argue. Sir T. Shepstone was quite clear that "We are not fighting with the Zulus, but with the Zulu King." The fact of the matter was that no one knew in 1878 how deep down militarism had penetrated or to what extent the King stood for the nation, any more than it was known in 1914 how far the

same kind of influences had really altered the people of Germany. Mr. Fynney, a well-informed border agent of the Government, said that the King was convinced of the loyalty of his army, but he was of opinion himself that it would greatly depend upon whom they were called on to fight. This, however, was in 1877, and Cetewayo seems to have been less certain of his warriors as it became clearer that the enemy to be fought was going to be the British, and not merely the Boers.

Probably no one—not even Cetewayo—could be certain in 1878 of the internal cohesion of the Zulu nation. At any rate, as late as December 30th, 1878, the Magistrate at Umsinga wrote to Shepstone that "Sirayo's people (who had already incurred the hostility of the Government, and were Cetewayo's vanguard) are in fear of being attacked in the rear by the Zulu nation so soon as the English move against them, and appear to dread the nation more than the English."

Must we say, then, that it was a mistake on the part of Sir Bartle Frere and his colleagues to bring affairs to a crisis at this time, rather than to allow the domestic dissensions of an imperfectly militarised State to remove the menace of a united and aggressive Zulu power? Lord Blachford openly accused Frere and Shepstone of having forced on an unnecessary war against a people who sincerely desired to live in peace with its English neighbours. The majority of history text-books, whilst applauding the award of the Commissioners as to the territory in dispute between Zulus and Boers, state baldly that an ultimatum was sent along, which led to war. Lord Blachford likens the ultimatum to a request from Germany to the British Government that, on pain of war, we should within six weeks destroy our Navy. No adequate account of the conditions which produced the ultimatum or of the interesting development of ideas in the attitude of Frere and Shepstone has appeared.

The state of Zululand in 1878 is sufficiently well known to make detailed mention unnecessary. The nation seems to have approached very near to the state known to philosophers as "balked disposition." Warlike customs and aspirations had continued to multiply after the occasions and motives for their exercise had departed. Nothing had been done to accustom the people to agricultural pursuits on a scale justified by the altered circumstances. The young warriors were anxious to live up to their traditions, and foreign war in general meant a relaxation from the internal cruelties. "The diversion and even comparative personal safety that in bygone days resulted from Zulu invasion

of foreign tribes, far away from their own home, have ceased with the circumstances which permitted them; and these energies have to be expended at home and among themselves" (Sir T. Shepstone, January 5th, 1878). It is not difficult to see that Shepstone believed at this time that, far from cementing the old state, a vigorous blow from without would be the signal for a revolution which would sweep away this unpopular state of affairs. Clearly the peaceful life which native races and Zulu refugees were able to enjoy in Natal must have been an incentive to those who suffered at home to accomplish some vital change. The present system made aggressive war sooner or later an essential for every male Zulu, who was not allowed to marry until he had been successful in killing an adversary.

Frere and Shepstone were, however, hampered at every turn by the hopeless blindness and optimism of Natal public opinion on native questions, and particularly by the sentimental pro-Zulu feeling. The reason why collisions had hitherto been avoided between the Government in Natal and the Zulus was this: in the chronic state of hostility that existed between Boers and Zulus the sympathy of the colony of Natal was strongly in favour of the latter. Frere wrote on January 12th, 1879, that this feeling still continued and that he had been shocked to find "how very close to the wind the predecessors of the present Government here have sailed in supporting the Zulus against Boer aggression."

Another difficulty was the indecision of a home Government, which distrusted the European situation and was inclined to repudiate all Colonial decisions that might necessitate the employment of Imperial troops. The despatch of October 17th, 1878, from Sir M. Hicks-Beach spoke of the possibility of war with Cetewayo as "a very serious evil," and definitely refused to send any reinforcements. Shortly afterwards, however, the Cabinet changed its mind and promised troops "for defensive purposes only." And yet all along, Sir M. Hicks-Beach had been fully informed of the state of affairs, and had himself used expressions in approval of the Commissioner's (Frere's) policy.

The most interesting factor in the situation was the attitude of Sir T. Shepstone. His early opinion of Cetewayo had undoubtedly been favourable. King Edward VII. repeatedly said of the present German Emperor that he was convinced he would never go to war. Shepstone's report of Cetewayo was that "he was proud of the military traditions of his family," but frank and straightforward in character and not particularly warlike. Influenced perhaps to some extent by the prevalent pro-Zulu feeling in

Natal, Shepstone admits that he believed at first in the justice of the Zulu claims to the land in dispute with the Transvaal Boers. On January 5th, 1878, he wrote: "I should, in my ignorance of the merits of the case at my first meeting, have surrendered to them much more than I afterwards found they were entitled to." The state of Zululand and the character of Cetewayo's rule begin to assume more sombre colours in the despatches which Shepstone, as Administrator, now sent home to the Earl of Carnarvon. Lord Blachford assumes that the change was entirely due to the exigencies of Shepstone's position in having carried through the annexation of the Transvaal against the wishes of Volksraad and population. "It is most certain," he says, "that Shepstone will not be able to prove his point (*i.e.*, that the Boers were not ill-pleased at the annexation) if his first step is to surrender, instead of upholding, the Dutch land claims." Lord Blachford sees something suspicious in the Administrator's discovery, at this point, of documents among the Transvaal records which substantiate the Dutch claims, though it was well known at the time that they were reserving the proofs of their rights until the actual sitting of the Commission of Inquiry. His explanation of the war is thus found in the necessity under which Shepstone lay of ingratiating the Boers, and in the prejudices of Sir Bartle Frere. That the new position of Shepstone as Administrator of the Transvaal made it necessary for him to walk warily and to consider very carefully every side of the Zulu problem, is at once obvious. Frere himself admitted that, as the embodiment of Natal policy and protector of Cetewayo in his opposition to Boer extension, Shepstone "had much leeway to make up" in the Transvaal. His early sympathies would naturally be expected to be in conformity with those of the majority of Natal officials, the more so as the general Boer attitude towards native problems was selfish and repressive; but there is every indication that his decision and that of Frere was reached solely on the consideration of the merits of the case between the two parties, and on what they were convinced was now necessary in order to remove the Zulu menace.

As a matter of fact, the ultimate judgment of the Commission as to the disputed territory seems to have been one-sided and over-favourable to the Zulus. Frere discovered that no fewer than seventy-four farms of Boer settlers existed within the tract of land adjudged to Cetewayo. Shepstone protested against the finding of the Commission as being couched in terms which were cynical and insulting towards the Transvaal. Nevertheless, so far were Frere and Shepstone from favouring the Boers that the

judgment was adhered to in its entirety, with a few safeguards relating to the security and treatment of the farmers on the land in dispute.

But the immediate cause of the war was not the decision of the Commission, but the ultimatum on the Zulu military organisation which was presented at the same time. When Cetewayo complained that the Boers had become English, he went to the root of the matter. It was not so much the new duties of Shepstone, as Administrator of the Transvaal, which produced the changed outlook on native affairs as the new note of a wider Imperialism appreciating all sides of the question. No broad, well-informed views on such matters existed either in Natal or in the Transvaal. Frere says that "there is less sound opinion and sound public interest than there ought to be in Natal; what the Transvaal desires is sure to be wrong." Natal public opinion, in fact, oscillated between the extremes of a complacent disregard of the Zulu menace as something which concerned the Transvaal rather than Natal, and a demand for stern repressive measures. To sum up the causes of the Zulu war, as Lord Blachford does in the statement that Frere wanted war, while Shepstone must needs push the claims of the Transvaal Boers to make his position as Administrator in that country a tolerable one, is to neglect altogether the main problem: how to deal with an uncivilised, but vigorous, nation, organised for war on an aggressive scale and totally uninstructed in habits of peaceful intercourse and domestic improvement. Shepstone and Frere are both quite clear that the earlier adoption, perhaps under Panda, of a policy of peaceful intervention would have solved the problem without any need for the employment of force. "Had Cetewayo's thirty thousand warriors been in time changed to labourers working for wages, Zululand would have been a prosperous, peaceful country, instead of what it now is, a source of perpetual danger to itself and its neighbours" (Sir T. Shepstone, January 5th, 1878). Regarding the problem from an Imperial standpoint, he could see that the fault had been largely in the lack of co-ordination of methods. The Colony of Natal had smiled upon the enterprises of the Zulu King whilst rapidly confining the area in which these enterprises might find fruition. The Transvaal Government had temporised and conciliated to avoid an open dispute, thus encouraging the aggressive tendencies of their neighbours. And neither had done anything to alter the character of the Zulu organisation or to employ their energies in constructive work. The policy of expansion along the easiest lines, leaving the equili-

brium between the various races to take care of itself, had inevitably led to a condition of affairs which demanded intervention in the form of repression. The die for peace or war had been cast two years before the British forces crossed over into Zululand. The folly of *laissez faire* and the necessity for the ultimatum are explained by Frere to the Colonial Secretary in his despatch of February 12th, 1879: "It was a simple question whether we should steadily bring our differences to an issue on a clear and unmistakable demand for our right to live at peace with our neighbours, or whether we should await the convenience of the Zulu King and be taken at disadvantage when he saw his opportunity."

That Zulu militarism may be explained in terms of favourable opportunity and could have been corrected by wise measures at the opportune moment seems fairly clear from a consideration of the uneasy state of Zululand in the month preceding the final outbreak. That the military party would never agree to the demands in the ultimatum—especially the abrogation of the rule as to celibacy and the disbandment of the army—was, of course, to be expected. But the existence of a Zulu peace-at-any-price party, from the moment when the British and not the Boers were seen to be the opponents of Cetewayo, shows what might have been done earlier in the direction of intervention of the kind Shepstone had advocated. Fannin, the special border agent, wrote confidentially that there was considerable feeling in Zululand that the promises of reform exacted by the British Government at Cetewayo's coronation should be enforced. Several Zulus informed Fannin that "if the English Government proclaimed its intention of enforcing observance of this law it would probably alienate many from the King." Clearly, the more pacific elements in the Zulu nation regretted the *laissez faire* attitude of the Colonial Ministers, and had almost ceased to look to them for any decisive intervention in Zulu affairs. Frere reported on September 30th, 1878, that the Zulus were quite out of hand; but most of the chiefs would have followed a clear lead from the Government had the former good relations been based on wise direction rather than on a weak encouragement of anti-Boer enterprises. Such a policy could have only one result—a fatal loss of prestige in the eyes of the native races generally. Frere reported home a fortnight after delivery of the ultimatum that "the almost universal impression I find among natives out of Zululand is that the natives are the stronger power, and will beat the English." Cetewayo at this time was personally confident, and determined to

fight. His temporising policy was the result of the general uneasy feeling which increased among the minor chiefs as Shepstone and Frere showed their determination to stand by their ultimatum. Compliance with the military demands could not now have been expected of Cetewayo and the warlike party; but to assume that Zululand was on the verge of civil war, which would have reduced Cetewayo to impotence without an "unnecessary war," is utterly fallacious. The indecision among the more pacific chiefs was the result of an intervention which had for the first time been firmly and justly proclaimed. It is a measure of what might have been achieved years before by elaborating the terms of the coronation oath of Cetewayo into a practical programme of administration. Everything would be lost by withdrawal and the continuance of the old policy of *laissez faire*. Frere judged correctly that the internal process of militarisation had gone too far to avoid altogether the prospect of repression. That a decision to intervene in the sense desired by Shepstone ("investing money in the profitable work of improving") must be taken early and in relation to the needs of all the various communities living side by side; and that, in native matters the balance of power can never be safely left to take care of itself; these were the main lessons which the Zulu problem of 1878-9 brought to the forefront. In the working out of Imperial problems it has been this kind of local experience, modifying and enlightening the somewhat insular equipment of British statesmen, which has triumphed over the difficulties of colonisation.

ALAN F. HATTERSLEY

HISTORY SCHOLARSHIPS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

[The writer of this paper desires to thank the following who have kindly given him their opinions on history scholarships: at Oxford, the Master of Balliol and Mr. Urquhart, of Balliol; Mr. E. Barker, of New College; Mr. A. Hassall, of Christ Church; Mr. C. Grant Robertson, of All Souls; Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.P., of Worcester: at Cambridge, the Master of Magdalene; Mr. R. V. Laurence, of Trinity; Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, of Peterhouse; Mr. Geoffrey Butler and Mr. W. Spense, of Corpus Christi: amongst schoolmasters, the Headmaster of Berkhamsted; Dr. Morris, of Bedford; Mr. Williams, of Mill Hill; Mr. Cecil Smith, of St. Paul's (all members of the Council of the Historical Association); Mr. C. P. Hastings, of Rugby; Mr. O'Regan, of Marlborough; Mr. Osborne, of Gresham's School, Holt; Mr. S. E. Winbolt, of Christ's Hospital; and Mr. Headlam, of Eton. And he is also indebted to the late Mr. Townsend Warner, of Harrow, for a valuable letter on the subject.]

DURING the last five-and-twenty years no subject, perhaps, has increased more in importance than history. It was, before the war, the largest honour school at Oxford, whilst the History Tripos was fast increasing in numbers at Cambridge. Most of the bigger secondary schools have now at least one history specialist teacher on their staffs, and most of the recent changes in public examinations have given the subject a more prominent position. And, finally, last year at the British Association we had the President of the Educational Section, Mr. W. Temple, proposing that some school, as an experiment, should make European history and English literature the staple of its curriculum—an experiment not unlikely, I think, to be successful.

Nor would the experiment be such a bold one, as already in the upper forms of many schools opportunities are given for boys to make some such course the staple of their education. Nothing, indeed, has been more hopeful in recent years than the recognition that, in the higher forms of schools, the brains of all boys cannot be developed to the best advantage on the same intellectual diet. In the old days a boy had to make classics his chief subject of study throughout his school career. No doubt for not a few

boys the classics provide an admirable and congenial training for all their school years ; but science or modern languages or history are better suited for other boys as the chief, though not of course the exclusive, object of their study.¹

For the best boys who take up history there is the chance of distinction in the history scholarship examinations at the universities. In the present educational turmoil, university scholarships have come in for their share of discussion. The Headmasters' Association has recently passed some resolutions concerning them, and the Council of Humanistic Studies has also had them under consideration. In particular, the Headmasters' Conference a year or so ago appointed a committee to consider history scholarships, and these scholarships have also formed the subject of some of the inquiries addressed by the Government Modern Languages Committee to the Historical Association. The Council of the Historical Association has, meanwhile, not been idle, and many opinions have been collected both from university tutors and teachers in schools. On these opinions were based, first, the report (June, 1916) of the Scholarship Committee, which was adopted by the Council and printed in the January number of *HISTORY* (pp. 235-6) ; and, secondly, the resolutions passed by the Council (January, 1917) in answer to the questions of the Government Modern Languages Committee.² It is proposed, therefore,

¹ For instance, at Eton, at the present moment, of the top 220 boys, 23 are "specialising" in Classics, 47 in Modern Languages, 36 in History, 28 in Science, and 7 in Mathematics ; the rest are working for the School Certificate in the ordinary School subjects (Classics, French, History, Mathematics, etc.).

² The Resolutions are as follows :—

1. That the Council re-affirms its agreement with the report of the Scholarships Committee (June 1916), and would point out that this has met with the unanimous approval of the Oxford and Cambridge History Tutors who have been consulted.

2. That the Council is opposed to a boy at school specialising in History to such a degree as to exclude the study of other subjects, but it considers that the History Scholarship Examinations, as at present conducted, through the Essay paper, General papers, and Language papers, are a sufficient safeguard against excessive specialisation, and provide an opportunity for a candidate to show his appreciation of literature and his linguistic ability. It considers that, as at present, the Scholarship Examinations should be controlled by the History Tutors, and the Scholarships awarded on the ground of historical promise.

3. That the Council would support any proposal which would give a candidate for a History Scholarship who excels in Modern Languages or in Natural Science or in Mathematics an equal opportunity of distinguishing himself with a candidate who excels in Classics.

4. That the Council is opposed to any amalgamation of History and Modern Languages instead of the existing History Scholarships on the ground that :—

(a) Scholarships in Languages and in History often appeal to boys with different kinds of ability ; a boy may show promise in History who has no very marked linguistic gifts, or he may be good at Languages and weak in History.

in this paper to discuss the examinations for the history scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge as they are at present conducted and the resolutions of the Council of the Historical Association in connection with them.¹

Of course, in all history scholarship examinations there are papers in history. It may be admitted at once that they require between them a somewhat bewildering list of periods and subjects.² Personally, the present writer is of opinion that the best division is to set two papers each in ancient history, mediæval history, and modern history (including in the two latter cases British history), and to let the candidate choose any combination of these two that he wishes (*e.g.*, both modern papers or one modern and one mediæval paper). But, at any rate, it would be a great advantage to the schools for the colleges to aim at greater uniformity in their requirements, though, of course, they ought to leave to the candidate considerable latitude both as to the choice of periods and the particular subjects studied in the periods taken.

The history papers, it is scarcely necessary to say, are intended not only as a test of a candidate's knowledge but also of his intelligence. They are a searching test, for example, of his power of using his knowledge for argument or for illustration as well as of his literary skill in setting it forth, and in most papers there are opportunities for a candidate to show his appreciation of the literature of the periods which he has been studying. The questions set should aim at being "simple and broad," as is stated in one college circular, "and should deal with the chief personages and most striking features of any period." And personally I prefer history at school to be of an humanistic rather than of a scientific character. "Before advanced work," as Mr. Temperley puts it, "and criticism of sources can be undertaken, the boy must get the sweep and swing of history, and he gets that from reading well-written books rather than precisely accurate ones. . . . Generally,

(b) The combination of History with auxiliary subjects other than Modern Languages would be made impossible.

(c) For the encouragement of History in Schools it is very necessary that Scholarships should be awarded to boys showing promise in the subject, such Scholarships acting as a great incentive not only to those who obtain them, but to those who fail; their abolition might very adversely affect the teaching of History in Schools.

5. That the Council is of opinion that the number of History Scholarships offered is inadequate in view of the number of candidates for Scholarships who graduate in History.

¹ The question as to whether the conditions of tenure of scholarships generally ought to remain as they are and as to whether they ought not to be more on eleemosynary lines is an entirely different one and is not discussed in this paper.

² See the Leaflet No. 3 (annually re-issued) of the Historical Association.

originality, promise, and general sprightliness are the desiderata of the school ; knowledge and research at the university."

But the history papers are not, of course, the only papers. There is, for instance, the essay, which is often a decisive factor ; "the English essay," says Mr. Hassall, for example, "should play an important part in the examination. I always attach *great* importance to the essay." Of still greater influence in some colleges is the general paper, in which the candidate has an opportunity of showing his interest in such subjects as literature or art or economics. If the present writer may, however, hazard an opinion, it is that Oxford is more successful in the setting of general papers than Cambridge ; the questions set at Cambridge appear to him to be too numerous and various, and too many questions have to be done in the time allotted to be a really searching test of merit. Whereas at Oxford it is no secret that at certain colleges the general paper is considered to be the most sifting of all. Here, for instance, is one of these papers, of which two or three questions have to be answered in three hours.

1. Discuss the part played by humour in the tragedies of Shakespeare.

2. Would a quite unprejudiced historian necessarily be dull?

3. What has mysticism contributed to the inspiration of English literature?

4. "Ancient history is more akin than mediæval history to the modern world." Discuss this statement.

5. Consider the influence of machinery upon modern society.

6. What would be the results of the greater application of science to the business of government?

7. How far is architecture conditioned by climate?

On the whole, it may be said that to literary skill as shown in English composition the history tutors attach much importance, and, indeed, a candidate at Oxford might almost obtain a scholarship on that alone. "I determined to give your pupil a scholarship," once said a history tutor to me, "on the first sentence I read in his essay—he so obviously enjoyed writing it!" Such a pronouncement, of course, must not be taken very seriously, and the boy who got that particular scholarship was well worth it on other grounds. But Oxford tutors like an occasional gamble in their selections, and are more apt, perhaps, to elect on promise than the sister university.

Besides the history and general papers and the essay, all history scholarships include language papers in Latin or Greek, and most of them also in French and German. To these language

papers the printed circulars of the colleges attach considerable importance. All history tutors, in fact, regard some knowledge of language as useful, and indeed indispensable, to the historian; and at Oxford, in the new History Moderations, unseen translations in one ancient and one modern language are now compulsory, so that no candidate for the history honours school can afford in future to neglect language, even if he has done so in the past. With regard, however, to the actual weight assigned to proficiency in the language papers there seems to be considerable divergence of practice among history tutors, and the varying degrees of importance attached to the language tests has this great advantage: that it enables boys of different kinds of ability to be successful in the various examinations. Some tutors, especially at Cambridge, regard the language papers mainly as pass-papers in which a certain standard must be reached. Others have not, as a matter of fact, found them of much value in the discovery of the ability they require. Thus in answer to the question, "Do you attach great importance to the language papers in the history examination?" the Master of Balliol and Mr. Urquhart replied, "Modern languages enter into account if very distinct promise is shown in the translation or composition, but this rarely occurs. The mere ordinary knowledge of another language, though extremely useful and almost indispensable, is not necessarily a guarantee of capacity or promise." And Mr. Barker is of a similar opinion: "I have examined, in my time, for history scholarships at twelve Oxford colleges. Some emphasise the language papers more than others. Personally, I do not attach great importance to them. Our desire is always to elect the ablest and most promising boys, and the language paper does not help greatly in their discovery."

On the other hand, there are tutors who lay considerable stress on translation, though some may prefer it to be from Latin and Greek rather than from French and German. "I attach great importance," Mr. Grant Robertson writes, "to proficiency in languages as *part* of an examination in history. Briefly my reasons are: (a) such proficiency is the best basis for teaching and acquiring scholarship in the best sense, *i.e.*, accuracy of thought, expression, and language; (b) as a necessary equipment for any serious study of history. Without Latin the study of mediæval history is impossible; without French or German modern history either in its primary or secondary sources is gravely crippled; (c) language is a key to other literatures as well as to original historical sources. My experience is that deficiency in a foreign

language invariably implies sloppy and slovenly habits of mind—the candidate thinks a paraphrase is the same as translation and cannot see that a whole principle may turn on the accurate rendering of a single word or sentence ; (d) the deficient in languages are very gravely hampered for our new history ‘previous’ and final school, which now form a single whole, *i.e.*, a three years’ course in history.” And he adds : “The essay in English is very important, and the best training for it (apart from reading) is the ability to translate into *good* English from Latin or French.”

Amongst history teachers at schools, as well as amongst university tutors, there does not seem to be any complete agreement on this subject ; but, on the whole, there is a feeling that the language factor is already of sufficient importance and that it would be a mistake to emphasise it still further. And as I have quoted a college tutor on the value of translation, I may quote the opinion of a schoolmaster on the danger of laying undue stress on language. “My experience,” says Mr. O’Regan, “makes me quite sure that it is by no means necessary (though desirable when possible) for even a really promising historian (I speak of boys) to be good at either classics or modern languages. The linguistic and thinking powers are not necessarily identical or even co-existing. When they co-exist, so much the better. But any rigorous language qualification in historical examinations for entrance scholarships at the universities would shut out a good many able historians, with great injustice to themselves and harm to history teaching in schools ; and it would also, even more unjustly, shut out many able working-men candidates. Let linguistic ability count as a subordinate element in the examination, by all means, but never more.”

There is one thing, however, in which I think history scholarship papers demand reform, and that is, modern languages and classics ought to be put on an equality. At present this is not the case. Some colleges, as has already been pointed out, provide only papers in ancient languages, or when both modern and ancient language papers are set give more weight to the latter ; others afford an opportunity to history candidates who are good at classics to take additional classical papers, whilst no similar provision is made for those who are good at modern languages. Even when modern language papers are given in history examinations the test is not considered by some to be of much value. “The existing papers in modern languages,” says Mr. Osborne, “are unsatisfactory because insufficient time is given and linguistic attainment alone is tested. For really scholarly work there is

little opportunity when all that is required is an easy piece of translation from French or German or much too hard a passage for translation into these languages."

It is of importance, in view of coming educational changes in the direction of a modern humanistic course, that modern languages and classics should, so far as possible, be put on an equality in these examinations, and it must be remembered that now in many secondary schools modern languages have taken the place, if not of Latin, at all events of Greek. As regards the character of the language test, Mr. Osborne pleads, in modern languages, for an essay. "A French or German essay is essential to encourage a liberal study of modern languages. Translation is not an adequate test from the point of view of modern humanistic study. It leads easily to cramming, whereas an essay encourages the reading of the foreign literature without which a boy will find it difficult to get at the heart of such a period as the age of Louis XIV. In France an essay in the foreign language is always insisted upon in the examinations in English and German." Personally, I am not disinclined to agree with this proposal, and I should not be opposed to an optional essay. But most university tutors and teachers are against the idea, and there seems to be a fairly general opinion that the language paper, whether in ancient or modern languages, should be in translation rather than in composition; otherwise, as Mr. Cecil Smith points out, there is a danger of history scholarships becoming merely disguised classical or modern language scholarships.

It will be noticed that the Council of the Historical Association passed a resolution supporting any proposal which would give a candidate for a history scholarship who excels in modern languages or in natural science or in mathematics an equal opportunity of distinguishing himself with a candidate who excels in classics. With that suggestion, if it is a practicable one, the present writer is in complete agreement. The mental discipline afforded, for instance, by science might be admirable for the historian, and it would make certain aspects of history, such as the industrial revolution, of far greater interest. No teacher ought to want a boy's mental energies to be exclusively occupied at school by any one subject; other studies need development as well, though secondary to the main subject. And in these days it might be a great advantage to some historians to take up the serious study of some branch of natural science for their secondary subject, without, of course, entirely neglecting languages. Personally, I should like to see history scholarship examinations in

which, besides the language paper, there was an *optional* paper in some form of natural science.

In this connection it is worth mentioning that the Council of Humanistic Studies (representing the British Academy and the Classical, English, Geographical, Historical, and Modern Language Associations) approved of a resolution to the effect that credit should be given to good work in subjects other than that of the subject of the scholarship. That resolution will, I hope, commend itself to most teachers. For instance, it has been lately pointed out in an Oxford pamphlet that of the 103 candidates who obtained classical scholarships at Oxford in 1909 only 13 eventually obtained firsts in any final school. This may be an indication that there are too many classical scholarships offered, but does it not also seem to show that the exclusively classical curriculum which these scholars pursued at school—for no curriculum is so highly specialised as that of the classical boys—unfitted them, to some extent, for the wider course of a final school? And would not a boy be more likely, for instance, to do the history papers and the political philosophy in “Greats” at Oxford with greater success if he had had more opportunity of studying modern history as his secondary subject at school? And, above all, might not such a boy be a better and more effective citizen in the future? “The value of history,” says Mr. Livingstone in his recent *Defence of Classical Education*, “is even more obvious.¹ The nation might have been saved something by a little knowledge of German history, and a study of the Napoleonic wars might have preserved us, if not from certain strategical mistakes, yet from our worst fits of despondency about ourselves and our rulers, while one great danger, as we set about social reform, is that democracy knows very little history. Yet, even so, we have learnt immensely from history, and our whole political attitude, consciously or unconsciously, is coloured by our knowledge of it. A boy must be very badly taught if he studies the Civil War without modifying some of his views; to understand Cromwell, Strafford, and Laud is a political education.” That is well said, and it comes with all the more force from such a doughty champion of the classical cause.

With regard to the historian I am strongly opposed to a boy spending more than a third to half his working hours on historical studies. He needs to develop as many different interests as are possible so long as he avoids becoming a mere smatterer; and though history will be his main interest and occupy a good deal of his attention, the discipline of some language or

¹ Than that of Literature, which he had just been discussing.

of some branch of natural science or of mathematics is desirable, if not essential, for his mental development. But in the awarding of history scholarships the "overwhelming consideration must be," as Mr. Spens says, "evidence of historical promise"; and the examination should be conducted by the history tutor with a view to its discovery, though such promise may be, and often is, found in other papers besides the purely historical papers. "It is much more important," as Professor Tout puts it, "to secure an able person of the right disposition than a person with any particular sort of knowledge."

That credit should be given for good work and historical promise discovered in a secondary subject is, however, a very different thing from giving scholarships in a combination of subjects. Of course, there are some all-round boys whom a combination of subjects would suit, and it will be very interesting to see the result of the demyships for modern subjects inaugurated by Magdalen College, Oxford, though one cannot help feeling that the award will be one of considerable difficulty. I knew one person who was a "history specialist" at Eton, who then took a mathematical scholarship at Oxford and helped his father in advanced science work at the university, and who in the intervals of leisure from this exacting pursuit was able to secure a first in Mathematical Moderations and a first in Classical Greats. But he was a genius, and there are many boys who could not reach scholarship form, for instance, in both history and languages. The danger of any such combination is that either one subject is sacrificed to the other or that the boy who is moderately proficient in both is preferred to the boy who may really be brilliant in one of the subjects.

All the history tutors consulted at the universities and all the history teachers at schools are against the wholesale amalgamation, for instance, of history and modern languages, as seems to have been adumbrated by the Headmasters' Association. The Historical Association has given some of the reasons against such a combination. "Scholarships in languages and in history," it says, "often appeal to boys with different kinds of ability; a boy may show promise in history who has no very marked linguistic gifts, or he may be good at languages and weak in history." The testimony of historians is emphatic on this point. Mr. O'Regan's opinion has already been quoted. "Boys," says Mr. Barker, "with the literary instinct do not make good students of history in many cases." "If we are to get the boys," says Mr. Laurence, "with a *flair* for history we must make our selection on that

ground alone. Linguistic ability and the historic sense do not always go together." "I should never have got a history scholarship," said the late Mr. Townsend Warner, "if Latin and Greek of a scholarship standard had been set, and I have known heaps of others." "I regard the proposal," says Mr. Hastings, "to apply a severe language test in all history scholarship examinations as reactionary and disastrous. Why, the whole value of 'history' specialising at public schools lies surely in this, that it provides intellectual scope for ablish boys (who have not the gift of idiom or an ear for languages). Surely in the present syllabus of examinations at most colleges we have a safeguard against mere knowledge-mongering, in the essay and general papers. I am convinced that the average history course of a history specialist does develop the reasoning faculty and stimulate the imagination." My own experience confirms these opinions. I have taught history for twenty years to classical boys in the sixth form at Eton, many of whom have gained classical scholarships at the universities. Some of the ablest boys have been extraordinarily good in history and could, if they had had sufficient training, have taken a history instead of a classical scholarship at the university; others, including two most brilliant classical scholars in verse-composition, were quite extraordinarily bad and seemed to be without any political or historical sense whatever. But it would be absurd to deny a brilliant classic a classical scholarship and to give it to an inferior candidate on the ground that the brilliant boy did not reach a high enough standard in modern history, just as it would be absurd that a boy who was a brilliant historian should be debarred from a scholarship because he could not reach scholarship form in modern languages.

In the second place, says the resolution of the Historical Association, the combination of history and modern languages would make the combination of history with auxiliary subjects other than modern languages impossible. We historians do not want history to be tied of necessity to modern languages; for some boys, as has been suggested, classics may be the best secondary subject, for others science or mathematics. A course, for instance, of history "specialisation" at school followed by work, first, for Classical "Greats" at Oxford—in which history scholars have not infrequently done very well—and then for the modern history final school, makes the best education possible for some boys.

In the third place, says the resolution, the abolition of scholarships for history would very adversely affect the teaching of history in schools. That is the opinion of many persons of experi-

ence. History is still a new subject at school. It was only some fifty years ago that the headmaster of Winchester said before the Public Schools Commission, "I wish we could teach more history, but as to teaching it in set lessons I should not know how to do it"; whilst an old Etonian who gave evidence before that same Commission waxed quite indignant at the suggestion that for his own knowledge of history and geography he was in the slightest degree indebted to the school of which he had once been a member! And I fear it is not untrue to say—and I hope I may say it without disrespect—that the knowledge of modern history possessed by some headmasters at the present day cannot be described as in any way profound, and that their attitude towards a subject of whose potentialities they are somewhat ignorant cannot always be characterised as very sympathetic. Let me hasten to add, however, that to the encouragement of many headmasters history owes a great deal, and that, without that encouragement, history could not possibly have developed to the extent that it has in the schools over which they preside. But we have got to remember that history is still struggling for recognition, and there is a real danger of the good work done in history in recent years being jeopardised if any ill-considered change is made in the character of the scholarship examinations.

It is to be hoped, then, that there will be no very radical alteration in the character of the history scholarship examinations, though there is certainly room for further experiment in various directions. And if with twenty years' experience of teaching I may express an opinion, I would say that these examinations have been of immeasurable importance in the development of history at schools. They have given both boys and masters a standard to work up to; they have, by the questions asked in them, affected the methods of teachers and the emphasis put on particular aspects of the various periods studied, whilst the opinions always most generously given by the examiners on the work and quality of candidates have enabled teachers to revise their own estimates. And, of course, history scholarships not only affect the comparatively few who go in for them, but the steadily increasing number of boys who, though not up to scholarship form, take up history during their last year or two at school and are brigaded with scholarship candidates for purposes of study. The history specialist—the boy who makes history his special though not, of course, his sole subject of study—originally regarded as an amiable trifle in a drawing-room subject, is beginning to be recognised as a serious and valuable factor in the intel-

lectual life of a school. It is through the study of history, it is being realised, that a certain proportion of boys obtain their best mental training, for history can open up to such boys many avenues of knowledge and can rouse their intellectual interest and ambitions. History scholarship examinations have in the past done a great deal towards moulding the curriculum of such boys, and it is to them that history teachers will continue to look in the future for the development of their subject on broad and humane lines.

C. H. K. MARTEN.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE important article by Mr. Marten, of Eton, on history scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, which we print in this number, is, we hope, to be the first of a series dealing with the problems which confront teachers of history in their daily work, vitally affect the prospects of historical study, and should be of some interest to the educational world at large. Mr. Marten's article is necessarily confined to the scholarship question as it affects boys and their teachers; in July we expect to print another dealing with the problem from the point of view of girls' schools.

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Scholarship examinations are, however, but one of the external conditions under which teachers of history in schools are condemned to live and strive to move and justify their being; and the letter we print from Miss Milner touches a very weak spot in our educational disorganisation. The other day the Minister for Agriculture remarked in Parliament that he and the Secretary for War had long agreed that it was better, as far as they could, to act together rather than against one another. One would think that universities had agreed to act on the opposite principle; "each on their own strict line they move." Will the national reorganisation, to which so much lip-service is now rendered, include a national organisation of universities?

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Annual meetings of educational associations do not always produce very tangible results, and speakers may often think that they speak in vain. It will therefore be with no little gratification that members of the Historical Association will read the following letter which we reprint from *The Times* of January 26th:—

"Sir,—Will you allow me space to remind those parents—and they must be very many—who, like myself, have had the proud sorrow of losing their sons in the service of their country, and wish to make some memorial of them, that a suitable and patriotic manner of doing so is by presenting scholarships or prizes to their sons' schools, and by providing

the funds for these with War Loan certificates? I am offering prizes for history to my two sons' respective schools—one in New Zealand and one in Scotland—because I believe this subject is very inadequately taught at present, and in the words of a speaker at the recent meeting of the Historical Association, 'Historical knowledge is an essential part of a liberal education, and absolutely necessary as a preparation for citizenship.'

"Yours, &c.,

"MOTHER."

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Among the varied activities of the Council, special reference may be made to the fact that negotiations have practically been concluded with Messrs. George Philip and Sons for the publication of an Elementary Historical Atlas.

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The following resolutions have been adopted by the Council in answer to certain questions addressed to it by the Board of Education's Modern Languages Committee:—

1. That the Council finds it very difficult to make any recommendations applicable to all schools, and feels that a certain latitude must be allowed to each school to do what is found desirable for its particular needs.

2. That the Council is in favour of boys and girls making one subject or group of subjects such as Classics or Science or Modern Languages or History their main, though not their exclusive, object of study during their later stages (*i.e.*, from 16 onwards) at a secondary school.

3. That the Council is of opinion that some foreign languages ought to be studied by all boys and girls making History their main object of study; but it thinks that some option ought to be allowed in the choice of such languages, *e.g.*, French and Latin; or Latin and Greek; or French and German.

4. That the Council is similarly of opinion that History should be studied by all boys and girls making Modern Languages their main object of study; and they think that the course suggested by the Modern Languages Committee, and embracing Language, Literature, and History, is much to be desired. The Council further considers that the teaching of Modern Languages and History should be, as far as is practicable, correlated in such a course. The Council, however, is strongly of opinion that History should be taught as a separate subject by a history specialist if possible.

5. That the Council is of opinion that in the practical working out of such courses of humanistic studies as those indicated above, while attempts are made to broaden the curriculum, the danger must be avoided of leaving insufficient time for intensive study and private reading.

6. That the Council considers it desirable for all boys and girls, in whatever subject they may be specialising, to read some Modern History during their last years at school.

7. That the Council would urge the importance of experiments on a wider scale, and in particular the formation, if possible, of an experimental secondary school in which the curriculum in all classes would consist of History and Modern Languages, with a due proportion of Science and Mathematics.

8. That the Council desires to record the strong feeling among its

members who are teachers in girls' schools that a broadening of the curriculum in the upper forms is blocked by the scholarship requirements of the universities and women's colleges. Since such highly specialised knowledge is required in the scholarship subjects in addition to compulsory Latin and Greek at Oxford and Cambridge and compulsory Latin for the Arts courses in other universities, overstrain is apt to result, and subjects such as History and English are crowded out.

9. That the Council would remind the Committee that the best devised curriculum is liable to be spoilt by the university and other public examinations as conducted at present.

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Several members of the Association have expressed a desire for a fuller account of the speeches made by the mover and seconder of the resolutions debated at the annual meeting than was possible in the "Report of Proceedings" (Leaflet No. 43), to which readers are referred for the text of the resolutions. Mr. Marten, in moving the resolutions, dealt particularly with the first.

He said it was not conceived in any spirit of hostility to other subjects. On the contrary, who better than the historian could estimate the magnitude of our debt to Greece and Rome, or the achievements of foreign nations and the influence of their literature, or the revolution which natural science had effected during the last 150 years, not only in our ways of life but in our methods of thought? And the champions of every other subject were friendly to history and were increasingly recognising its importance. The rising generation, if it was to reconstruct on sound lines, must acquire "the habit or beginning of a habit"—to quote an American professor—"of considering what has been when it discusses what is and what should be." Moreover, the aeroplane and the submarine had done away for ever with our "splendid isolation" and made it impossible for Englishmen to live any longer in complacent ignorance of the characteristics and achievements, the ideals and the heroes, the aspirations and the ambitions of all other European nations. Mr. Marten then discussed the wording of the resolution, and emphasised the importance of written work in connection with history. To so many people history was still a mere string of dates and disconnected facts, and so many teachers still clung to the love of one-word answers. It was wrong to treat a boy or a girl as a kind of pitcher to be filled up with a mass of facts. If a boy was to enjoy his history, if it was to develop his mind, he must take an active and not merely a passive part in it; he must give out as well as take in; he must learn not only how to obtain information, but also how to use it; he must learn not only how to form opinions, but also how to formulate them. The teaching of history in Germany, good as it was, suffered from that fatal defect—that it did not leave enough to the pupil. Mr. A. D. Hall said the other day of his agricultural pupils that he did not wish them when they came to him to know agriculture, but it was certainly an advantage if they could read and write. Well, for the ordinary boy, there was no better way of learning those elementary but desirable accomplishments than by answers to history questions, which taxed the mind as well as the memory.

Mr. Marten ended by calling attention to the need of fully-qualified teachers. In books on the teaching of history in France and Germany and

America nothing had struck him so much as the insistence on the important part played by the teacher. "Success," says the Prussian official memorandum, "depends, first and foremost, upon the personality of the teacher." "The most important factor in history teaching," says the American Committee of Five, "is not the curriculum, the text, or even the method, but the teacher." No one can be a history teacher in school for long without realising how many qualities he personally lacks for its proper presentation. History teachers had a great opportunity before them in the future. "The teacher of history," said the French official memorandum, "is, above all other teachers, a force in national education."

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Dr. Reid dealt principally with the second resolution. She said:—

It will probably save time if it is pointed out at once that the resolution does not refer to the preparation for the study of history, which alone is possible for children under twelve, the material for which should, as a matter of course, be drawn from the whole field of history, but to the systematic study which cannot begin until the children are able to reason and to realise the sequence of cause and effect. When that stage is reached the question arises, How is the study of history to be approached?

Our answer will be determined in the first instance by our definition of history; in the second by the place we assign to history in education.

Now, history is the record of the evolution of society. It deals with the actions, the ideas, the motives of men living in society, and describes the usages, the institutions, the governments, all that determines the relations between men, showing society itself under the form of particular and concrete examples. What, then, shall be the particular examples through which the general truths of history are to be taught? Here we must be guided by the fact that while the study of history affords mental training of a high order, calling into play the powers of observation, imagination, comparison, discrimination, generalisation, reasoning, and judgment, all of which are essential to that accurate thinking which is the true end of education, it also imparts information concerning our political, social, and economic environment which is of the highest value in preparing the scholar for life as it must be lived when school-days are over. No scheme of historical study, then, can be considered adequate which does not give the pupil an exact idea of the successive civilisations of the world and a precise knowledge of the foundation and development of his own country; show him the action of the world on his country and of his country on the world; teach him to render to all peoples the justice that is their due; widen the horizon of his mind, and leave him, with a knowledge of the present state of his country and of the world, a clear notion of his duty as a citizen and as a man.

To this end it is clear that a place must be found in the history curriculum for both general and national history. The practical question, however, is, Which is to be made the medium of instruction in history in the wide sense? For the school-life of most boys and girls is too short to allow both to be taught as they should be. Many, realising the harm done by the exclusive study of English history, would have us approach the study of history through European history; but there are strong reasons why the approach should be made rather through national history. It is a sound educational maxim to proceed from the known to the unknown, from the

particular to the general; and in the case of history it is by following a single people or country through successive centuries that the continual change undergone by society, government, manners, and religion can be most easily understood. That the country whose history is to be thus followed should be the one in which the pupils live seems obvious. Not only is it the one most interesting to them, but it is the only one whose institutions and so forth come directly under their own observation. History is hard enough for a boy or girl to understand, simply because it deals with the actions of grown men and women; there is no need to make it harder by asking them to learn it through the actions of men and women not of their own nation. Therefore, let the serious study of history be approached through the history of the home country, whether that be England or Scotland, Canada or Australia.

Not that national history is to be taught in the narrow provincial, not to say parochial, fashion of the past. Always national history must be brought into relation with the European history of which it is a part. It must never be forgotten that our own mentality, our laws, and our institutions are only local variations of the mentality, laws, and institutions of Europe as a whole. Even so English an institution as Edward I.'s Model Parliament can never be understood by comparing it with Edward VII.'s, but only by comparing it with the contemporary Parliament of Scotland, the Estates-General of France, the Cortes of Aragon and Castile, the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. In another sense than the poet's we can ask, "What do they know of England who only England know?"

Yet we can ask the question in the poet's sense too. Unhappy as has been the effect on the study of English history of its divorce from European history, it has not been more unhappy than the effect of its divorce from the history of the British Empire as a whole. We are beginning to realise that through ignoring Welsh, Irish, and Scottish history we have missed the meaning of much purely English history; but few have yet realised that the provincialism which makes the history of England the sole subject of historical study in our schools is also responsible for the neglect of recent history which is now so much deplored. It is just possible to treat our history from an exclusively English standpoint down to 1815 or even 1837; but from that time onwards purely English history is actually as well as relatively of little interest or, indeed, importance. The repeal of the Corn Laws, some measures of electoral reform, and some social legislation exhaust the purely English contribution to the history of the nineteenth century, none of them to be compared in interest or importance with the Irish Question, the Indian Mutiny, the Afghan, Zulu, and Burmese Wars, the development of the self-governing colonies, the South African War, all of them of exclusively British interest, not one of them of English origin. So abrupt is the change, indeed, that it is not surprising that most teachers have preferred to stop at 1815 or 1837 at latest. Only by taking the wider view from the beginning, and dealing from the first with the history of England as of Scotland or any other part of the Empire as a part only of the history of the whole, can the necessary unity of treatment be obtained.

That such revision of the English syllabus will involve the sacrifice of much that has hitherto had a large place in our teaching and text-books is inevitable. Nevertheless, the sacrifice must be made. To urge the teaching of European history in order that the next generation of citizens may be able to play its part in settling the affairs of Europe, and at the same time to neglect the teaching of the history of the British Empire, is very

like pulling the mote out of our brother's eye while leaving the beam in our own. The settlement of the affairs of Europe is a matter for all the European nations and not for ourselves only; but the settlement of the affairs of the British Empire is for us alone. Within a few weeks there will meet here in London an Imperial Conference which if it does not knit the Empire more closely together may shatter it to pieces. It is useless for the statesmen to devise means for closer union if the good will of the peoples for the needful sacrifices is lacking. And lacking it assuredly will be unless the people of these islands realise in time that Canada was in the beginning and still is at heart French as South Africa is Dutch, and that the Canadian, the South African, and the Australian too, for all his English descent, is no more English than the Scot or the Irishman; British they all are, but not English. It took a rebellion to teach Englishmen that Ireland has no real government; must the British Empire be broken up to teach them that the so-called self-governing colonies are really nations with a life as distinct and as self-conscious as their own? If that comes to pass, the responsibility will rest largely on the history teachers of this country who have neglected to teach the people what it was most necessary for them to know.

In the old days, when the government was wholly in the hands of the kings, the utmost care was taken to train them for their task; and the chief place was given to the study of history, the history of the world, that they might draw from it principles of government and policy, the history of their own land, that they might not come ignorant to the work that they were called to. Now that the peoples have taken the place of the kings are they to be less well equipped for their far greater task?

CORRESPONDENCE.

County School for Girls, Tonbridge.

SIR,

May I bring before the readers of HISTORY a point which I was prevented by absence from raising at the annual meeting of the Historical Association?

The second resolution (see "Proceedings," p. 5) sums up admirably the points to be kept in view in arranging a historical curriculum, but the actual carrying out of the programme there stated is rendered exceedingly difficult by the existing examination regulations. In most schools pupils at the age of about sixteen are working for some public examination. Last year for the Senior Cambridge my own fifth form took Modern European History (1815-1910), working with the keenest interest and, from an examination standpoint, very successfully. But London Matriculation will not accept this as a subject, hence the loss of a matriculation exemption certificate and a consequent veto on European history as an examination subject in 1917. Thereupon, my form having the previous year studied English history to 1815, I planned to take the history of the British Empire, only to find that the Board of Education does not accept history of the Empire as a subject admitting to a training college.

Thus London Matriculation bars "an increased study of recent history," at any rate to their matriculants, and the Board of Education declines to support the proposition "that the growth of the British Empire should form a more important part of the historical curriculum."

May I suggest that the Historical Association should point out to those responsible for drawing up the regulations alluded to above the absurdity of their position from an educational standpoint, and should press for a new syllabus, which would enable history teachers to enlarge their pupils' historical horizon without at the same time damaging their examination chances?

B. F. MILNER.

SIR,

Miss P. Woodham Smith's letter is a timely warning of at least one of the dangers which may beset history teaching in the near future, and both her letter and that of Miss Constance Stewart indicate the great advantage of some sort of sketch of general history. There is a very real danger that schools may be called upon, as a result of popular pressure, to include in their curricula a one-sided view of the development of the Empire, thereby emphasising the material side, a course which, to say the least of it, is not likely to cultivate a sympathetic outlook towards other peoples which general history undoubtedly does. Neither is this the only danger. Other aspects of history have their advocates. We need more teaching of naval history, social history, economic history, civics, etc., etc. These, being more limited in scope, are apparently easier to deal with, and, where a teacher has many subjects to take, a simple course in one of these aspects seems the only way out of the difficulty. Moreover it is possible to bring the child, to a greater extent, into contact with realities in any one of these branches. But an ample provision of books, illustrations, and other material would do much to overcome the difficulties until a more abundant supply of specially qualified history teachers is forthcoming.

We can never be satisfied, however, with the limited and, therefore, necessarily distorted views such partial aspects give, however valuable they may be for the training of the child's individuality or for cultivating historic sense. It is on this account that I write to endorse what Miss Smith says about general history. I was the more interested because the school period which she mentions coincides with the last year of the child's life in the primary school. My experience entirely confirms what both she and Miss Stewart say. The children are much more interested in general history, and, indeed, their own history becomes clearer and acquires a new and more accurate character.

Much of the difficulty amongst qualified history teachers arises from the different interpretation of the term "general history." To the historian it means one thing, to the university student another, to the secondary school pupil teacher, and to the child in the primary school still another. The French have long realised this, and the varying content of the subject expresses itself in their text-books both in matter and fulness appropriate to each stage of the pupil's education. Once this difficulty of interpretation is overcome the rest will be easy.

It would be strange, indeed, if the present somewhat clamant demand for the inclusion of more history dealing with the Empire—a perfectly reasonable demand if embodied in a scheme of general history—should develop into history teaching not far removed from that which has helped to bring such disastrous results to Germany. This we may hope to avoid if we beware of teaching history with a special label. Such specialised studies are excellent for university and post-graduate students.

JOS. A. WHITE.

St. Paul's School, W. Kensington.

SIR,

Two points seem to me to call for criticism in an otherwise admirable review of an admirable book.

(1) The reviewer—E. Jeffries Davis—suggests that the new edition of "Green's Shorter History" would make a good school text-book and that the points in which it admittedly needs revision, in the light of subsequent research, would give openings to a good teacher. This may be true of university teaching, where history is taught by specialists and one wants to develop critical faculties. But so long as nine out of ten history-teachers at schools are classical scholars, depending entirely on their text-book plus—possibly—Macaulay, it is necessary, above all, to use accurate text-books.

(2) The reviewer hints that a Radical-Labour-Nationalist point of view is needed as an antidote.

I agree that historians wish all material and points of view to be available, but I maintain that history has always been biased *against* the Tory side. Nine out of ten of our students take their ideas of Magna Carta from Green, of the Stuarts from Macaulay, and of "Free Trade" from Mill. Fletcher and Kipling are barred because they are patriotic, in the name of a broadmindedness which loves every country but its own!

If we give our pupils Green and Macaulay, let us also give them Disraeli, Scott, Kipling, etc., as historical *literature*. But for history lessons we must depend on books founded on up-to-date research, which tell in simple language the conclusions of Stubbs, Gardiner, M'Kechnie, Oman, Prothero, Dicey, Anson, Johnson, Pollard, Cunningham, Welsford, Barker, Grant Robertson, etc. After all, history is concerned with the truth!

L. CECIL SMITH.

SIR,

I wish to correct a slip in my Ludlow article in No. 3 of HISTORY. The parish church has no steeple, only a lofty lantern-tower. How, after having photographed the church from every side, I wrote "steeple" and failed to notice the slip in proof it is impossible to conceive.

J. E. MORRIS.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

Ancient Times: A History of the Early World. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. Small 8vo, pp. 731, 8 coloured plates, 276 figures, 38 maps. Ginn. 1916. 1.50 dollars.

THIS is a most valorous essay to compress the essential meaning of all history down to Charlemagne in one pocket volume. Professor Breasted has entirely escaped from the mere chronicle, or the cram-book. The real meaning of all the movement of peoples is dealt with. The minor Roman emperors are not even named—none between Caracalla and Aurelian; but the character of Roman civilisation and its effect on the world takes fifty pages. This is as it should be for an elementary history; the detail is always kept back from interfering with the really important sense of things. The miserable political squabbles of Greece occupy only a few pages, while two hundred pages are given to the changing types of Greek civilisation and its modern meaning, in which the Hellenistic age receives a fair share. There is no crying over lost causes; the rule of the senatorial oligarchy and of Cæsar are given full credit for their ability and necessity.

The work is divided in equal thirds between Rome, Greece, and all the earlier civilisations. It begins with a map and diagram of the glacial ages. Egypt, Babylonia, and the rest of the Eastern world have about equal treatment. Unfortunately, the Egyptian's own history is rejected in favour of impossible theories of chronology from Berlin. Another point we may wish different is the attribution of the first reading of hieroglyphs to Champollion's work on an obelisk in 1822. Certainly by January 1st, 1822, Sir Wm. Gell was already familiar with the reading of the same names on the Rosetta stone, as well as some other cartouches, as shown by a letter of his to Nibby in my possession. In such a great mass of statements there will doubtless be many on which different views exist, so that it would be fruitless to begin criticism. It is to be hoped that the spirit of this book will reach English teaching; but if an English edition is put out it is desirable that many of the indistinct blocks in the text should be changed; they are far below the style of the old cuts in Smith's histories fifty years ago. A less shiny paper, with hard line drawings, and a freer binding would much improve the book in use.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

Public Administration in Ancient India. By P. BANERJEA. xi+298 pp. Macmillan and Co. 1916. 7s. 6d. net.

In his preface the author explains that the object of his book is to give within a small compass all the important facts relating to the

administrative system of ancient India, and in a series of chapters of much interest he has essayed to describe the constitution of the State and its various activities. There is, however, no historical framework to the picture, and we are left to think that what is said holds good for the long period of time extending from the foundation of the great empire of Chandragupta Maurya after the invasion of Alexander the Great, to beyond the destruction of the dominion ruled over by the Guptas in the fifth century A.D., although in the interval after the Maurya empire fell to pieces India had been invaded by Sakas, Parthians, and Yuechi and Kushan tribes, who may ultimately have become assimilated by the native population, but whose coming must have upset such rule as at the time existed.

In an introductory chapter the sources of information on which reliance is placed are enumerated and discussed, and it will be noticed that few of these are of a contemporary or historical character. These sources are the only ones that are known to exist, and it seems necessary to caution the reader against the too literal acceptance of the picture that has been drawn of the well-ordered, highly organised, and democratically governed State of those dark ages. The author, indeed, maintains that nothing has been said by him which is not supported by reliable evidence; but in truth a great part of the description of the administrative system is based on the precepts of the "*Kautalya Arthasāstra*," the science of economics by Kautalya, this Kautalya being identified by the author with Chanakya, the Minister who helped Chandragupta Maurya to power; and he has had to assume that the precepts and rules contained in the work were actually carried into practice, and continued in spite of change of rulers, the breaking up of kingdoms, and vicissitudes of all kinds. No doubt in respect of some matters and to some extent there is corroboration in the account given by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador of Seleukos to the Court of Chandragupta Maurya; but it would be rash to assume that, because some of the features of the system recommended in the "*Kautalya Arthasāstra*" or something resembling them were found in existence, the entire State was organised on that model. We find also not only too much of the language of modern politics, but also too many modern political notions applied in the interpretation of the sayings of ancient writers, with the result that we are asked to believe, on evidence that is not very convincing, that in ancient India the system of government was a limited monarchy; that the relation between the ruler and the ruled was contractual; that there was a Cabinet or Council of Ministers, without whose consent the king could not act; that it was the Ministers who were responsible not only to the king, but to the people. In proof of this last proposition the far from convincing case is cited, that when Rājyavardhana, the heir-apparent of the ruler of Thānesar, was treacherously murdered by a king of Bengal, the Ministers told his brother, who succeeded to the throne, that they were to blame for the misfortune, for they ought not to have allowed Rājyavardhana to go to a foreign king's camp unguarded.

Again, one must not lose sight of the fact, as the author appears to do at times, that the existence of the caste system was quite incompatible with anything like popular or democratic government, and with an equal administration of justice, for there was no equality before the law; and although, under strong rulers, a fair measure of good government may have been attained, the author's statement

that, under the Emperor Asoka, the State closely approximated to the highest type of a culture State, its aim being to secure the maximum of well-being of the people in every department of life, is one to which exception might be taken. "Culture-State" is surely not an English word. The foreign word connotes rather the strengthening of the State than the welfare of the people. So the aim of Asoka was the promotion of the "growth of piety" and to enforce religion and morality according to his view on his people.

Again, one has to accept on trust the statement that the administration of justice was kept separate from the executive functions of the State and no interference with the judicial business by the executive was permitted. The judicial administration was, we are told, very efficient, and this is ascribed to the uprightness of the judges, the efficiency of the police, and the probity of the people. It is only in regard to the probity of the people that there is any evidence. The author says adequate means were taken to secure the efficiency of the police. There is, however, nothing mentioned by him in this connection except that the "Agni Purāṇa" says: "The king should pay to the owner the price of an article stolen by a thief, and reimburse himself out of the salaries of police officers"; our author's comment upon which is: "This wise regulation must have contributed in no small measure to the efficiency of the police." *O sancta simplicitas!*

The subjects treated of in other chapters—finance, military organisation, public works, industry and commerce—are not so liable to be looked at with a political bias; they contain much interesting matter, but cannot be noticed further here. Apart from the caution which it seemed right to give, the book may be highly commended as a study of early views and speculations on the subject of administration. It is written with much skill and learning, and has the merit of being very readable.

J. W. NEILL.

The Place-Names of Durham. By CHARLES E. JACKSON. 8vo. 115 pp. G. Allen and Unwin. 1916. 5s. n.

THIS work supplies early forms of the names and has to this extent some value. The writer's qualifications for the task he set himself are of the slenderest, as every page of his book bears witness. Take for example his knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. "If the *r* of Cocker has not been needlessly introduced, as was often the case, it may represent a dative case, and be from A.-S. *coc*, cock, with reference to wild fowl, and be 'the cock-stream'" (p. 39). Again (p. 59), "A.-S. *weg*=a way, or road. The word is common to many Aryan dialects; its origin is probably Sans. *vah*, seen in Latin *vehere*=to carry, English *vehicle*." Mr. Jackson derives Greatham "from the A.-S. *grith*=peace. . . . The Anglo-Saxon rover who made himself a home in the sheltered and safe seclusion of a pleasant stream after struggling with a stormy North Sea would not need a very romantic imagination to call it Grytham, i.e., 'Home of peace'" (p. 60). There is a great deal of this sort of thing in the book. On p. 71 we read "In A.-S. *c* was hard in all positions." Having ascertained that the Old English word for *church* comes from the Greek, the author says "I think it is clear that some of our A.-S. forbears had been converted to Christianity by Greek-

speaking missionaries ere leaving their native shores for this land" (p. 74). The river-name Greta is from "*greetan*=to murmur" (p. 76). Of the O. E. *lamb* we read that "there was considerable variation in the spelling of the word, e.g., *lomb*, *lomb*, *lombor*" (p. 77). Here is a gem: "The word (Newbiggin) is connected with the M. E. *bigg*, Scand. *bygge*, A.-S. *bu*=a dwelling, but all these words are from a common source, the oldest known forms of which are the Sans. *as*=to be and *vas*=to dwell" (p. 82). One or two more gems and we have done. Of Stella near Newcastle Mr. Jackson says: "The only connection this pretty name has with the heavens is through the terminal *leah*=a lighted place" (p. 99). Of Thrislington he says "The popular derivation of this word from the fabled custom of drilling, or, the old form, thrilling the ears of the person is, of course, worthless. Its real origin is the Greek word *τρέχειν* =to run, and means a runner, or messenger. Cf. I. Kings, xviii., 46, where Elijah *ran* before Ahab as a sign of respect" (pp. 103-104). Under Whorlton he says: "Now modern *orchard* is the A.-S. *ortgeard*, *orceard*, which word is a compound of Latin *hortus*=garden, and A.-S. *geard*=yard."

We have left many dozens of other gems in the mine from which the above have been taken. The late Professor Skeat would have enjoyed mauling this book. If Mr. Jackson had not treated other (mostly unnamed) writers on place-names so superciliously we should have forbore to convict him out of his own mouth. In his preface he says: "It is, however, positively amazing what 'stuff' is in cold blood put forth in this respect."

W. J. SEDGFIELD.

The Manufacture of Historical Material: An Elementary Study in the Sources of Story. By J. W. JEUDWINE, LL.B. (Camb.), of Lincoln's Inn. Pp. xxvii+320. Williams and Norgate. 1916. 6s. net.

THERE was once a student who spent the best part of a laborious life in the British Museum seeking to prove that several centuries of mediæval history had been invented by mediæval chroniclers, and that the world is really some hundreds of years younger than is commonly believed. It was an honest, but a pathetic, attempt, which started from the assumption that chronicles were the basis of mediæval history, and that, if that foundation were removed, nothing would remain. The unfortunate student had never heard of records, and never realised that, even if he succeeded in demolishing the mediæval chronicle, the real foundations of mediæval history would remain untouched. Mr. Jeudwine is entitled to our sympathy on somewhat similar grounds. His thesis is that "at present the condition of historical science is a hindrance to educational methods and a danger to political life" (p. 6), and he selects, as "characteristic of our modern teaching of history" (p. 160), the most flagrant example known of modern editorial ineptitude. Franck Bright's omission of Roman Britain is regarded as typical (p. 244), but York Powell is not mentioned, and Mr. Jeudwine laments that historical students are allowed to know nothing of the Sagas (p. 189). He sympathetically remarks (p. 247) that "it must be very hard for a university student, brought up on constitutional history, to make anything of the information lavishly poured out in the chapter on franchises in Professor Vinogradoff's *English Society in the Eleventh*

Century. Constitutional history would give him no idea that there were such things as franchises"! Mr. Jeudwine does not appear himself to have read Stubbs's *Constitutional History* or studied his *Select Charters*, and has no idea that either of those works comes within the ken of university students of history. All this indicates that Mr. Jeudwine's knowledge (if any) of our university schools of history was acquired about half a century ago, and that he has since been ploughing a very lonely and sandy furrow. He is painfully unaware of the fact that there are, and have been for years, in several of our universities seminars in which students, even undergraduate students, of history are systematically trained in those "elementary" studies in sources which Mr. Jeudwine regards as his own revelation.

But we are afraid that they will derive little help from Mr. Jeudwine. He appears to be quite unfamiliar with the truth, inculcated in so accessible a book as Professor Tout's volume in the *Political History of England*, about the distinction between records and chronicles; and wherever he speaks of "monastic records" he means monastic chronicles. He writes as though every mediæval historian was a monk, and tells us (p. 148) that the archdeacons, like Henry of Huntingdon and Ralph de Diceto, were "the men of business of the monastery." Then Mr. Jeudwine has the boldness to give us a chapter on the "Manuscripts of Laws" without, so far as we can discover, ever having seen the manuscript of any law at all; and he is innocent of palæography and diplomatic. He has made some use of recently-edited year-books, but confesses (p. 227) that "law French and black letter" are too much for him without "the careful guardianship of Messrs. Horwood, Maitland, and Pike." It is all charmingly ingenuous, and Mr. Jeudwine's intentions are excellent; but it is such a pity that, in adopting history as his hobby, and before proceeding to write about historical science, he did not seek the means, which are readily available, of making himself acquainted with the elements of its principles and practice. How much labour he might have been saved had he only been told of Gross!

A. F. POLLARD.

Warwick the Kingmaker. By RENÉ FRANCIS, B.A. London: George G. Harrap and Co. 2s. n.

THIS is a pleasantly written book, but one of no historical value. It practically adds nothing to Professor Oman's book of the same name, and though the facts of Warwick's life have been well collected, there is such a lack of historical setting as to make the book most dangerous for use in schools. For instance, a sentence such as the following shows that the author has no real knowledge of mediæval history: "By the methods of feudalism in England, not merely the nobles, but all who could claim gentle birth, 'commended' their lands to the Crown, making themselves, in fact, Crown tenants" (p. 24).

Further, the whole trend of the book is to paint the Yorkists as "progressists" (the word is our author's), and to show Warwick as not like other barons, but a sort of paragon and leader of the poorer classes (pp. 58, 60, 124, 157), a point of view which is hardly in agreement with modern research. Towards the trading classes, we

are told, Warwick showed no sympathy, though the author adds: "I personally refuse to believe that this was due to any old-fashioned views on his part or pride of birth" (p. 180)—a remark so entirely devoid of any understanding of mediæval history that we are prepared for his open-mouthed astonishment that "a mere grocer became Lord Mayor of London in Edward IV.'s reign, and knight at that!" (pp. 59-60).

K. H. VICKERS.

England's First Great War Minister: How Wolsey made a New Army and Navy and Organised the English Expedition to Artois and Flanders in 1513, and How Things which Happened Then May Inspire and Guide Us now in 1916. By ERNEST LAW. Pp. xxvi+273. With portraits and facsimiles. London: Bell and Sons. 1916. 6s. net.

MR. ERNEST LAW has put together from Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.* a number of interesting details about the singularly barren war in France in 1513, but his book remains, nevertheless, an eloquent example of how history should not be written. For one thing, under the guise of a book on Wolsey it is full of charges and insinuations against living statesmen, and history is here brought into touch with politics, not with the effect of elevating the politics, but of degrading the history. For another, Mr. Law is quite innocent of that general knowledge of history which alone enables the student to see any particular epoch or person in proper perspective, and consequently rushes into sweeping generalisations which are simply ludicrous. Take, for instance, his title, "England's first great War Minister." Why "first"? Mr. Law ventures on no comparison of Wolsey with any earlier organiser of English victories; possibly he excludes Alfred as being a monarch and not a minister, but does he think that Sluys and Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt were won without organisation? or is it merely that he knows nothing about it? What, again, does Mr. Law mean by a "New Army"? He does not condescend to explain, and there is nothing to show that the means taken to raise men for the campaign of 1513 differed in the smallest detail from those adopted on scores of previous occasions. It is the same with "Wolsey's War Budget of 1513." As a matter of fact, Parliament did not sit in 1513 at all, but Mr. Law has evolved a session out of his own imagination and enriched it with an equally fictitious budget which he likens to those of 1915 and 1916 and endows with a non-existent novelty. He is quite unfamiliar with the history of English finance, and when he says (p. 31) that, until Wolsey "took the problem in hand, there had been no regular accounting, no control and audit," all that it means is that he is unacquainted with the earlier methods, and apparently has not heard of the mediæval exchequer. So, too, when he vaunts the superiority of the Tudor council "of only some half-a-dozen members" to our "twenty-three wrangling members," he is only advertising his own ignorance of the fact that Henry VII.'s council numbered over fifty. But even a scholarship limited to Wolsey's French War of 1513 might have saved Mr. Law from the conclusion (p. 169) that "the very groundwork and foundation of all Wolsey's foreign policy" was "avoidance of military enterprises on the Continent and peace and amity with France"!

And if Mr. Law had made less of a fiasco of his own limited task we might pay more respect to his unlimited censure of what he regards as the muddles of other people. F.

Slingelandt's Efforts towards European Peace. By DR. A. GOSLINGA.
Part I. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1915.

THIS book originally appeared as a thesis for the doctorate at Leyden University. It is one of a series of monographs on the diplomatic history of the Dutch Republic during the eighteenth century, which were inspired by the late Professor Bussemaker, whose death at an early age in September, 1914, was a severe loss to the study of history in Holland.

Dr. Goslinga's work deals with a period of continuous international crisis, not unlike that which preceded the present war. The diplomats had an exceedingly busy time; scare followed scare; congress alternated with conference. It was the decade from 1727 onwards, when Spain and Austria were the elements of unrest in Europe. The Europe of those days was not more fortunate than ours has been, for although Holland avoided war so far as those particular occasions were concerned, war broke out in 1740 over other matters. It is the object of this book to show to how large an extent the precarious preservation of peace during the 'twenties and 'thirties, which is generally ascribed to Fleury and Walpole alone, was due to the strenuous and courageous efforts of Simon van Slingelandt, the last of the great Grand Pensionaries of Holland, who held this office from 1727 till his death in 1786, and who can, as there was no Stadhouder at that time, be described as the Prime Minister and Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the United Netherlands.

It has long been a commonplace to say that with the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht the rôle of the Dutch Republic in European politics was played out: that the exhaustion following upon the War of the Spanish Succession—eleven strenuous years, during which the small State had asked far too much of itself—caused the Dutch statesmen practically to withdraw from the concert of Europe, while the other Powers considered her from 1713 onwards as a mere annexe to England, the only victor of Utrecht. In Holland it has in recent years been recognised—thanks not in the last place to the researches of Professor Bussemaker—that this view contains a large element of exaggeration: it is, in fact, an anachronism, the situation of the second half of the eighteenth century, when at last the incurable decline of the once glorious Republic had become obvious to everybody, being, by a not unnatural process of optical illusion, projected back to the period immediately following the great war that cost the Dutch so much in blood and treasure. Foreign historians, however, often cling to the old prejudice. Dr. Goslinga mentions MM. Wiesener, Malet, and Bourgeois, and Herren Weber and Droysen, and these are, all and sundry, writers who have made a special study of the diplomatic history of the period. It is largely with the object of contributing to the dispelling of this tenacious misconception that Dr. Goslinga has written his book in English—not more perfect English than is to be expected from a foreigner.

The book is based on extensive researches undertaken in the

Hague Rijks Archief, the London Record Office, and the Paris Affaires Etrangères, and on as complete a knowledge of old and new historical literature in four languages as can be desired. The method, if lacking in brilliancy, deserves respect on account of its meticulous accuracy and thoroughness. This first part of 400 solid pages is mainly about the negotiations of a little more than two years (June, 1727–November, 1729); and an account of such painstaking completeness of long-drawn-out diplomatic conversations and correspondence on matters which, viewed from this distance, have an appearance of almost uncanny unreality is saved from insuperable aridity only by the author's genuine affection and admiration for his hero. Slingelandt, of whose long career before he became Grand Pensionary little is known, owing to the anonymity of the oligarchical system under which his lot was cast, certainly appears here as a statesman of clear insight in international affairs, who placed his strong will and great influence unreservedly at the service of peace.

One of the points which are fully dealt with in Dr. Goslinga's first volume is the affair of the Company of Ostend. It is a well-known fact that the Dutch, who feared the commercial competition of their southern neighbours, succeeded, with the assistance of England, in suppressing the new company as constituting a breach of the terms of the Peace of Utrecht (which in this respect were no more than a confirmation of the Peace of Munster). As a general proposition, Dr. Goslinga thinks that "too much significance has been given to the part played by the Ostend Company in the negotiations of the period." That is to say, the desire of the Republic to do away with a commercial rival had little to do with the war scares which shook Europe. Dr. Goslinga enters into a controversy on this and other aspects of the affair with M. Huisman, author of *La Belgique commerciale et l'empereur Charles VI. La Compagnie d'Ostende* (1902). The Ostend affair is certainly not a very creditable chapter in the history of either Holland or England. (Dr. Goslinga, by the way, maintains, against J. B. Hertz, *English Hist. Rev.*, xxii., 255–279, that the Republic had the lead in the campaign against the company, and that England assisted only because she wanted the co-operation of the Republic in other spheres of European politics.) Still, Dr. Goslinga performs what is no more than an act of historical justice in showing that the very able book of M. Huisman, in which the Dutch are made to play the part of the villain, errs in some of its juridical arguments, and most of all in that it leaves the spirit of the times altogether out of account. No Dutchman will now find pleasure in reading about the suppression of the Ostend Company. But in appealing to public morality, "il faut juger des actions d'après leur date."

P. GEYL.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

PROGRESS AND HISTORY. Ed. F. S. Marvin. 314 pp. Milford. 8s. 6d. n. (pp. 3, 21).

THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION of History. By Shailer Mathews. Pp. x+227. Harvard Univ. Press. 6s. 6d. n.

EARLY EGYPTIAN RECORDS of Travel. Vol. II., some texts of the xviiiith Dynasty. By D. Saton. Princeton Univ. Press. 32s. 6d. n.

A HISTORY of Greek Economic Thought. By A. A. Trever. 162 pp. Chicago Univ. Press. 3s. 6d. n.

THE EVOLUTION of Coinage. By G. Macdonald. viii+148 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 1s. 3d. n.

THE DATED ALEXANDER COINAGE of Sidon and Ake. By E. T. Newell. 72 pp., 10 plates. Yale Univ. Press. 12s. 6d. n.

THE PROSECUTION of JESUS : its date, history, and legality. By R. W. Husband. vii+302 pp. Bibliography. Princeton Univ. Press. 6s. 6d. n. (p. 160.)

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION to the Private Law of Rome. By the late James Muirhead. Revised ed. H. Goudy and Alex. Grant. xxviii+443 pp. Black. 21s. n. (p. 630, 1916.)

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI. Part xii. Ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. 352 pp. Egypt Exploration Fund. 25s. (p. 56.)

Official and private documents, illustrating the period from Septimius Severus to Constantine.

THE ROMANO-BRITISH SITE on Lowbury Hill, Berks. By D. Atkinson. Intro. F. Haverfield. viii+124 pp. Reading Univ. College. 5s.

EXCAVATIONS on the site of the Romano-British Town of Magna, Kenchester, 1912-13. By G. H. Jack and A. G. K. Hayter. 93 pp. Hereford : Jakeman and Carver.

THE TOWNS of ROMAN BRITAIN. By J. O. Bevan. viii+66 pp. Chapman and Hall. 2s. 6d. n.

ENGLAND : from Earliest Times to the Great Charter. By Gilbert Stone. xx+618 pp. Harrap. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 620.)

OUTLINES of MEDIEVAL HISTORY (395+1492 A.D.). By C. W. Previté Orton. xii+585 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 137.)

SLAVERY in GERMANIC SOCIETY during the Middle Ages. xvi+158 pp. By Agnes M. Wergeland. Chicago Univ. Press. 4s. 6d. n.

GERMANY. By W. T. Waugh. (The Nation's Histories.) xi+404 pp. Jack. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 618.)

POLAND. By G. E. Slocombe. (The Nation's Histories.) ix+316 pp. Jack. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 87.)

POLAND Past and Present. By J. H. Harley. Preface by L. Mickiewicz. 255 pp. Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d. n. (pp. 87, 153, 178, 190.)

JAPAN. By F. Hadland Davis. (The Nation's Histories.) 323 pp. Jack. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 8.)

NICHIREN, the Buddhist Prophet. By Masaharu Anesaki. xi+160 pp. Harvard Univ. Press. 5s. 6d. n.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT of Religion in China. By W. J. Clennell. 260 pp. Fisher Unwin. 6s. n.

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E. J. D.

HISTORY

JULY, 1917.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
WHITEHALL, LONDON, S.W. 1.
June 7th, 1917.

DEAR MRS. GREEN,

You have asked me to write a few words which may serve to encourage the Historical Association to persevere in its work, despite the difficulties and discouragements of the present time. I need hardly assure the members of the Association of the great importance of preserving the continuity of learned effort in this country. It will indeed be a disaster if any society formed for a learned and scientific purpose, and discharging at the same time a valuable office in popularising the results of historical research, should intermit its activities by reason of the war, because threads once broken are not easily tied together again.

Now in the matter of the Historical Association, I cannot affect to speak with impartiality. John Grote, a greater man than his brother, the Greek historian, once expressed regret at the tendency of all studies to run to History, and I suppose it is true that the introduction of the historical method into all our great studies is calculated to blunt the keen edge of speculative contrarieties. But, on the other hand, everybody must admit that the historical method of treating a subject is the only scientific method and that our ordinary education has suffered a very great deal by its wholly inadequate recognition of the historical basis of all study.

Boys and girls are supposed to learn French. They dip into a French Grammar, they read a few fragments of French literature—perhaps, if they are lucky, they are afforded some exercises in the colloquial use of the language—but how many boys and girls who are supposed to have learnt some French in our Secondary Schools have the faintest notion of the French people, of the rôle which the French nation has played in the history of

Europe, or of the general social structure of the country with whose language and literature they are presumed to have acquired some shadow of acquaintance? Even the teaching of Greek and Latin, which has long been the most effectively taught subject in our better Secondary Schools, has been unintelligently divorced from the study of classical antiquity in its broader aspects. To me it is inconceivable that the study of any literature should be intelligently pursued unless it is surveyed in the context of history. In this particular respect German education appears to me to have a distinct advantage over the system which prevailed in England until very recent times. I had some experience of teaching German Rhodes Scholars at Oxford. They were not brilliant men; upon the side of linguistic scholarship they were decidedly inferior to the best products of our English public schools, but they did appear to me to have been given a more intelligent comprehension of the main outlines of classical antiquity and to have a firmer grasp of its essential features than English boys of similar aptitudes would naturally derive from their school training.

We are, however, just beginning to make a marked improvement in our historical teaching in the schools. The effect of the Modern History Schools at Oxford and Cambridge and in the newer Universities is beginning to be felt. Specialist History masters are being appointed, the level of historical attainments shown in History Scholarship Examinations is steadily rising, and the formation of the Historical Association itself is a sign of this quickened and most beneficial interest. The short and practical bibliographies, so carefully compiled by the Association, will be of great help to teachers all over the country, and will assist the formation of good historical libraries in our schools.

One other point. The catastrophe in which the world is involved is very largely due to the vague generalizations of rhetorical but ignorant persons with respect to the character, intentions, and probable action of foreign countries, and it is only to the diffusion of a sound knowledge of modern European history through the community that we can look for an improvement in the quality of the judgments which we pass upon the complicated course of international affairs.

Yours sincerely,

H. A. L. FISHER.

IRISH NATIONAL TRADITION

MANY different definitions of "nationality" are current in England. The trend of thought and action for the last 250 years has been turned in a special direction, in which the expansion of an Empire has overspread the idea of a nation. The term has been obscured or forgotten, till under stress of war, and amid the cries of nationalities in extremity, it has been found necessary to find a definition; and arguments have been hurried forward to show that a nation is based on race, dynasty, geography, economics, religion, social equality, the stage of civilization, accepted political form, and so on. None of these definitions spring out of intimate experience. They are matters of the head, not of the heart. Perhaps they all contain some of the truth. It may indeed be that there are in effect as many meanings and purposes of "nationality" as there are "nations." "In my Father's house are many mansions," and the peoples may have found various roads leading to the hopes and the obligations of a nation. In each we must seek a separate value. What then is the value of Irish nationality? Which of these definitions will comprise it? Has it any real foundation? Here a problem is presented, unique, without parallel in Europe, a problem which can still fire the heart and enlarge the imagination.

To understand what the problem is we have to escape from the whole range of the English ideas which have been around us from our childhood and to enter into another world. Take a single illustration. A writer in the *Round Table* of September, 1916, observes that it is patent to every foreigner and to every colonial that the British are not a "nation" in the same sense as the French, and the reason he gives is "that in Britain the revolution of social equality has never yet been made." The remedies proposed are the organization of industry, the settlement of problems between capital and labour, and the general improvement of education. His lesson apparently is that by combining French equality with German organization the British

"nation" would find its completion. The remedies are practical and, so to speak, external, without reference to the spiritual life and tradition of a people.

Such a notion of national life, political, industrial, and advantageous, could not arise, nor could it be understood among the Irish. Here we come at once on the main dividing line between the genius of the English and the Irish peoples, and the inspiration of their national life. The English by political instinct, and by outward circumstances, found in the State their unity. In a centralized country powerful rulers like Henry II., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Cromwell, could by their direction of its internal policy and its external relations affect the character of the country and determine its future. So completely has the political ideal dominated general thought, that it does not seem to the English possible to conceive of a "nation" save under a fixed political form. The idea of a common literary tradition formed no essential part of their national faith. No need of it was ever felt. It is significant that not till 1900 did England require that her children should be taught the history of their country. English literature, if it was one of the glories of the English people, was never their binding force. While England was being hammered and trampled into a political unity, every district within it retained its separate literary existence. Local traditions went hand in hand with local dialects, so that an expert can easily tell whether a MS. is of the north, middle, or south: and the various dialects remained indeed so different that English poems have been translated from one into another. Literature was always free, ready to assimilate from every side, to develop local peculiarities, to express individual eccentricities or aspirations, to take its own way. Such freedom has given it a various excellence and a great bravery. It has never known the rule of the schools, and by that very fact it has not been the possession of any caste or class. Still less has it laid hold of the heart of the people or become their pride. It is the creation of the few, and judged by the few.

If we turn to Ireland, on the other hand, we find a country where for some 1,500 years, as far back as historic knowledge can reach, one national force has overshadowed and dominated all others. It has been the power of a great literary tradition. Political power was not centralized, and no single man was in a position to determine what the people should think, believe, or do. But in the learned tradition of the race there was a determined order. In their intellectual and spiritual inheritance

was the very essence of national life, the substance of its existence, the warrant of its value, the assurance of its continuity.

The contrast is profound between the two conceptions of the soul of a people, the vital force of a nation's growth. It is vain to ignore the difference. There is however no need to decry either the English or the Irish mode of development, the one or the other, any more than it is necessary to compare the importance of sea or mountains in the structure of the globe. Each has its own significance. Each reaches out of infinity and goes back to it again.

The subject of Irish tradition and culture is still so unexplored that the best scholar feels least inclined to dogmatise. Certainly none can ever venture again to dogmatise in the old harsh and vulgar sense of contempt. There is in Ireland a fine and fascinating literature which, because it has never been studied as European literatures have been studied, has been ignorantly assumed to be of merely "barbaric" interest. This judgment was never one of competent knowledge; and when the political reasons which gave it a false authority have ceased a finer understanding will take its place. New secrets will be yielded up to scholars. In European literature there will perhaps be no study so alluring to the really original mind as this region, where scarcely a path is trodden by more than a solitary worker, and where the adventurer of ingenious intelligence will find rising before him hope beyond hope of intellectual reward. The latest research points to lines of thought which have been too long obscured. No doubt much will be corrected or enlarged in detail, but there are general considerations which cannot be dismissed as having no validity.

Ireland was not only to itself but to the whole mediæval world the island of romance. Romance hung about its obscure origins. Where the first settlers came from we do not know. Possibly the belief in their Spanish descent sprang, like so many Irish origins, from a literary soil—perhaps from a single sentence of Orosius writing in the fourth century, that "From the Castle of Brigantia Ireland could be seen." The Irish bards took up the story from here or elsewhere. "In a clear winter's night," was their common report, "Ireland was first seen from Spain." The early maps of Western Europe gave some support to the view, for in these the coasts of Spain approached so near to Ireland that it seemed but a stone's throw across. In any case, from one reason or another, in all the succeeding centuries both Irish and Spaniards did believe in this brotherhood. Out of this belief

grew the extraordinary excitement on both sides of the Irish Sea when the Spanish Armada coasted along the Irish shores, and among English and Irish the cry arose that the brothers of the Irish had come to bring them help—possibly the most remarkable instance known of the power of literary tradition.

At the first knowledge we have of it Irish literature is already a conscious national art, in which scholars recognize “the earliest voice from the dawn of Western European civilization, the most primitive and original among the literatures of Western Europe.” The historic life of Irish people began when the latest Celtic settlers, afterwards known as the Milesians, established their dynasties at Tara, Allen, and Cashel, between the first and the fourth centuries. The later history of the island was foreshadowed in the story of these new dynasties. Unlike Roman or English conquerors in Britain, they did not seek to create a new nation by obliterating the older race and the older life to replace it by their own civilization and law. Their great work was to gather up the ancient pieties of the inhabitants, and by uniting their own traditions with those of the subject races to form a body of epic material valid for all the peoples old and new of the island. It is probable, though we have no certain proof, that centres of learning had existed in pre-historic times. But if we may judge by what happened in later wars, when schools were scattered the guardians of old lore sought shelter in the refuges of the defeated peoples, among tillers of the ground and wandering cattle-herds. Here there lingered on remnants of oral tradition, partly based on historical events, partly the universal folk-tale motives, and partly perhaps indigenous inventions, mythological or other, of the Irish themselves; and these the new *literati* collected to add to their own legends and memories in founding a national history and literature. To give form and authority to fragments of oral tradition they used the fiction of calling up heroes of the past to recite the ancient history of the island. Thus there could be no “settling of the manor of Tara” till Fintan, the sage saved from the Flood, had been summoned from the recesses of Kerry to recount to the nobles assembled on the Hill the conquests and wars of Ireland, its races and laws since the Deluge; and so “he ended his life and his age.” “The place where he is buried is uncertain however.” So also the warriors Oissin and Cailte were maintained for centuries in the sorrow and gloom of extreme old age till St. Patrick could hear with rapture their tales of the mighty hunting and fighting of Fionn and his Fiana. We can dimly follow the work

of bringing the old world into the new age in the story of the young hero Cuchulainn—the epic of the Táin-Bó-Cúailnge (Cattle Raid of Cooley). The Milesian collectors of the old pagan story explained the gaps and imperfections of their record by the supposition of an original epic tale which through lapse of time had lost its first perfection, degenerating into disconnected fragments; and by the fiction of old manuscripts long ago stolen and carried oversea. They therefore called up Fergus from the tomb to tell the tale again, as having been an actor in the war, with friends in both camps, and so best fitted to give a full and unbiased story. Thus the Táin that has come down to us is, from the literary point of view, the creation of these Milesian *literati*; and the form they gave to it, and to other creations of the Ulster cycle, became the model on which all later compilers of tradition worked. The Táin, with its fore-tales, took its place as the classical epic of the country. When other provinces gave a literary form to their own heroic legends they followed the example of the Ulster makers of the Irish prose epic. “Every people might well envy the Irish the possession of her sagas,” according to Windisch. “This at least is certain, that neither the Germans nor the Slavs are able to produce any such living pictures out of their wild heroic pre-historic times as can the Irish.”

Thus Irish nationality was born. It was no mere device of literary concoction and invention. There was the spirit of a nation's life in the ending of race inequality, and a union of all the peoples in equal dignity. Old sagas were woven together, and stories, dates, and genealogies were harmonized and synchronized and fitted into an ordered scheme, in which by a series of learned figments and invented names the dynasties and aristocracies were grafted into the descent and succession of Milesius of Spain. The *Lebor Gabála* (the Book of Invasions), which worked into one framework the histories, real or imagined, of the various racial elements that made up the whole complex of the Irish nation, was as it were the national epic of the united peoples. The genealogies compiled by the Wise Men, and recited at the general assemblies of the tribes, became the foundation of a common history. Elaborated by the official scholars, and accepted by the leading dynasties as the basis of Irish life, the theory was established of a single people, united in the pride of a common heroic ancestry.

The writing down of Irish legend and history and poetry may have begun in the seventh or eighth century, but some scholars

would date it even earlier. From this time we can clearly trace the continuous working of the same deep instinct, as the literary tradition gathered up and moulded into national form the history, geography, law, language, and religion of the island. Every part of the inheritance was swept into the common circle. For a thousand years Irish literary tradition was preserved in an unbroken series of manuscripts by the schools of the learned men, until the destruction of their corporate existence in the wars of the seventeenth century, when the work was taken up by scattered students, who in their poverty and humiliation carried on the task of copying and writing for another two hundred years. Such a manuscript record is without a parallel in Europe. It surely marks a singular quality in the race, worthy of our remembrance and our honour.

It is in the manuscript tradition that we must seek for the civilization of Ireland, and for its soul. "If ever the idea of nationality," writes a leading Irish scholar, "becomes the subject of a thorough and honest study, it will be seen that among all the peoples of antiquity, not excluding the Hellenes and the Hebrews, the Irish held the clearest and most constant and conscious grasp of that idea, and that their political divisions, instead of disproving the existence of the idea in their minds, immensely strengthen the proof of its existence and emphasize its power." He notes one significant fact. "Though pride of race is evident in the dominant Gaelic stock, their national sentiment centres, not in the race, but altogether in the country, which is constantly personified and made the object of a sort of cult." The beauty of Ireland moved the affections of its inhabitants—the marvellous quality of her light, the lines of the granite mountains, the wonder of the ancient trees, the "cool flowers" of the mountain in the early morning, the "grey dew" of autumn, the murmur where the spring and the broad lake met, the thickets and the gushing waters, the animals and birds, and the enveloping tide of the ocean. The description of the high, or noble, places was a part of the very earliest literature. In the tale of the boy Cuchulainn faring to his first expedition, he asks the name of every mountain and "white cairn," and his charioteer tells him of every chief fort between Tara and Kells, the meadows and their fords, their famous places and their dwellings. Chiefs on their rounds were accompanied by their poets to celebrate tree and mountain and lake that had seen the wonders of the old Ireland. In the poems of the Fiana the praise of the heroes has to pause while the bard recites the glories of cataract and flood

and field, perhaps some 200 of them in a breath, after which he leaves the rest to "wiser men" than he. Fintan of the Deluge standing on Tara told in turn the fame of every province, its chief places, and what it contributed to Ireland—her knowledge, teaching, and eloquence from the West; her battles, contentions, assaults, and haughtiness from the North; her prosperity, supplies, good manners, and splendour from the East; her music, her wisdom and learning, her code, her poetical art from the South. The island was to its inhabitants a subject of absorbing interest, and its geography was studied as keenly as its history. Keating in the seventeenth century rebuked Stanihurst for not seeing that "Ireland was a kingdom apart by herself, like a little world." The old affection survives in the common colloquialisms. Where an Englishman would say "I don't know in the world," the Irish phrase is more of home: "I don't know in Ireland who did it," or "he must go off as fast in Ireland as his feet would carry him." The name of the country, one and undivided, was very old. It occurs in its Latin form in the Confession of St. Patrick; and the passionate intensity of the Old Irish, like that of a modern idealist Sinn Féiner, rings out in a poem written in those times of national construction before 1000 A.D.: "God's counsel concerning virgin Erin at every time is greater than can be told."

The first Irish manuscripts, even the pagan legends, came from the scholars of the Christian monasteries—the most famous among them at Clonmacnois on the Shannon; Armagh by the royal site of Emain Macha; Monasterboice near the Boyne, where possibly the Táin took shape; and at a later period Tallaght near Dublin, rival of Armagh as a centre of learning, national and ecclesiastical—a curious foreshadowing of later conflict between the Primate of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin. As the Milesian dynasties spread their power westward over Connacht, northward into Donegal, and south through Munster, secular and religious learning went together. Missionaries who brought the Latin alphabet found in Ireland a language already formed and cultivated, both in prose and poetry, and ready to be enriched with the new classical and theological learning. They recognized the power of the native tradition and speech, and in the monasteries the national influence was prominent. By the middle of the eighth century the Irish language (contrary to the custom of other countries) was used for religious instruction, and to some extent in the services of the Church. In the early religious literature of Ireland the series of prayers and private devotions had a unique character, and exercised an influence outside the limits

of Ireland. The number of these that has come down to us in prose and verse shows the intensity of the personal religion of the people, which could find its appropriate expression only in their native language. Till the fourteenth century there is no grave-stone of an Irishman, saint or scholar, inscribed in Latin, according to the usage in other countries, but always in Irish.

The making of the nation was marked from 700 A.D. to 1000 A.D. by an outburst of learning, and of fine literature. In those centuries all the great lines of tradition were laid down. It is throughout dominated by the deep consciousness of Ireland, and the fundamental union of the country. The ancient Laws bear their striking witness. The oldest fragments, which date at latest from the eighth century, are derived neither from Rome nor from the Canon law, but refer wholly to Irish life. From first to last the law-books, such as the *Senchus Mór* and the *Lebor Acaill*, give one law for the whole country—a law in which there is no trace of provincial difference of custom. Here Ireland stood alone even among Celtic countries, for in Wales, of one-third its size, the four provinces had all their own separate laws. The Irish code was far from being backward as to land or property or social life. Perhaps the Law of Adamnan in the eighth century is the earliest code for the protection of women, as Adamnan's mother Ronan was the earliest, and perhaps the most resolute, of the claimants of women's equal rights to justice.

It is no less memorable that just as the Brehon Laws are the laws of Ireland without distinction of province or district, so the Irish Chronicles from first to last are histories, not of provinces or districts, but of Ireland as a whole. As an Irish scholar puts it, "We see an Irishman writing the history of his country during the years in which the Church of Canterbury was founded, and from that time we can trace an early succession of Irish histories—the Book of Cuanu about 629, the 'Old Irish Chronicle' about 680–702, the Lecan-Ballymote synchronic history in 742, and the contemporary annals during the eighth and succeeding centuries, down to the work of the Four Masters."

The same popular instinct of a common life may be traced in the Ossianic cycle of tales and poems which contain the glorious legend of Fionn and his Fiaña. Each territory celebrated the fame of its own heroes and local war-bands. From perhaps the fifth century these stories were carried through the country; the tales of one province were recited in another, and as they passed through the island they became part of the common story of the race, and from the ninth century began to enter into its written

literature. The record of gallant deeds and of tragic doom, growing with every new generation for centuries to come, remained the entertainment and the pride of the whole people.

The saints no less than the local warriors claimed their place in the common tradition. A Féilire of about 800 A.D., which has been attributed to St. Aengus, gave along with the recognized Continental saints the festivals also of the saints of Ireland. Henceforth, as with the heroes, so the genealogies of Irish saints were preserved, and the praise of their deeds; and the holy men of every part of the island became a part of the national inheritance of the country.

But above all the national instinct of the Irish is expressed in the history of their language. The honour they gave to the speech handed down to them, and their jealous care for its protection, are unmatched in Europe. While Continental peoples were still shaping their languages, Irish had already taken a standard form. The rules of literary art, beginning with traditions handed down at least from the eighth century, were formulated in the striking grammatical treatises of the Middle Ages which Professor Bergin is now printing in *Eriu*. "With a keen interest in their own language," he says of the native grammarians, "which was rare at that time in Europe, and a diligence and ingenuity which the great Indian scholars would not have despised, they had studied and expounded in minute detail the usages of the literary dialect." In the Bardic schools poetic style was guarded with exceeding vigilance. From the epic of Cuchulainn onwards prose was used as the language of narrative. Whether it was from the early influence of Latin prose writers, or from some instinctive rejection of the conventional system of verse for an epic tale, the Irish broke off from the European custom where epics (except the Scandinavian sagas) have all metrical form, and remained constant to their own prose tradition. In the Schools of the learned no word of local use was allowed which could betray whether the writer spoke after the Ulster manner or that of Munster. The literature of the race could have but one noble form, free of all provincialism, the noblest Irish of the fathers and the highest inheritance of the sons—the language of Ireland one and indivisible.

The maintenance of art and learning by the Bardic Schools was established as an essential part of the tribal organisation. They formed in fact an endowed national university. The trained Professors were versed in the huge store of native learning, many of them seem to have been well acquainted with the

voluminous Latin literature of that time, some probably knew French and English, and it is likely that some had studied or travelled on the Continent. As their service was a national service, so for them there were no political barriers. A poet could join the court of any chief, and could change his post from one province to another. Men of learning in Ireland were not stinted in public fame and honour. The names of poets have been preserved to us, but prose writers remained for the most part the anonymous ministers of the national tradition; though we may still hope that sympathetic students, noting the predilections of the chroniclers for their own people and countryside, may be able to trace their place of work, and the family of which they came. The authority of the whole learned caste rested on their literary discipline. No separate school ever broke from the national tradition. No magnate arose to impose an arbitrary will. Doubtless among a people of such intellectual vivacity there were scholars witty, daring, and ironical, who escaped the bounds of discipline; but the revolutionaries themselves had trained minds, and their satire was neither ignorant nor vulgar.

The dignity of Irish literature was thus nourished from a double source, the pride of Nation and the pride of Art. It entered into the thought and life of the whole people. Poets and historians in ancient Ireland did not write in towns. They had known the excitement of the chase and the toils of war; and some of their vivid national tales, remembered almost verbatim, passed into popular folk-lore. There still remain portions of 130 songs composed before the year 1000 A.D. Poets, possibly outside the order of the bards, possibly bards in moments of unofficial freedom, have left intimate descriptions of the common beauties of wood and field such as are not to be found in the early literature of any other country. However haughty were the aristocrats of knowledge, with neither respect nor condescension for the vulgar, the Irish, through the organization of their common life and by their own lively intelligence, were probably nearer to an intellectual democracy than any other mediæval people. In the tribal gatherings, in the "never-ending entertainment" of fairs and festivals such as those at Tara and Carman, or in the splendid assemblies of the learned at the chiefs' courts, the people could hear the choicest art of the country, the old romantic tales, the precepts of the Ancients, the history of places, the laws, the wisdom of the scholars with their riddling dialogues and glossaries, and the music of the chief harpers and pipers. In such assemblies they shared, not only

in the gaiety of the crowd, but in the majesty of learning and the solemnity of art, and a race quick in ear and understanding was accustomed to the sense of order, rhythm, and melody, and to the habit of critical judgment as to form and style.

Irish civilization was thus from the beginning marked by intellectual passion. Political authority was divided and hazardous, but there was no division in the soul of the country. The schools of learning might justly claim that, as Mr. Robin Flower has pointed out, while England had as yet no stable tradition to guide the poets of Elizabeth's time in their new ventures, "in Ireland, on the other hand, an old and honoured tradition gave the poets a firm and steady grasp of style." The learned class might boast, too, that they had been the creators of a national outlook on life, and had united the races of Ireland in a literary tradition to confront other States built on other lines. Sprung from the soul of a people they might assert that they in their turn had so trained and fortified that soul, and so furnished it with a literature and a historical memory, that the national life could only be extinguished with the race.

Every attempt, in fact, at temporal conquest was met by a revival of the inherited Irish tradition as the stronghold of national existence. In the ninth and tenth centuries, when Danish invaders were seen in every harbour, when ancient Schools lay in ruins with Armagh and Clonmacnois, Irish literature was broadened and enriched by an admirable company of poets and scholars. When the two hundred years' struggle was closed by the triumph of Brian Boru at Clontarf, and by the absorption of the Danes into the general Irish life, there followed an outburst of national artistic enterprise throughout the whole island—churches of a new architecture, new round towers, crosses carved beyond the skill of European sculptors, gold and enamel work which are the wonder of later times. Literature did not lag behind. There were histories of the great conflict, such as the "Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh" (War of the Gael with the Gall), attributed to Mac Liag, the chronicler of Brian Boru; and the later rival Saga of Cellachan of Cashel. The topographical tracts and poems of the provinces, all that might give to the island majesty, beauty, or traditional renown, were woven together into the great Dindsheanchas, the classical account of the island and its high places. The old sagas were studied anew, and large collections of materials compiled by the learned for use in the elaboration of these stories. Leinster with "her supplies, her splendour, her abundance, her dignity, her householding," was

pre-eminent too in the ardour of her scholars. They have left us the "Leabhar na hUidhre" (the Book of the Dun Cow), the Oxford MS. called Rawlinson B. 502, and the Book of Leinster. The history of the text of the Táin is typical of their activity. In the first MS. we possess of the epic, preserved in the "Leabhar na hUidhre," there is an attempt to be comprehensive, to collect from various MSS. every possible variant in text and incident, and in this honest effort a composite text without definite artistic form was drawn up. The text thus arrived at was then taken in hand by a scholar who set himself to make a continuous consistent story in a uniform style. In the Book of Leinster we have this version, probably written in the eleventh to twelfth century at Clonmacnois.

But the strength of Irish culture could only be measured when it had been fairly matched with a continental civilization. The coming of the Normans was the great test of what it could give and receive. After that invasion the new society was French throughout—as we may see not only from the de Lacys and de Courcys, but from any group of names taken at hazard from the records of the thirteenth century—William de Valence, Hamo de Valoignes, Nicholas de Verdun, Stephen de Nevein, Walter Aleman, Robert de Vavasour, Geoffrey de Costentin, Ralph de Trumbleville, Giffard de Poitou, Richard Earl of Poitou, Peter de Genève, John le Fleming, Oliver de Aspreville. Such names tell their tale of the continental life now planted on Irish land. The Norman-French, however, did not come as strangers. They knew Ireland well. Their adventurers had in 1014 joined the Danish host at Clontarf—John the Baron, and Richard, and perhaps Robert of Melun, and the French Goistelin Gall. There are indications of active trade between Ireland and France; and the influence of the Cistercian revival and French intercourse can still be traced along the Shannon and on the Boyne in new forms of architecture and ornament brought from oversea. Irish scholars actively carried on their literary labours, as we may see in such MSS. as the Book of Hy Many and in the bardic poems. But the Irish welcomed the new learning. The fabliaux and moral tales carried by wandering Franciscans became part of the popular tradition. It is possibly in this period that Irish scholars made translations of Latin epics famous abroad, such as the *Æneid*, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Statius' *Thebaid*; but while they translated they remained faithful to the literary tradition of their people, and turned the epics from Latin poetry into Irish prose. Romances, lyrical songs, scientific treatises, were carried to Ire-

land by travellers, scholars, merchants, professors of the arts and sciences, but the literature that came underwent an Irish change : the translators left on it the mark of a new individuality.

It is evident that the Norman settlers found a civilization and culture into which they could adapt themselves. Among the French newcomers were men belonging to a society as refined and educated as any of their day. "Citizens of the world," they had no contempt for any good literature, wherever they found it, and the history of the Normans in Ireland is the history of a fusion of two cultures whose leaders met on equal terms. The great house of the Fitzgeralds—Earls of Desmond and Earls of Kildare—became the natural link between the literature of the Continent and of Ireland. They married into all the great Irish families, O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Carrolls, O'Conor Faly's, and so on, and (what was far more significant) they put their sons to fosterage with the leading Irish chiefs. Not only did they welcome to their courts the Irish *literati*, but they themselves became skilled in the poetry of their new country. Gerald, called the Rhymer, fourth Earl of Desmond and Lord Justice of Ireland in 1367, who "had Irish learning and the professors thereof in greatest reverence of all the English in Ireland," was a composer in the Irish style as well as in the French. The Irish on their side were proud of lords who boasted descent from the Gherardini of Florence, and to whom the bards gave the glorious name of "Greeks"; while the Fitzgeralds, "to increase the joy" of their Florentine house, wrote to them, not of Irish "barbarism," but of the splendour of their establishment, offering them noble Irish gifts. The Normans, in fact, inaugurated a generous intellectual comprehension, in which there was room for both Celtic and Continental culture. Then followed a time of great activity. Irish chiefs gathered into "books" poems addressed by bards to their ruling house—collections which were unhappily destroyed in the later ruin of the princely families. The earliest which remains goes back to some time before 1343. Scholars made similar "books" of the works of one or of two famous bards; so that the collection of Tadg O'Higgin's poems (+1448) gives a more complete record than exists of any poet in England before the time of Elizabeth. There were collections of Irish lore in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries by bardic families attached to the courts of the tribal chiefs as historians, poets, or brehons; and the results of their extraordinary labours may be seen in the great series of "bibliothecæ" which distinguish this time, such books as the

"Yellow Book of Leacan," the "Great Book of Leacan," the "Book of Ballymote," the "Leabhar Breac," the "Book of Lismore," the "Oxford MS. Laud 610," the "Liber Flavus Fergusiorum," and others still undescribed. Marks of a widening civilization are evident in a very noble architecture, in medical science, in astronomy, in foreign travel and education, in skilled manufactures, and in Continental trade. Into the great Norman castles, and into the houses of the Irish chiefs, along with Genoa velvets and Flemish tapestries and French architecture, came the romantic lyrics of the Continent—a new Irish literature which has been first revealed in *Dánta Grádha* by Thomas O'Rahilly, with an illuminating preface by Robin Flower. The Irish were prepared to welcome "the learned and fantastic love poetry which was first shaped into art for modern Europe in Provence, and found a home in all the languages of Christendom wherever a refined society and the practice of poetry met together." French themes were adapted and imitated with the skill and dignity proper to scholars for whom the Irish tongue, in its wealth, its melody, its rhythm and delicate finish, could rival any language in the world. Like every other intellectual movement, the romantic influence spread over the country, taking in the peoples old and new—Fitzgeralds and Burkes of the south and west, along with MacCarthy Mór of Munster, and Manus O'Donnell of Tir-Connell, and Irish bards, Mac Muireadhaigh, O'Cleirigh, Mac an Bhaird, and other unnamed poets. But while they wrote in the spirit of the French models, the Celtic tradition asserted its literary mastery. Throughout Europe the romantic literature of Provence carried its own lyric methods. But in Ireland, as in Wales, there was a tradition of skilled artists who could apply native measures to the new themes. Whether the love-songs were composed by lords of the old race or the new, they were according to Irish rules and fashion. Here the value of a long tradition of art was shown in the perfection of the Irish verse, where every word and every rhyme had its absolute value, and there was a certainty and mastery beyond the reach of the earlier English poets of the Italian style, Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt.

The Norman-French may claim the credit of the only effort ever made to offer to the Irish equal terms of intellectual partnership, to accept an Irish civilization as valid, and to lead the way to a fraternal union. They saw "Ireland a nation," and felt its essential trouble with alien and distant governors: "You hear of our case as in a dream, and feel not the smart that vexeth

us." A race of lively intellectual curiosity, of European culture, and of political capacity, they had an instinct for the civilizing movements, literary, social, commercial, in which peoples could unite. No such opportunity of national Home Rule, of internal and external compromise and peace, ever occurred in Ireland before or since. Unhappily to the state-craft of Westminster and Dublin Castle a national union of the peoples of Ireland, even in alliance with England, seemed a "degenerate," "barbarous," "beastly," and "rebellious" notion of civilization. Their policy was for conquest and ownership. They proposed to secure English authority by driving wedges of foreign power between old kingdoms, splitting up and isolating ancient territories, fostering jealousies, encouraging tribal wars. Also by the abolition of Irish names, speech, dress, literature, and law, the island was to be turned into a West Britain with no tradition of its own.

The effect of artificial political dissensions may be traced in the fifteenth century. It seems that the renown of provincial heroes spread with greater difficulty into the common fame of the country. Local triumphs in Munster were in part veiled from Ulster; and historians and warriors won mainly the acclamations of their own territories. None of the later tales have entered like the older ones into the possession of the whole people as their own. The unity of Irish thought was shaken. Norman civilization was itself brought to an end by a course of "strong government"—the hanging by Henry VIII. of the house of Kildare, the wholesale poisoning and destruction of the Desmonds under Elizabeth, and the subtle ruin of the Ormonds by James I. A double conquest, of the Irish and of the land, was to be the boast of the Tudors and the pride of the Stuarts. The policy which we know as *Staats-Kultur* was the resolute work of the seventeenth century. Irish life was to be destroyed by rooting out every centre of learning, and degrading every professor of the old literature. Deprived of their intellectual leaders, and plunged into an abyss of scorn and solitude, teachers and people were to be cut off from remembrance of ancient inheritance, tradition, and dignity. English political ascendancy would then have a clear field. The last representatives of the old aristocratic culture made their heroic rally in defence of the Irish tradition. Wise Men of the law hid in their bosoms the genealogies and tenures of their tribes. In huts and cottages where the friars of Donegal fled from their ruined monastery the famous "Annals of the Four Masters" were compiled. Keating, of Norman descent, writer

of the "History of Ireland," was driven for shelter to the recesses of the Galtees, even now so solitary and difficult of access. The chief poets, in the "Contention of the Bards," awoke the ancient history of the Milesian kings. Scholars driven oversea, or hidden in forest and bog at home—exiles in their own land, or exiles abroad—"and I in gloom and grief : and during my life's length unless only that I might have one look at Ireland"—all were united in the same task. While Colgan at Louvain wrote the "Acts of the Saints of Ireland," Duald MacFirbis and O'Flaherty in Connacht made collections of the laws and glossaries and histories of the tribes, and Lynch in "Cambrensis Eversus" took up his learned defence of the Irish against the age-long slanders of their enemies. It was the last supreme effort of the Learned. The three wars of subjection in the seventeenth century broke their great endeavour. National culture was snapped in that century of massacre and confiscation. The Schools were scattered, and the powerful bardic order cast from their high estate to wander as outcasts and vagabonds—proud aristocrats whose only shelter was now among the cottages of the despised race of the earth-tillers.

With the extirpation of the Norman-French houses all understanding of Irish culture or learning ceased. Spenser arrived in Ireland while Irish poets were writing romantic lyrics that Sidney and his literary group might have owned with pride ; but neither to Spenser nor his fellows did it occur that among the barbarous Irish there was any science, art, or civilization. To a country of long literary tradition no ruler was ever henceforth sent who had any understanding of the people's intellectual and artistic record. If a rare example was found of an Englishman who showed the "Norman" spirit in dealing with Ireland, such as Bedell, Protestant bishop of Dromore, he might win honour from the "natives," but the hostility of the Government left him powerless. The willing ignorance of the rulers, the violence of the Castle, their narrow political outlook, left England without power to create a new civilization or intellectual tradition. Little came across St. George's Channel to touch the Irish intelligence. The hurrying race of planters and speculators, the rough immigrants of every degree brought with them no intellectual curiosity—buccaneers and fighters, needy younger sons, adventurers, mining sharpers, exploiters of cheap labour, lawyers and bailiffs. To them there was no appeal in a literary tradition. Nor did the Irish scruple to mock at the "rabble dregs of the manifold coarse trades which . . . have jumped across from

London hither into this land," nor cease from their mirth and wonder at the strange patronymics of the new people—Tinker and Tailor and Tucker, and the like.

English ignorance of Irish life hardened in the centuries of military ascendancy. The Irish themselves, however, were not forgetful of their hereditary tradition. Scholars drew together in those days of disaster for encouragement and aid, contributing, as their forerunners had done a thousand years before, their own local materials to the common stock. A poem by Tadhg O'Neachtain (printed in "Gadelica," I., 158) gives a list of twenty-six scribes in Dublin who about 1728, in the worst years of the penal times, gathered from the counties of Roscommon, Kildare, Dublin, Meath, Longford, Westmeath, Clare, King's County, and other parts of all the four provinces—ten from Leinster, six from Connacht, five from Munster, one from Ulster, four not localized; a proportion which must not be taken as necessarily representing the distribution of scholarship at the time; it would be unfair to Munster, and to Ulster, where the counties of Down, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, and Fermanagh were brimful of poets and scribes. In the surviving manuscripts of the Dublin group there is evidence of the borrowing from one to another of texts which seem to be of local origin and local interest.

The vitality of the poetic art was shown, too, in the growth of a new popular poetry. The archaic laws of the bardic schools fell away, but there remained the old artistry and skill in words and rhythm, an intricate system of assonance, and a perfection of form which must have been long practised, and could not have grown up in a few years. In the eighteenth century Irish poets seized on the melodies which the planters had brought over, threw away the foreign words, and fitted their own poems in the Irish rhythm to every intricacy of the new music, with the same infinite ingenuity with which older poets had adapted translations and imitations. Ireland was still the theme of their sorrows and their love.

There were no printing-presses for the world of the poor and proscribed. But after the destruction of the Bardic order the manuscript tradition was still maintained for two hundred years through the indomitable fidelity and the amazing activity of the disinherited and broken scholars and their successors. Europe has no such story. When poetry and learning ceased to be a profession those who preserved some remnant of the old tradition earned a living as schoolmasters, or clerks in protestant churches, or inn-keepers, or worked as ploughmen, smiths, tailors, or day-

labourers, or as soldiers and sailors. But always and everywhere they copied manuscripts. "Irishian," those who could write as well as read their language, carried on the work. Students read the manuscripts by the light of brushwood thrown on the turf. Those who could not read might still hear at the wide hearth of the cottage, in the circle of wool-carders, or at wakes, the old men who recited stories of the ancient heroes; and listeners who had never seen a MS. could relate to a new fireside the great romantic tales, without omitting one adventure, and giving them for the most part in the very words of the written versions. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century the boundaries of ancient tribe-lands were kept in mind and could be traced by the peasants. As we know from the story of O'Donovan, a father on his deathbed would repeat to his sons, as the priceless heirloom of the dying, the line of their descent from the ancient race. The Irish tradition still exalted the people in their sorrows. Recitations of the old literature preserved among the poorest a rich vocabulary and dignity of common speech. In the barrenness of their destitution the people were nourished by an imaginative poetry, a heroic history, and an admirable music. Nothing is more extraordinary or more pathetic than the regard for learning which had been implanted in the Irish mind. Lord Palmerston in 1808 wrote of his Irish-speaking tenants in county Sligo: "The thirst for education is so great that there are now three or four schools upon the estate. The people join in engaging some itinerant master; they run him up a miserable mud hut on the roadside, and the boys pay him half-a-crown, or some five shillings, a quarter. They are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and what, from the appearance of the establishment, no one would imagine, Latin, and even Greek."

Since the Great Famine the stream of tradition runs in rivulets instead of the broad current. In their tragic history there was no ruin more fatal than that shattering of the Irish race. "They all seem downcast here," said a friend of mine to an old man in Mayo—"What is the matter?" "I suppose," said he, "'tis the Famine and the National schools took the heart out of the people." But through all calamity Irish tradition still carries the dignity of an ancient inheritance. An old man of 105, Colum Wallace, died in a workhouse in the early years of the twentieth century. He had once built his own house, which seemed to a neighbour worthy to enter into the tradition of Irish art since the first famous builder of the seventh century, Goban Saer: "It is through no exercise of magic it was made, but by

skilful work of hands—a pleasant little branch of the Goban Saer—Colum is behind it.” It was as if an English peasant had gone to Beowulf to find his prototype. No spectator will ever forget the scenes universal in Ulster, when after mass the whole congregation pass into the churchyard, and prostrating themselves on the graves of their ancestors, renew that ancient tie of race and national aspiration. “They loved Ireland insanely. They loved the very name”; so an Irish girl said of the young men shot at Eastertime, 1916. The words might have been said of the scholars of Ireland 1,000 years ago.

Down to our own day the literature of the last centuries has been left unexplored. It has been thought unworthy of the care of great libraries, or the attention of writers; and in current histories, however excellent in their English studies, the mass of the Irish population still remains falsely pictured as a dark and threatening sea of barbarism, its turbulent surface only broken from time to time by storms of “rebellion.” No true history of Ireland can be written which does not recognize the Irish sources. In that land we still feel the remnant of the old notion of “Staats-Kultur.” The dead hand of the mediæval statesman still lies on the country. It has not served England, any more than it has served Ireland. Statesmen have forgotten to reckon with the power of a thousand years of national tradition, and its hidden forces of spiritual resistance. Such a tradition has left its mark on the soul of Ireland. The flame of national faith still burns, and breaks out we know not how. It is a tradition, not of hunger and profit, but of national union in the land of their love. Often in the nineteenth century there has been manifested that secret and astonishing force which in times of crisis seems to swing the whole population into one long disciplined line of defence, patient of hardship, obedient to command, intent upon the vision of hope. Even the sternly practical Parnell felt the deep enthusiasm of the crowd when he summoned them to “Keep the fires of the nation burning.” No economic gain, no material civilization, and no mere cunning political system alone will allay the unrest and trouble of the country. Every live people that exists must desire to have something of its own, and is jealous for the honour of the fathers who have founded its spiritual tradition. There is no essential hostility in such a desire; in fact hostility, which is engendered by intellectual repression, disappears with intellectual freedom. If Irish history has been given a false political character by writers working only on English State documents, students of Irish civilization can show

that there is a larger outlook, and can teach us that Irish nationality was at all times the least aggressive and the most hospitable in the world. The dream of a union of the peoples of Ireland in a joint inheritance of the past, and promise of the future—this was the dream for which the Irish have stood against trappings and settlements for 1,000 years, in “the service of a nation without a flag.” To this dream they remain true. So in Ireland we say to the sower of the seed of life, and to the reaper of the harvest, “God bless the work.”

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

"HISTORY is natural, civil, ecclesiastical, and literary ; whereof the three first I allow as extant, the fourth I note as deficient. For no man hath propounded to himself the general state of learning to be described and represented . . . without the which the history of the world seemeth to me to be as the statua of Polyphemus with his eye out ; that part being wanting which doth most show the spirit and life of the person. . . . For it is not St. Augustine's nor Saint Ambrose' works that will make so wise a divine, as ecclesiastical history, thoroughly read and observed ; and the same reason is of learning."

When Francis Bacon penned this encomium of the history of learning, or what we might call intellectual development, it does not appear that he had any prevision of specific Histories of Education ; nor, when two centuries and a quarter later (1830) Carlyle wrote his essay on "History," did he find a place for them beside the histories "of medicine, of mathematics, of astronomy, commerce, chivalry, monkery," although two general histories of the subject (those of Mangelsdorf and of Schwarz) had been already published in his beloved German ; and although as early as 1695 England had possessed what might pass for a history of education in the translation of Claude Fleury's *Traité des Choix et de la Méthode des Études*, published in that year by S. Keble. Shortly after the year of Carlyle's essay, the stream of histories in many languages began to flow freely. France had its old-fashioned but interesting Viriville, to which Matthew Arnold acknowledged his obligations ; followed among others by Paroz and the *History of Pedagogy* of Compayré, familiar to us in its English translation. Germany produced an array of volumes of characteristic "Gründlichkeit"—Von Raumer, with his sixteen hundred pages of a quite un-Teutonic geniality, which commended him to the author of our well-known *Educational Reformers* ; amazing Schmidt, with the three thousand closely packed pages of his *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, and the six

hundred pages of his less amazing but still formidable *Geschichte der Erziehung*; the equally amazing Schmid; Dittes, Schiller, Ziegler, and very many others. Italy also has in Cerruti's sketch of Italian education what is almost a general history, as well as the more recent Giuffrida, and, I think, one or two others. Switzerland has Niemeyer, Martig, and the very readable Guex; Belgium has Damseaux, and so on.

In English, the first survey appears to have been published in 1842 by H. I. Smith, a teacher of German at that Gettysburg which is familiar wherever the name of Lincoln and "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" are known. Since then there have been many more—Graves in three volumes; Monroe's "Big Book" and Monroe's "Little Book" (to adopt J. R. Green's phraseology); Painter, Davidson, Seeley, Kemp, Aspinwall, and others, not to mention Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, a "great treasury of material," as Graves terms it, which in its thirty-one mighty volumes "includes every phase of the history of education from the earliest times."

So England has produced her fair share of histories of education? Far from it. The truth is that the British Isles are in this respect simply a statua of Polyphemus with his eye out. They have *no* general history of education; those enumerated are all American. Even Thomas Davidson, though a Scot by birth, spent the greater part of his wandering life in America and dated his preface from New York. All that the British Isles have to show are Joseph Payne's *Lectures*, delivered at the College of Preceptors half a century ago; which, whether they deserve the unkind epithets of "fragmentary and unmethodical" which have been applied to them—and a history which assigns to Jacotot seven times as much space as to Locke or to Herbert Spencer does offer special difficulties in the choice of epithets—at any rate supply, not a history of education, but a series of monographs on educators. It is almost fifty years since Quick complained that not only *good* books, but *all* books on the history of education were in some foreign language; and it is still as true as then that our histories must be imported. Even a comprehensive history of British education on an adequate or any scale is still to seek.

This is a humiliating confession. What is the explanation? The most obvious and practical explanation is that there is no demand. The story of Quick's *Educational Reformers* is so illuminative in this respect that it well deserves narrating. But,

before coming to that, it may be mentioned as a significant fact that a quarter of a century ago both Principal Donaldson and Mr. Bass Mullinger were credited with the intention of publishing histories. Neither of these has appeared.¹

The *Educational Reformers* is undoubtedly and deservedly the most popular of all the books on this subject which have been published in Britain; and not merely in its native country. Parmentier in France and Guex in Switzerland have spoken of it in as flattering terms as Quick's countrymen. The history of the book, as gathered from his own account and from Storr's interesting *Life* of the author, is as follows. The *Reformers*, after being offered to, and rejected by, Macmillan, on the ground that "books on education don't pay," was published in 1868 by Longmans at 7s. 6d., and required, even with a reduction in price to 3s. 6d., about five years to clear off its five hundred copies, after which it remained twenty years out of print. But in the meantime three different publishers in the United States had reprinted it without Quick's consent; and from one of these pirated editions he imported copies which he sold at cost price to English readers. These editions, it must be remembered, were quite apart from the authorised and fourth edition which was issued subsequently in America by Messrs. Appleton. The first volume of Joseph Payne's *Lectures on Education* had, as appears from the preface to the second volume, a somewhat similar fortune.²

These instances suggest that there is no demand; but the question remains—Why is there none? In general history Britain has played no ignoble part. Far from it; Gibbon, Grote, Carlyle, and Green are masters in their several domains, and four of the greatest historians of Lord Acton's time unanimously

¹ In Will S. Monroe's *Bibliography of Education*, and in Sonnenschein's *Best Books* (new edition), a history of education by Donaldson is recorded as having been published by Murray in 1895, even the size and price being added. Being unable to find any such book in the catalogue of the British Museum or of the London Library, I wrote to Mr. Murray, who informed me that it had never been written. As I have referred above to Will S. Monroe, it may not be superfluous to note that, as there are three historians of education called Smith, Schmidt, and Schmid (the two latter of whom were, I remember, confused in the catalogue of the old official Education Library in South Kensington), there are also three called Paul Monroe, Editor of the *Cyclopædia of Education*; Will S. Monroe, the Associate Editor; and James Munro, author of *The Educational Ideal*.

² Even my own humble experience furnishes corroborative evidence. Almost the entire edition of a volume, illustrative of educational history, which I was foolish enough to publish some years ago, would have returned to its native dust-heap, but for a timely demand from some "idiotic Yankees."

pronounced Macaulay to be the greatest historian of all time. Our natural bent towards compromise and tradition, rather than to speculation on principles, is indeed favourable to research and narrative. And here perhaps we may find a clue to guide us. This love of compromise has given to our histories what may be designated as a character of tentativeness. This is shown first in a weakness of architectonic construction. Take Macaulay and Buckle, for instance. No doubt they died prematurely; but that does not explain. A centenarian in full vigour could hardly have completed their tasks, as they were planned. Lecky and Symonds wrote, as it were, piecemeal; and Lord Acton did not even begin his *History of Liberty*. This defect is, however, rather English than British; it is less marked in Scottish historians, and Lecky seems to have degenerated in constructive power in an English atmosphere. This characteristic is, of course, not confined to our histories; the symmetry of Greek and French tragedy and the numerical homologies of the Divine Comedy seem to us unreal and mechanical. Accordingly, except in the case of the cosmopolitan Gibbon, oecumenical surveys, such as the history of education demands, have not been congenial. But this tentativeness has the further effect of directing the historian's attention to the concrete in preference to what Bacon calls "a just story of learning, containing the antiquities and originals of knowledges and their sects"; of leading Freeman, as Mr. Gooch phrases it, to "believe action alone to be history," and Seeley, as Lord Acton said, to "discern no Whiggism but only Whigs." The history of education, on the other hand, must deal largely with speculation; it not merely narrates the lives and fortunes of educators and of educational institutions, but also expounds and discusses the theories explicit or implicit which animated them. The history of education trenches on the histories of civilisation, of psychology, and even of philosophy. But in these departments England has never been pre-eminent. Our general histories of civilisation are merely translations; when Professor Baldwin (an American, be it observed) was writing his short history of Psychology some years ago, he was unable to find one of any kind in book form in the English language; and the book which served as our large-scale history of philosophy till recent years was avowedly written to discredit metaphysical speculation. One admirable pendant to the history of education has been supplied recently by Sir John Sandys in his learned and felicitous *History of Classical Scholarship*; but this work,

though it throws light on the progress of education does not deal with its psychological development.

These defects in our historical equipment may no doubt be largely due to that "intellectual apathy," that absence of "the sacred thirst for investigation," for which we have been lately upbraided, and to an incapacity for abstract speculation. But they may be, if not derived, at least reinforced from a nobler source. Histories of the development of thought are, as a rule, written with a bias towards some particular form of thought—are written to support a thesis. The English mind has a robust and healthy objection to theories, and regards a Rousseau or a Hegel as little better than a degenerate. The theorist, unless he is one of the rare spirits of supreme and unerring perspicacity, must, if an honest man, have in the course of a long work his hours of disillusionment and doubt: "tasks in hours of insight will'd," to use Matthew Arnold's words, must be "through hours of gloom fulfill'd"—such doubts as, we have been recently told, fell on Carlyle in the middle of his *Friedrich* as to the nobility of his hero. Possibly to men of other stock the symmetry and coherence of the design may appear as *primâ facie* evidence of the truth of the thesis. If the English mind, rooted in compromise and "fair play," spurns that solace, the self-denial is not altogether ignoble.

Instances of such theories pushed to extremes are not difficult to find in some of the histories of education which we import. In the *Educational Ideal* of James P. Munro we read at p. 231:—"The school and the schoolmaster are still necessary factors in education, but they are no longer primary ones. They are adjunct only in the holy work that must rest supremely upon the father and mother." If this be so, all previous views of education have been so completely revolutionised as to render historical treatment of educational ideals a waste of time: education from this point of view loses all the features which have been associated with the name and defies all treatment of a fruitful kind. One quarter of Davidson's History is devoted to savage and barbarian education, of which, as he expresses it, we can only "divine the nature," and which in any case can hardly be brought into useful correlation with the education of more civilised peoples. But the horizon of these writers is contracted compared with that of Letourneau, who, in his very interesting *L'Evolution de l'éducation*, devotes more space to the education of elephants, chimpanzees, and other animals than to the education of man during the last five hundred years. In such

company, Professor Adams's *Evolution of Educational Theory* must seem hopelessly anthropocentric.

There are, however, other reasons to regret the want of native histories. No doubt it is wholesome "to see ourselves as others see us," and therefore when Graves (iii, 95) casually informs us that "as a whole the English occupation of New York would seem to have set public education back about one hundred years," or when Paul Monroe (p. 668) tells us that: "Through England came much of the Pestalozzian influence exerted on the United States, and to this is largely due the formal and even superficial character of much of it, relating as it does or did to petty methods," we can only be grateful for their bracing frankness and resolve to profit by it. But a large part of the chapters in Graves's book on modern education, dealing as they do with American life, are for us too exotic to be either interesting or useful in a general history. The space devoted to American education is, naturally enough from his point of view, about five times as great as that given to Britain. To this objection Monroe's books are not open; as digests of information punctiliously apportioned, they are irreproachable. But, to speak frankly, they are deadly dull, and written in a laboured style which is at times scarcely intelligible and is little better than broken English. It is hard to believe that on either side of the Atlantic expressions like the following are idiomatically correct:—"In numerous ones of these treatises," for many of these treatises; "great Renaissance leaders who exerted any wide reputation"; "grammatical texts which were impossible of any mastery save a verbal one," by which is apparently meant that they were learned by rote. It would be deeply regrettable if this standard of English expression were accepted by our future school-teachers on the authority of the Professor of the History of Education in Columbia University.¹

¹ As I have above spoken strongly in regard to the jargon which some educational writers, especially in Germany, choose to employ, I will quote in justification a continuous passage from Monroe (Text-book, p. 366):—"It has been noticed, previously, that while Plato defined the aim of education in terms of knowledge, and Cicero in terms of eloquence, meaning knowledge of content and of form of literature, much more was indicated by these terms than is now connoted. Both terms which now would indicate for the most part the receptive or even formal side of education then included the expression side as well. During the early Renaissance period this expression side was even wider than that indicated by efficiency in writing or speaking, since at that time these powers stood for that effective participation in the affairs of the times that is now represented by the differentiated activities of all of our learned professions and by the public press."

The tendency which this passage exemplifies, especially in the use of terms

At any rate, there is no reason why this history should be dull. Mahaffy's book on Greek education and Leach's on the schools of mediæval England are not wanting in human interest nor Mullinger's history of the University of Cambridge in descriptive powers. Quick's *Educational Reformers*, Matthew Arnold's sketch of popular education in France, and Newman's of the rise of universities are models of easy, lucid grace. The story of Vittorino da Feltre in his "Joyous Gard" at Mantua is an idyll; the life of Comenius is a romance of tragic adventure; Pestalozzi, Rabelais, Rousseau, and the Jesuits are fascinating psychological enigmas; Germany, the older, nobler Germany, has stirring tales of educational uprisings in the days of Luther and Napoleon; Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Herbart, and Herbert Spencer supply the philosophical framework.

This story, one might think, would have appealed to British power of narrative. But is it of any practical use to learn that story? Sir Frederick Pollock in claiming a place for political science, of which he had written a history, urged that his science must and does exist, if it were only for the refutation of absurd political theories and projects. In the same way, I would plead that at the lowest estimate the history of education is useful for the refutation of the daily papers. At a time when our education is being reconstructed, and erroneous deductions from imaginary facts are offered as pleas for questionable projects, this is no small merit. For instance, some protagonists of science, exhilarated by their victorious progress in the war against the Humanities, have recently abandoned their powerful positions in order to raid the neutral territories of history. One distinguished scientist has lately announced that, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Latin was taught because all available treatises on history, among other subjects, were in Latin; he has again announced that the restriction of the word Humanism to a literary connotation is a recent abuse of the term, which has no sanction from English literature or from the historians of the Renaissance. These two statements simply reverse the facts, as, to go no farther, the bibliography of Tudor translations in the Cambridge History of English Literature or a reference to the Oxford Dictionary would show.

Here again are other instances. For some time, utterances on such as "expression side," to introduce into history that symbolical or algebraical use of language, which is no doubt unavoidable in the treatment of exact science, is one to be resisted, as destructive of the finer shades and associations of words and paralysing to their natural growth.

educational reform have ended with the refrain : No Germanising of our schools. Of that there need be no fear, however efficient and thorough may be the teaching of the Huns :

Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

But in order to avoid Germanism, the first thing is to learn what it is ; and that is exactly what many of our monitors have not learned. Within the past few months I have seen the three following statements, two of them at least made by men whose words carry the greatest weight :—that in German higher schools Science has ousted the Classics ; that in German schools religious instruction is minimised, if not ignored ; that in Germany there is a startling uniformity of teaching method and of educational administration, the whole system being completely under the control of the State. These three statements reverse the facts. But as Professor Gilbert Murray has demolished the first and Professor Alison Phillips the second, my intrusion is uncalled for ; although, with regard to the second, it is a proof how completely Matthew Arnold is forgotten, that such a statement should be promulgated as indisputable fact, in face of the striking passage in his last “Special Report” of 1886, where Arnold contrasts the “energy and seriousness” of the religious teaching and the “intelligence and interest” of the children—“No one could watch the faces of the children, of the girls particularly, without feeling that something in their nature responded to what they were repeating, and was moved by it”—with the detachment of the adult working classes in Germany from the received religion. The third statement mentioned above is, to say the least, extremely misleading to an English reader. There is *no* control by the State in Germany, such as there is in France and England, because there is no central Department ; each State has its own independent Education Department. The diversity of organisation, programme, and even nomenclature in the Mittelschulen is simply bewildering ; and, in the stages of education below the Gymnasien, there is local initiative, finance, building, and even inspection. The similarity, by no means uniformity, which prevails is due not to centralised administration, but to unanimity of national aspirations and docility of national character.

The history of education can, however, confer other benefits than the revision of unwarranted statements of fact. It corrects the tendency to deduce the effects of various studies and methods from psychological premises, which do not take account of such

things as the force of inertia, the energy of illogical impulses, and the nature of the social and political environment. The psychologist is slow to recognise that for the educationist it is more important to learn what is the actual effect of certain studies in the complexity of life than what it ought to be according to the laws of his still imperfect science. Instances of this will easily be found in the discussions in our educational papers. There are many problems in education which cannot as yet be solved by the application of scientific methods. The results of experiments cannot be ascertained for at least a generation, and are complicated with the problems of sociology. Therefore it is well to call in the aid of those who have discussed and attempted similar experiments in the past. Comenius will throw light on the question between the classicists and the scientists; and the study of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel would help us to view Dr. Montessori's work in due perspective. None the less, like all other history, that of education is psychological both in itself and in its action on ourselves. Below the varying lights of victory and defeat, success and failure which play along the surface, it enables us to plumb and measure the current of ideas, which have been the motive force; and to our own minds it lends flexibility of judgment and provides a suitable atmosphere, that will not refract our vision, in contemplating educational problems, which must be solved as such.

H. M. BEATTY.

SOME PROBLEMS OF HISTORY TEACHING IN GIRLS' SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS.

[The writer of this article wishes to express her thanks to the following, who have kindly given the opinions quoted below on some of the points raised: Miss Burstall, Head Mistress of the Manchester High School for Girls; Miss Grant, Head Mistress of the Withington High School; Miss Major, Head Mistress of King Edward VI.'s High School for Girls, Birmingham; Miss Baylay, of the North London Collegiate School for Girls; Miss Dent, of the Clapham High School; Miss Noakes, of St. Paul's Girls' School; Miss Norris, of the James Allen's School.]

At the present moment the importance of history as a subject in the curriculum of girls' schools is too self-evident to need emphasis. The girls now growing up in our schools must be sent out into the world with sufficient knowledge of history to equip them for the part they will have to play in the building up of the new world after the War. There probably never has been a time when teachers of history have been so keenly conscious of their responsibilities and have been so anxious to learn from the experience of others. The object of this article, therefore, is to discuss some of the practical problems which confront the teacher of history in secondary day schools for girls, in the hope that correspondence will follow giving the views of those who have spent time and thought on the solution of these problems.

Assuming that the history teacher has a knowledge of and love for her subject and the power of arousing interest in her pupils, her chief difficulties are, it seems to me, of syllabus rather than of method, and may be summed up in one word—selection. The subject is so vast and has so many aspects, the time allotted to it in school is so short—what is to be included in the history syllabus? What aspects are to be emphasised? Above all, what is to be left out? For in order that we may teach the children what they ought to know about present-day affairs we must make up our minds to throw overboard much that was relatively unimportant in the history that we ourselves learned at school.

These problems of selection and limitation are more acute in girls' schools than in boys' schools, because the curriculum of most girls' schools is overweighted. In day schools, at any rate, there are more claims out of school hours on a girl's time than on that of her brother, and she is in more danger of overwork and overstrain. She has little time for reading, and whatever happens she must not be encouraged to sit up late at night. How can we so plan out her work in the scanty hours assigned to history that she shall leave school with some real understanding of the outlines of the history of the British Empire and with sufficient knowledge of European history to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the present? Any attempt to lay down general laws as to the history syllabus must, of necessity, be hopeless. Each school must work out the scheme which best suits its own conditions. And the most determining of these conditions are the length of the school life, the nature of the girls' homes, and, alas! the nature of the examinations taken.

Where the age of entry is eight to ten and the leaving age eighteen to nineteen much, of course, can be done that is impossible in schools where the age of entry is eleven to thirteen and the leaving age sixteen to seventeen. In girls' schools of the first type, for example, it seems generally agreed that a course of outlines of European history in the middle school is advisable—whether it is wise to attempt this in schools of the second type is an interesting problem.

In schools where, as a rule, the girls come from homes where good English is spoken, where standard books are read and topics of the day intelligently discussed, much ground may be covered in history which it would be foolish to attempt to cover in schools where the majority of the girls lack such advantages. To those whose work lies in universities or secondary schools of the first grade it would probably come as a shock to find how illiterate and lacking in general information are many of the pupils in other secondary schools. In the training of history teachers it would be well if emphasis were laid on the necessity of facing the real conditions of particular schools in planning out the history work. Otherwise, in their enthusiasm, young teachers may attempt to teach far too much, with the result that the children's minds are left in a hopeless state of muddle and confusion. And if students in training could realise how little time the average school girl gives to history in the whole of her school life, they would understand how necessary it is to

manage their time economically, and to plan out carefully the ground to be covered in every lesson.

It is all a question of time. Probably few of us have realised until public attention has lately been called to the matter how short is the school life of many of the pupils in a secondary school, partly on account of late entry, partly on account of premature leaving. No subject in the curriculum should benefit more than history by the lengthening of the school course which public opinion is demanding, for, as Dr. Reid pointed out at the Annual Meeting, "the systematic study of history cannot begin until the children are able to reason and realise the sequence of cause and effect," and many of them now leave school or drop the subject just as their reasoning powers are beginning to develop.

History teachers must all be watching with the keenest interest the steps which are being taken by the Board of Education to encourage the lengthening of school life, and in particular the provisions for Advanced Courses in the new Regulations of the Board of Education for Secondary Schools. The reason for the encouragement of these classes is given as follows :—

Recent investigation has fully confirmed the view that the Secondary Schools are not sending forward to the Universities and other places of higher education and research a number of properly qualified students adequate to the national need. The Board regard this deficiency as due in some measure to insufficient provision for the organisation and aid of advanced work in Schools which not only provide a sound and well-organised general education up to the age of 16 or over, but retain a proportion of pupils up to the age of about 18.

Provision is accordingly made for the encouragement of such advanced work by means of additional grants, the following conditions being laid down :—

A School in receipt of Grant under Chapter VII. of these Regulations may be recognised by the Board as providing an organised Course of Advanced Instruction, extending over two years, for pupils who have reached the stage marked by an examination approved by the Board, to be called the First Examination.

The Course must be planned so as to lead up to attainment of the standard required for entering an Honours Course at a University or Institution of University rank, and must provide suitable instruction for this purpose in one or other of the following groups of subjects :—

(1) Science and Mathematics.

(2) Classics : the Latin and Greek languages, literature and history.

(3) Modern Studies : two languages other than English, of which Latin may be one, with their literature, and modern history, including the history of England and Greater Britain.

The Course must also in each case provide such instruction in subjects

of a general curriculum outside of the group selected for special study, and in particular in the English language, as will continue and consolidate the previous education.

The course in Modern Studies is further defined as follows :—

- (3) Modern Studies : which must include the study of (a) two languages other than English, with their literature, (b) modern history on broad lines, and including the history of England and of Greater Britain, but also bearing special relation to the two languages chosen. For this purpose the term "modern" is to be taken in a wide sense; it must include as regards history, and may include as regards literature, the period which is usually called mediæval in distinction to a more limited sense of the word modern. Latin, as the common language of Europe until comparatively recent times, and as necessary for the effective study of history up to the 17th century, may be one of the two languages taken in this Course. But the linguistic study of the mediæval forms of a modern language, except incidentally, falls beyond the scope of this Course.

How will the establishment of these Advanced Courses affect the VI. Form work in history? Much depends on the way in which the regulations are to be interpreted, but it is indeed to be hoped that they will ensure that girls who are taking the Advanced Course in science and mathematics or classics will no longer drop their history after passing the "First Examination." History must surely be one of the "subjects of a general curriculum outside of the group selected for special study in which such instruction will be provided as will continue and consolidate the previous education." If this be so, a great gain will have been secured. It is simply heartrending at present that intelligent girls specialising in classics, mathematics, and science should have no time in their last two years at school to read history—just when they need their history lessons most, and could most profit by them.

But a great change will be necessary in the requirements of the scholarship examinations in classics and science at the Universities and Women's Colleges if these regulations are to be carried out. The scholarships open to girls are so few, and the competition so keen, that the standard expected is too high for school girls, and necessitates premature specialisation. To quote the words of Miss Burstall, Head Mistress of the Manchester High School for Girls: "It would be desirable that all older pupils should have some knowledge of how modern Europe has come to be, and of the political and social problems involved in this, but such study cannot be added to what has to be done in Form VI. at present unless something is taken off. I can

only say again that all the standards for VI. Form work are much too high. It is the college scholarship system that is wrong, and blocks the way to any reform."

And what of the girls who are specialising in history who will be working under the Modern Studies Course? Here again the question of scholarship examinations comes in as setting the standard of work required in history, and influencing, as Mr. Marten has pointed out, not only the scholarship candidates themselves, but those other pupils "brigaded with scholarship candidates for the purposes of study." On paper the requirements for the various history scholarships seem reasonable,¹ most of them including general English history and European history or ancient history, together with an Essay or General Knowledge paper and a Translation paper. It is unfortunate, however, that there should be such diversity in the periods of history set, as this must make it difficult for a girl to compete for more than one scholarship, or for girls who are competing for different scholarships to work together. It is unfortunate, too, that English history still often stops at 1832, or even earlier. As a case in point I may mention the experience of a history mistress, who tells me: "I have just sent in a girl for a history scholarship where 'English history' was set. In the light of recent events, and the importance of girls knowing the history of their own times, we have read quite modern history, but no question was set after the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century."

But whatever the requirements of the syllabus may be, in history, as in other subjects, the keenness of the competition seems to have raised the standard expected from scholarship candidates to an unduly high pitch, at any rate at Oxford and Cambridge.²

The history mistress at one large London school writes: "The modern Humanistic Course as suggested would only be possible with the co-operation of the Women's Colleges. At present, candidates for University Entrance Scholarships are expected to attain so high a standard of specialisation in history that it would be impossible to study language and literature at the same time. As of recent years the specialisation demanded

¹ See leaflet No. 3—annually revised—of the Historical Association: "A Summary of Historical Examinations affecting Schools."

² A less exacting standard seems to exist for the history scholarships at some of the Colleges in the University of London, for the Jones History Scholarship at the University of Manchester, and for the Warwickshire Major Scholarship.

from scholarship candidates has been very marked, I should welcome a change which would broaden the curriculum of these candidates." The degree of specialisation seems to be due not so much to the nature of the syllabus as to the type of questions set, which, in the words of the writer quoted above, "do not really require a wealth of detail, but that breadth of treatment that can only come with wide reading and with a background of solid fact." Another history mistress writes: "When I have asked for a report on my candidates I have been given to understand that at Oxford, for example, a very high standard in style is required and a wide range of reading." Another mistress with much experience in preparing scholarship candidates says: "My experience is that the questions set are of an exceedingly broad and interesting kind. I do not believe that much detailed knowledge is required. What wins the scholarship is originality, good style, evidence of thought, and wide reading. Now no amount of set lessons from the teacher can give this. I am sure girls can be too much *taught*. What they want is hours in a library of good books. Also it must always be remembered that much account is taken of the General Knowledge paper, and in some cases of the English Essay. The question to my mind is, if it is wise to demand so much time as this wide reading requires from young girls in their last years of school life when they are going to give up three or even four years to the one subject at the University."

Here we seem to reach the crux of the problem. What is the proper relation between the work of the VI. Form at school and the work of the Universities? What is the right amount of specialisation to be expected from scholarship candidates?

It is most important that the girl who is going to read history at the University should not give an undue amount of time to the subject at school to the detriment of her general education, and for this reason one would welcome the broadening of the curriculum as laid down in the suggestions for the Course in Modern Studies. And yet if much time is to be given to the subsidiary subjects, there is a danger, as one head mistress says, that "the programme is too extensive to be thorough. It seems to me," she continues, "desirable that girls before going up to a University should have some notion of what independent work means, *i.e.*, that they should study at least one subject thoroughly. There are five lessons each day, and I try to let every girl have at least one hour free in the morning for reading." We should all, I am sure, agree that this power

of reading intelligently and systematically by herself is one of the most valuable assets which a girl can possess at the beginning of her University career. We should all agree too with another head mistress, who, writing of the danger of overcrowding these last two years at school, says: "Fresh thought seems to die under the pressure and hurry, and the end is lost rather than gained, when there is the feeling that there is never a moment to stop and think—still less to dream a dream and see a vision."

One wonders how the Board's regulations would work out in practice for a girl taking the Advanced Course in Modern Studies as a preparation for history honours at a University. She would need three lessons a week, at least, for each of the "two languages other than English," and as one of these would, owing to University requirements, of necessity be Latin, some time would have to be given to Roman history. Two or three lessons would have to be given in English, including essay writing. What would be the other subjects of a general curriculum outside of the "group selected for special study in which such instruction will be provided as will continue and consolidate the previous education"? Geography seems the most appropriate. Scripture, of course, will be continued, and it is important that physical exercises and singing should not be dropped. If the girl is going to Oxford or Cambridge she must get through the necessary amount of Greek, and for Cambridge she may have to read some Logic or Paley's Evidences as well. There is not very much time left for history lessons and independent reading.

Perhaps, however, the idea of the Board is that some of the subsidiary subjects should be dropped at the end of the first year, so that in her last year the girl should have more time for reading and for writing essays and papers requiring thought.

It is interesting to note that the Board's regulations assume that two years will be spent at school after the "First Examination" before a girl proceeds to the University. If this could be insisted on in the case of all pupils it would indeed be a great gain, and there would be fewer complaints from the University lecturers that the Secondary Schools send up students without sufficient general education to profit by a University course.

The danger of rush and hurry with no time for thinking is not, however, confined to post-Matriculation work, and may exist in lower forms, especially in those schools where the normal leaving age is sixteen to seventeen. The work of the forms immediately below the Sixth must of necessity be affected

by the nature of "First Examination" approved of by the Board as such, and adapted to pupils of a normal age of about sixteen.¹ Such examinations would be the Oxford and Cambridge Senior Locals, the examination for the School Certificate of the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board, the Matriculation Examinations of the Northern Universities and of Birmingham, and the Senior School and Matriculation Examinations of the University of London. It would be interesting to hear from correspondents of HISTORY what effect these various examinations have on the work of the schools. The history syllabuses of the first two offer so many options that they can have little determining effect on schemes of work. The Joint Boards, the Northern Universities, and Birmingham agree in setting alternative papers on the earlier and later parts of the outlines of English history—the later period in each case beginning at 1603. This seems a much better starting point for the later period than that of 1485 chosen for the London Examinations. For London Matriculation (external) the history syllabus laid down is "Modern History, English, 1485–1901, with some reference to the Colonies and Europe." For the Senior School Certificate Examination, *i.e.*, the form of the examination by means of which most London school girls matriculate, questions have to be answered in two of the three periods 1066–1485, 1485–1688, 1688–1901. Most schools take the later periods, 1485–1901, as it is important for the girls to learn about the history of modern times in what is so often the last year of their history course at school. But would it not be much better if the period were less extensive, beginning at 1603 or 1688 instead of at 1485? The Historical Association has always advocated the teaching of outlines in the main school course rather than the detailed study of special periods. But this can be secured by the Board of Education's inspection of school syllabuses. It is one thing to insist that every school girl shall have been through a course of outlines, it is quite a different thing to insist that she should be examined, in an examination comprising so many subjects, on such a wide stretch of history as that from 1485–1901—a period so complicated in the later part. The necessary revision is a great burden, the more so because one cannot be sure that the questions will really be questions on outlines suitable for the candidates' age.

For these reasons I, for one, should welcome a shortening

¹ It should be noted that where sixteen is the normal age for the First Examination for boys, seventeen should be the normal age for the majority of girls.

of the period set for the Senior London Examination. The head of the school could, if necessary, give a certificate that the candidate had, during her school life, been through a course of outlines.

Perhaps the most difficult work of all which falls to the lot of the history mistress is the preparation of girls of about sixteen for such an examination as this, especially in a school where the girls have not many advantages at home. They have so many subjects on hand, they have so little time to give to each one, the mere passing of the examination makes so much difference to their future. They are apt to become worried, and if the work is in the hands of an unskilful teacher they become muddled and may develop a real dislike for history. What is it possible to do for them? I do not think that the answer can be better given than in the following extract from a paper written by a mistress with many years' experience in a secondary school in a London suburb :—

“We cannot assume that our girls come from cultivated homes where they are accustomed to hear questions of public interest discussed, and where reading is a habit; they have no background of general knowledge, and when they enter the Upper V. at the age of fifteen or sixteen their reasoning powers have still to be developed. My experience of the average girl of that age is that she is hard-working and conscientious, but not clever. She will learn masses of facts without discriminating as to their relative value. She cannot see the wood for the trees.

“It is here that the teacher can help. We have to get our girls through their examination, but we must see to it that at the end they have not merely acquired laboriously a knowledge of certain facts, but that they do begin to perceive the meaning of it all. Our limitations are so many that we can do very little, but there are certain things we *can* do. We can by keeping the present continually before them show them that history is a living thing that has its roots in the past and is still growing, not dead matter about which certain facts can be learnt. We can show them that they can find for themselves in the past the seeds of present good and present evil. They can see that whatsoever a man—or a nation—soweth, that will he also reap—that and nothing else. And they do take an interest in seeing these things. When they first read of Hawkins' traffic in slaves they can be made to look ahead for a minute to the war between the North and South, and America's problem to-day with her population of blacks. They can be shown that here, and here,

and here, we made mistakes in our dealings with Ireland, and the fruits of our mistakes confront us now. Throughout the wars of the eighteenth century we can trace the steady growth of Prussia and the development of the British sea power, and we can see what these things mean to-day. This we can do.

"We can keep before them steadily, too, the debt we owe to our great men of the past. That, too, is apt to be lost sight of, even in learning all the many things some great man did. We can sum it up. What does it all come to? Why do we remember that man? This perhaps will remain in their minds.

"One other thing. In history more than in any other subject, except English literature, the girls have an opportunity of learning to read. They need to learn. What most girls like is to have notes dictated which they can learn off, and so be spared the trouble of selecting or thinking for themselves. I believe it is invaluable for them to have a good text-book, such a book as Gardiner's 'Students' History' or Warner and Marten's 'Groundwork of British History,' and for them really to learn to read it profitably, to find their way about it, and to learn to select quickly from the printed pages the facts or the thoughts they require.

"In all this I have considered only the question of reading, but there remains the almost greater difficulty of teaching the girls to write clear and concise answers to their questions. Here the lack of general culture tells almost more than in reading, and a great deal of time has necessarily to be spent in going over written work, for the girls need constant practice to enable them to acquire a power of expressing themselves in simple English, which would be taken for granted in girls and boys of examination age who have had greater advantages at home."

In these paragraphs the writer has indicated the problems which confront the history teacher in the Matriculation class. But what of the work in the classes below? How can it best be planned out in the interests of all the pupils? In a London school such as the one described the problem is a very difficult one. There are at least three sets of girls to be considered: (a) those who enter the school from eight to ten years of age, and stay on until they have matriculated; (b) the scholarship winners from elementary schools who join the school at eleven to twelve, and should, if possible, matriculate at sixteen to seventeen when their five years' scholarship expires; (c) the less "bookish" girls who have entered the school young, and leave without reaching an examination class. Of course, there are others who come late

and leave early, but they cannot be considered in framing the curriculum.

In the interest of groups (a) and (b), the study of the complicated later period should be put off as long as possible, but then the girls in group (c) may leave school without having reached the later period at all. In the interest of group (a), time should be given for simple ancient history in the Lower school, and probably a year could well be spent on European history in the Upper IV. or Lower V. As Miss Burstall says, "European history should, we here think, be taught in the Middle school at about fourteen to fifteen and a half: girls are getting tired of English history by this time—they have done it for years, and it is refreshing to have a simple course of European history. After such a study they come back to their regular British history for Matriculation with fresher minds and better understanding." But can the scholarship girls spare one of their five years for European history?

The problem of framing a syllabus satisfactorily for all three groups seems to me almost insoluble, unless indeed the difficulty is evaded by a system of parallel forms which has the obvious disadvantage of segregating the different groups. In the school which I represent we are still experimenting. Perhaps some more fortunate readers of HISTORY have already found the happy solution.

M. A. HOWARD.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE are privileged in this number of HISTORY to print a letter from the President of the Board of Education, in which he explains the unsurpassed importance of historical studies to the country, and emphasises the duty, more urgent even in time of war than in time of peace, of members of the Historical Association to support and maintain its varied activities. Subscribers to HISTORY have no cause to feel conscience-stricken by Mr. Fisher's exhortation. It is needed far more by those members who do not subscribe to HISTORY, and thereby cripple the other activities of the Association, which have to be restricted by the financial assistance required for the support of the quarterly journal. Every member who does not subscribe to HISTORY is helping to reduce the number of leaflets and bibliographies issued by the Association; and teachers of history should be the last people to think that education can safely be left to look after itself until after the war.

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In fulfilment of the hope held out in our last number, we are glad to publish an article by Miss Howard, M.A., Headmistress of James Allen's Girls' School, Dulwich, on "Some Problems of History Teaching in Girls' Secondary Day Schools." The problem of history scholarships for girls—a counterpart of that examined in Mr. Marten's article—is dealt with from the University teacher's point of view in an interesting letter from Miss F. Street, M.A., Resident History Tutor at the Royal Holloway College; and a suggestive experiment in teaching history is described in another letter by Miss N. Nield, M.A., Headmistress of the Grammar School for Girls, Bridgnorth. In our next number we hope to deal with the teaching of history in Preparatory and in Public Elementary Schools.

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No less serious than the problems of teaching is the difficulty the teacher experiences in keeping himself or herself abreast of the progress in historical science. Research has revolutionised history as much as it has natural science during the last half-century. Fresh truths are ever being revealed and old truths placed in a fuller or a different light. But this light takes long to penetrate the opaque pages of our text-books, which are still

full of exploded legends about Magna Carta, religious persecutions, naval battles—including the “little” *Revenge* and the tactics of Trafalgar—numbers in war, and so forth. In our next number we hope to begin a series of notes correcting some of these time-honoured myths.

* * * * *

The regulations quoted by Miss Howard (p. 98), for the “Advanced Courses” for pupils of sixteen years and over at Secondary Schools, just issued by the Board of Education (Cd. 8541), are of considerable interest for all concerned in the development of history teaching. It is satisfactory to notice that the inclusion of Latin as a possible language is in accordance with the resolution of the Council of the Historical Association (see April number of HISTORY, p. 46), which pleaded for some latitude in the choice of languages for those who make history their main or one of their main objects of study. It is important, however, that boys taking Classics or Science or Mathematics for their “advanced course” should not neglect the study of Modern History.

* * * * *

The inclusion in all the “Modern Studies” of “modern history on broad lines, and including the history of England and of Greater Britain” is also in keeping with the policy adopted by the Historical Association in resolutions passed at the annual meetings of 1911 and 1917 (see *Fifth Annual Report*, p. 13; *Leaflet* No. 43; and HISTORY ii, 47-50). It may further help towards remedying that chaos of examination syllabuses which is the despair of teachers preparing pupils for matriculation or school-leaving examinations. Those tests should always be as comprehensive as possible; they should not be designed to test merely the pupil’s capacity to cram during the last few months before examination, but the standard of historical education reached as the result of his or her whole school-career. Periods of English or foreign history can never be satisfactory from this point of view, just as no one nowadays tests a student’s linguistic capabilities solely by means of a set book. It is of course, all to the good if pupils can add the more intensive study of a period to their general knowledge of history; but the period should never be accepted by itself, without some guarantee that it does not represent the sum total of the candidate’s historical education.

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Another step in the right direction is the formation, under the auspices of the Board of Education, of a “Secondary Schools

Examinations Council." The Council will consist of eighteen persons, and will in the first instance be constituted as follows :—

One member each to be appointed by the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, the Oxford Delegacy for Local Examinations, the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Examinations, Bristol University, Durham University, and London University; three members from the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board, two from the County Councils Association, two from the Municipal Corporations Association, four from the Teachers' Registration Council, and one from the Standing Committee of Professional Bodies.

A chairman will be appointed by the Department from outside the Council.

* * * * *

The Council will consult the Board before committing itself on questions of principle or policy which are controversial or specially important. Officers of the Board who attend meetings as assessors may request the Council to refer any such question to the Board. The first duty of the Council will be to consider the approval of examining bodies, and it will deal with the following matters :—

(a) The maintenance by each approved examining body of an adequate standard both for a pass in the examination and for a pass with credit;

(b) Investigation of complaints made by school authorities with regard to examinations;

(c) Promotion of conferences with examining bodies and others as occasion arises;

(d) The form and contents of the certificates issued on the result of the examinations;

(e) Negotiations with universities and professional bodies for the acceptance of the examination certificates as exempting the holders from certain other examinations.

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It will be no small advance to get these various bodies together, and the new Council may be the beginning of an answer to the question we asked in April whether the national reorganisation, to which so much lip-service is now rendered, would include a national organisation of universities. But the composition of the Council is not beyond reproach; the single member who is to represent all the Professional Bodies will have a distracting time, and the university representation may tend to fall into the hands of the bureaucrats who are more concerned with examinations as a profitable business than as an educational expedient. The Council will be almost exclusively an external body, the teachers whose pupils will be under its jurisdiction being represented only partially and indirectly through the four members nominated by the Teachers' Registration Council.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Royal Holloway College.

SIR,

I read with much interest Mr. Marten's article on history scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, and was particularly glad to see that he had included the point of view of the college tutors who prescribe the requirements of the various scholarship examinations, as well as that of the history masters who prepare candidates for them. If the articles which are to follow in subsequent numbers of HISTORY take an equally wide view, they may be the means of initiating an exchange of ideas between teachers of history which is very desirable.

I trust, however, that in dealing with history scholarships for girls it will not be forgotten that the scholarships offered by London colleges form a considerable proportion of the whole, and that in general the younger universities ought to be dealt with as well as Oxford and Cambridge.

A good deal has been said and written lately about over-pressure in girls' schools and the part played by the requirements of the scholarship examinations in causing this. It would be very useful if the Historical Association, through its journal, could initiate reforms in this matter so far as they are possible without lowering the standard.

From the scholarship syllabuses set out in Leaflet 3, I gather that there is already general agreement as to the desirability of including four tests in the examination:—

1. A paper on a fairly wide range of English history.
2. A paper on a special period of English or European history.
3. A general paper or English essay or both.
4. A translation paper requiring a knowledge of two languages.

Two of these only deal with the main subject which the candidate offers, and the remaining two with subsidiary branches of knowledge and general reading; but in my experience the two latter are most essential parts of the examination. The general paper is extremely useful in affording an opportunity for a candidate of power and originality to distinguish herself; it never fails to mark out girls of this type from those in whom mediocre ability has been successfully overlaid by good teaching. This is clearly visible on comparing the results obtained on this paper with those obtained on the special period; candidates who are very near together on the latter are often widely sundered by the more searching test.

The language paper is essential on other grounds; an adequate knowledge of two languages at least, usually Latin and French, is essential for the necessary reading of an honours course in history, and cannot be acquired in college without proper preparation. Further, in the London course two languages are usually necessary to pass the intermediate examination, and the holder of a scholarship in history ought to have reached such a degree of proficiency

in the necessary languages as to be able to take them in the intermediate course without special effort.

Personally, however, I find the language paper not merely necessary, but useful, in estimating a candidate's powers. It is quite true that language ability may be found together with an absolute lack of any political sense or of instinct for historical significance. No one who has taught history to an intermediate class containing members of different honours schools, as well as pass students, can fail to be painfully aware of that fact. But where historical promise is found in conjunction with linguistic ability a candidate not only begins her college course with an immense advantage, but is more likely than the bad linguist to have the mind of the scholar. While, therefore, the languages should be kept in their subordinate position in an examination for a history scholarship, it is essential that they should be included in it.

As to the two history papers, there is no need to dwell upon the value or necessity of one in general English history; here there is likely to be little disagreement, but in regard to the special period I think reforms might be effected. I should be unwilling to give up a European period and substitute one in English history, or even to make the European history optional. Candidates for a history scholarship ought to have made some attempt to read European history before they begin a University course, and prescribing a special period seems the most reasonable way of ensuring this; but the paper is often much less useful than it should be. So much appears to be made of preparation for it by special coaching that it often proves the least illuminating paper as to the difference between the candidates. In some cases candidates have been prevented from attempting a history scholarship for lack of this special preparation, and have offered instead their second best subject; they do not succeed in reaching scholarship level in this (say, some modern language), but often show considerable promise in the one history paper which they take as subsidiary to it. This state of things seems to me to indicate a fundamental mistake in the preparation. A candidate who is good enough to be sent up for a history scholarship at all ought to be quite capable of reading such a special period for herself if she has gone through a well-balanced school course which includes some teaching of European history. She would, of course, require guidance and advice as to books, but this could be given by any competent history mistress who had read general European history such as is necessary for the London Honours Examination. Such an opportunity for independent reading would give far better training and preparation for University work than special teaching of a minute kind, and would produce better results in the scholarship examination with candidates of the right kind. The rare cases in which I have known a candidate prepare herself for this paper certainly suggest the superiority of the method.

There is, however, one practical difficulty which might be lessened by co-operation; I mean the multiplicity and variety of the periods set by the various colleges in any one year. Would it be possible for the Historical Association to arrange for some means of conference upon this point? The work of the schools would be simplified and lightened and the effectiveness of the scholarship system be increased if we could agree upon, say, one mediæval and

one modern period of European history to be set each year, taking into account other examinations which affect the same class in the schools, such as the higher local. This would facilitate the practice already common of preparing for a scholarship examination at more than one college within the year, so as to take advantage, without overstrain, of the succession of opportunities afforded by their different dates.

There are at present so few scholarships for women students relatively to their needs and capacities that the scholarship standard becomes forced up by the keen competition, and the problem is really created by this comparative lack of endowments rather than by the exacting demands of the colleges. We may, however, lighten the burden and equalise the distribution of the few which are available by organising effectively what we have. I am sure that the Historical Association, in arranging for such improved organisation by co-operation, would be fulfilling a very useful function. FANNY STREET.

The Girls' Grammar School, Bridgnorth.

SIR,

A certain dissatisfaction, which had long been growing in my mind, as to the relative amount of work done by myself and my pupils, was increased by a reading of Mr. McMunn's suggestive and interesting book, *A Path to Freedom in the Schools*, and I determined to experiment in the possibilities of self-education in the history lesson. I had previously made a somewhat similar experiment, but on that occasion the material had been a class of about ten girls aged seventeen to nineteen, of picked intelligence, with a good library at their command, and the method adopted had been practically that of the seminar. My new experiment was to be on different lines. I chose a class of girls, eighteen in number, aged twelve to fourteen, most of whom had only been in the school for one year, and, having come from an elementary school, had only had systematic history instruction during that year. It was an average form, containing no girl of more than ordinary ability, and several very slow girls. The school library was small and inadequate, and there was no public library in the town. The girls were the daughters either of farmers, who apparently possess fewer books than any class of corresponding means in the country, or of small shopkeepers and artisans, who had secured scholarships.

During the previous school year we had covered the ground as far as the reign of Henry II., using Morris's *Great Britain and Ireland* as a text-book. According to the official syllabus, we ought to have done a good deal more, but we had been slow, and so I was anxious the children should get on as quickly as possible, and set the period 1189 to 1485 as the subject of the term's work. At the first lesson of the term I explained that I should not teach them at all, but leave them to learn as much as they could by themselves.

My preparations consisted of the accumulation of all books on the period I could obtain, without paying particular attention to their literary value. Some came from the school library, some were my own. In all I secured about fifty volumes, including such books as Green's *Short History*, Fletcher's *Introductory History*, Yonge's

Cameos, Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, and selections from Froissart. In addition I put on the shelf two historical atlases and three books of illustrations. I also hung up in the room a list of historical novels bearing on the period, and a list of suggested subjects for essays. The girls had each a copy of the text-book used the previous year, and a copy of the *Piers Plowman Histories*, Vol. IV. I then left them to their own devices, offering no advice, though I was always ready to answer questions. The writing of essays was entirely voluntary, and the girls could choose their own subjects.

The first and least important result to notice is that the girls acquired nearly as much knowledge as they would have done if taught in the ordinary way. The answers to the examination paper I set were marked by a lady unconnected with the school, who has had considerable experience in teaching history and marking papers, and she considered that the papers compared favourably with those usually produced by girls of that age. Their knowledge was somewhat uneven, some questions being answered with more details than others, but they had an accurate knowledge of facts, and knew something, at least, of the main events. Secondly—and this I consider important—they had learnt for themselves the value of good notes. At first they found themselves writing essays in notebooks, and were at a loss how to obtain the summaries they knew they desired. A few words of advice from me helped them to grasp the value of headings and sub-headings, and many of the notebooks at the end of term showed a power of logical arrangement which would be of great use in any subject, and were an evidence of clearness of thought. And they had discovered also the advantage of subject rather than of chronological arrangement. I consider that the child of twelve who says "I think I will make my notes on the 100 years' war up to the end and then come back and 'do' the Peasants' Revolt" has achieved for herself a step of real intellectual activity.

In the third place there has developed during the term some criticism of books. "Are you reading about Joan of Arc?" says one child to another. "Then I shouldn't use that book. It isn't nearly as interesting as such-and-such a one"—an independent criticism, and so of value.

Interest has never flagged. Personally I think interest in history among children very rarely does flag. But in this case the pleasure of listening to a well-told story could no longer contribute to the interest, and the teacher's admonition no longer revived the failing attention. Yet I never saw any time wasted. It was sometimes mis-spent, but no child ever sat passive and idle or sought for extraneous amusement. I did not by any means spend all my time in the room, and there was no restriction on conversation, but I never returned to the room to find them not working hard. There was an eager demand in the library for the novels recommended.

But, above all, the children had learnt to depend on themselves and to procure knowledge for themselves. I am convinced that their pleasure in the system (and they approved highly of the method) was due partly to the fact that they had continual scope for their activity, and partly to the fact that they could follow their own lines of interest in a way impossible when the teaching is on the ordinary method. I was much interested in the various aspects

of history which appealed to different children. Social history undoubtedly proved the most absorbing, but military matters were keenly discussed, probably owing to the war.

Do we stifle thought in our schools at the present day? I am by no means sure that we do not, and I am sure we do not encourage hard work as we should. My method was designed to encourage thought and to teach the children to work. I feel sure that it has done so, in some degree; and that is why I am venturing to give this account of my experiment as a suggestion to those who believe, as I do, that we have fallen short, as a nation, of the high standard of intellectual independence and industry attained by previous generations to whom knowledge was a rarer, and, therefore, more precious, possession.

N. NEILD.

Staff Mess, Twezeltdown Camp, Fleet.

SIR,

I have read with interest the criticism, in your April number, of certain points made by your reviewer of Green's *Short History*. While avowing my complete ignorance, as a classically educated public school man, of history in its best sense, perhaps this very ignorance may entitle me to venture my opinion.

It has been, I think, the fate of most boys who receive an average preparatory and public school education to be introduced to history in the wrong way. It is represented as a succession of disjointed occurrences; they have to find out and remember *when* these happened, at what date and in whose reign, but it is long before they realise, or even discover the importance of realising, *why* they happened. The history of religious and political revolutions, the secret of individual and national ascendancy and downfall, all this scarcely comes within their horizon. A minute knowledge of a text-book on history—few school histories are anything more—is the most expected of them.

The argument was advanced that, as only indifferent instructors were available, accuracy was the first postulate in the book used. But, granting even that the "text-book" is in all cases a model of accuracy (a very rash assumption), surely use could be made of it where necessary by a teacher uncertain of his facts, without making it his only medium of instruction. Used as a book of reference, most school-books on history would be admirable. But a horror of the open use of books of reference "in school" seems ingrained in the teaching profession, a horror quite unjustified by experience. For the problems most needing solution in life demand, not a good memory for a series of facts, but the power to make deductions from known data, a power which might be tremendously developed by a more intelligent teaching of history in schools.

The difficulty of the political bias—one way or the other—of all histories is, of course, always with us. But would it not be partly met by making a sharp distinction between the text-book—which would be purged of everything except bare chronicled facts—and the history, which would be a frankly biased consideration of history by men of experience and intelligence? It is not so much when a political opinion is presented as such that it bears undue weight, as when it gains credibility (as it does at present) from its ingenious insertion in an otherwise colourless series of undisputed facts.

INEXPERTUS.

REVIEWS

The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe. By EDWARD M. HULME, Professor of History in the University of Idaho. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1915.

THE interest of the Renaissance and its sequel the Reformation is abiding. For it was no mere revival of learning and art. Rather it was a setting free of the human spirit from the bonds of authority, superstition, and decadent ideals; and it laid the foundation of a new, free, and human conception of nature and of man, a conception that enabled the human spirit to work out for itself new conceptions of social culture, new theories of the State, new systems of education, new arts, new sciences, new philosophies, creating a new heaven as well as a new earth. Hitherto we have had to go to the large works of scholars like Burckhardt for anything like a full account of this great movement, and there has been a real need for a survey of European thought from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth which could be read by older pupils and young students who are not specialising in history. This Mr. Hulme has aimed at giving us.

Obviously based on the work of earlier writers, Mr. Hulme's treatment of his subject has the freshness that only the individual vision gives. It was therefore with regret that the reviewer became aware of certain blemishes in an otherwise admirable book. To the chapters on the Renaissance little exception can be taken. For, although to Mr. Hulme the Renaissance is an era rather than a movement, and the revival of the nation, of the individual, of literature, of art, of science, and of conscience, are separate factors constituting that era rather than several phases of a single movement, he rightly insists on individuality as the greatest of these factors, thereby giving unity to his treatment of a many-sided subject. His treatment of the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation is however, more open to criticism. The titles he has given these sections of his book are themselves significant. For him the "Reformation" of earlier writers is not a return to, but a breaking away from, the past, a setting up of the ideal of progressive truth against the ideal of immutable truth. Still, those who yearn for immutability in a mutable world form no small part of humanity, and in course of time came the Catholic Reformation, a name that Mr. Hulme prefers to the usual Counter-reformation or Catholic Reaction, since the movement so designated was no mere going back, but rather a going forward, a continuation of earlier efforts to reform the Church from within. This may be generally admitted now, but before making such a generalisation Mr. Hulme should have considered the Anglican Settlement.

It is a more serious fault that Mr. Hulme, scrupulously fair to most of the leaders, Protestant and Catholic, should be less than just

to Calvin. The great French reformer's title to fame is not his theology—though it played a greater part in the Revolution than Mr. Hulme seems ready to admit—still less his rule at Geneva—so much as his insistence that the moral law is universal and immutable, not to be abrogated by any man. But, indeed, Mr. Hulme's whole treatment of the French reform movement leaves something to be desired; notably, he fails to bring out clearly enough its share in the development of political thought.

The political aspect of history, however, does not seem to appeal to Mr. Hulme, for his account of this side of the Reformation is in strange contrast with the rest of the book. Even the style is different, suggesting lecture notes in a disconcerting fashion. The book, in fact, would have gained much if the narrative portion had been curtailed so as to make the volume simply a survey of thought, and incidentally to leave space for the select bibliography that Mr. Hulme has not seen fit to give. Despite these shortcomings, it is worth adding to a school library, if only for its account of the Renaissance and of the lives and teaching of the German and Italian reformers, Protestant and Catholic.

R. R. REID.

Diocesis Cantuariensis: Registrum Matthei Parker. Pars v (pp. 449–544). The Canterbury and York Society, 124 Chancery Lane.

THE publication of the earlier parts of this register made accessible many documents of great importance to students of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, *e.g.*, those describing the consecration, etc., not only of Parker himself, but of numerous other bishops. Part V. (folios 254–282 of Vol. I. of the MS.) is perhaps of less general interest, since its contents relate mostly to the routine business of the See of Canterbury from 1565 to 1570. It includes, however, a letter to the diocesan officials about the "Advertisements" of 1567 (the corresponding one to the Bishop of London being unfortunately omitted, on the ground of its having been already printed by the Parker Society), a licence to preach, and a certificate to the Exchequer (1567) of the consecration of Bishop Horne of Winchester in 1561, which may have some connexion with the question raised by Bonner regarding his episcopal status and the consequent Act of Parliament in 1566. There are also certificates to the Exchequer giving lists of ecclesiastical promotions, in accordance with the Act of 1559 concerning Firstfruits and Tithes; and among other interesting entries are lengthy documents relating to Merton College and Ely Cathedral, two wills, two licences to teach boys grammar, and the admission of a midwife to practice, her skill having been approved by "eight honest matrons." But this section of the register is chiefly valuable for the light it throws on the working of the ecclesiastical Courts, a matter much neglected by historians. There are six "Significations" to Chancery asking for the arrest, and one for the release, of contumacious persons excommunicated for various causes (non-attendance at church, non-payment of tithes, immorality, etc.), which should be compared with the Act of 1563 for the due execution of the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*; a notice of the death of a convicted "clerk" in the Archbishop's prison at Canterbury; and a full account of a case of benefit of clergy in 1569, describing the proceedings by

the ancient method of compurgation, abolished by Parliament seven years later. Six "clerks"—a carpenter, two labourers, two yeomen, and a husbandman—had been convicted, two of homicide and four of theft, before the justices of assize at Croydon, and handed over to the Archbishop. Each had declared he was not guilty and offered to purge himself, and any who desired to accuse them or to object to their purgation or their compurgators had been warned to appear by a notice thrice published in the market-place of Southwark. On the appointed day the Archbishop's Vicar-general sat in Newington Parish Church, and, no objectors appearing, allowed all six to declare their innocence on oath, supported by the oaths of twelve lay and two clerical compurgators, and set them free.

E. JEFFRIES DAVIS.

The Founding of Spanish California.—*The North-Westward Expansion of New Spain, 1687–1783.* By CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN, PH.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. Pp. xxxii+485. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916.) 15s. net.

The Early History of Cuba, 1492–1586. Written from original sources by I. A. WRIGHT. Pp. xvii+390. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916.) 7s. 6d. net.

THE choice of subjects by historical writers seems almost as much affected by fashion as are other things in human affairs. In the latter half of the eighteenth century few historical works were better known than those in which the Abbé Raynal and William Robertson dealt in masterly fashion with the story of the Spanish Empire in America. In the early nineteenth century Humboldt considered that empire as a political institution, and a little later W. H. Prescott told of the imperishable exploits of Cortez and Pizarro in pages that are familiar to all. But since his time comparatively few writers in English have dealt with the history of the colonies which implanted Latin culture so widely in the New World from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, and have grown into the powerful Republics of to-day. Within the last few years, however, this unworthy neglect has been remedied, and many of the younger school of American historians, following the honoured lead of Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California, have begun to apply the scientific methods of modern historical scholarship to a subject which, whether for its intrinsic interest or for purposes of comparison with English colonising methods, is of first-rate importance. Each of the two works that are here considered is founded on research among the enormous masses of historical material that are preserved at Simancas and in the *Archivo General de Indias* at Seville; but whereas Dr. Chapman's book is provided with every apparatus of bibliography, reference and footnotes that could be desired, Miss Wright has chosen to tell her story in less academic fashion, and has left us without guide as to the authorities on which her clear and interesting narrative is based. This somewhat detracts from the value of her work, but it can be commended as a graphic survey of the work that was done in the greatest century of Spain's activity in setting up the Government which was to remain into our own days as the last foothold of Spanish power beyond the ocean. The story is of considerable interest to students

of the period when French and English sailors in turn were struggling to overthrow the Spanish monopoly of colonial power and to conquer for other nations the freedom of the seas.

Dr. Chapman, on the other hand, deals with the work of a later period when the Spaniards of Mexico were pushing forth from the Viceroyalty of New Spain into the unexplored regions to the north, and were setting up in the coastlands of Alta California those communities which, though the main stream of its culture has been derived not from them, but from Anglo-Saxon sources, have left a deep mark on the life of the Pacific State. As Prof. Morse Stephens remarks in his introduction to Dr. Chapman's pages, the characteristic California loyalty to a mode of living and a mode of thought that differ from those prevalent in other States is due to something more than climatic conditions, or economic development, or descent from the gold-seekers. Such explanations are as inconclusive as are similar explanations of the characteristics of nationality in European countries. The proud State consciousness of California is based upon the historic traditions of the land in which they live, and these her historians are striving to base securely upon a foundation of sound knowledge. By an application of the best methods of scientific research, and aided by the munificence of the citizens of the State, they are fostering patriotism, not by tawdry self-glorification, but by the sincere examination of their past. Dr. Chapman's contribution to the task gives us a broader view of the Spanish statesmen and pioneers who, in the period 1750-1783 when Russians and Englishmen were pressing in to clear up the mysteries of the unexplored Pacific, realised that growth is the law of life, and that if New Spain were not to stagnate into death, her people must be allowed to expand along the open road into the rich lands to the north, and there to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of their pious missionaries and adventurous pioneers. The desperate attempts of timorous Viceroys to check the expanding movement from motives of policy were in vain. The Pacific in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, like the Atlantic in the sixteenth and seventeenth, was the scene of the interplay of the virile Western peoples and of their strivings to replenish the waste spaces of the world. Spain, exhausted though she was, could no more stand still than could Britain or France or Russia. Movement was forced upon her, and though Old Spain was not destined to play a lasting part upon the scene, her daughter peoples in the southern continent have no mean share in the continuing work of world development. To protect the entire Pacific coast for herself was beyond her failing powers, and the north fell to the Anglo-Saxon peoples; but as, in Chile and Peru, men of English stock have aided Latins in developing the material resources of their lands, so the gift of Spain to the Californians has been a love of beauty and of colour and a creative aptitude in literature and in art that has moulded the vivid personality of the State of the Golden West. A sense of form that blends the deft touches of technical achievement into a harmonious whole is the mark of the historian as of every other artist, and Dr. Chapman is to be congratulated not only upon his mastery of the technique of research, but also upon the art with which he has presented a work of real value both to the student and to the general reader.

ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON.

Mediæval and Modern Times. By J. H. ROBINSON. Pp. xii+777. Ginn and Co. 6s. 6d. net.

A Political and Social History of Modern Europe. By C. J. H. HAYES. Vol. I. A.D. 1500-1815. Pp. xxvi+597. 8s. 6d. net. Vol. II. A.D. 1815-1915. Pp. ix+767. 10s. net. The Macmillan Co.

A Graphic History of Modern Europe. By C. MORRIS and L. H. DAWSON. Pp. 359. Harrap and Co. 5s. net.

THESE three books, in most respects very different from one another, have two characteristics in common. First, they are all written by Americans; secondly, they all bring their story down to the outbreak of the great war in 1914, and all definitely and avowedly make it the main purpose of their study of European affairs to explain the catastrophe. Professor Robinson regards the war as "the most important single event in the whole history of Europe," and therefore considers it essential that his readers should "endeavour to see how it came about and what are the great questions involved." Professor Hayes tells us that in his history "the greatest care has been taken to bring the story down to date and to indicate as clearly and calmly as possible the underlying causes of the vast contemporaneous European war, which has already put a new complexion on our old historical knowledge and made everything that went before seem part and parcel of an old *régime*." In similar vein Messrs. Morris and Dawson announce that their purpose in treating the events of the past is to find in them "some explanation of the great war that burst with fury upon an astonished world in the autumn of 1914." The unanimity of this appeal to history for an explanation of present-day phenomena is a most hopeful sign of the times. It shows that in the New World, as in the Old, it is becoming increasingly recognised that politics is not an abstract science which can be understood by solitary contemplation of the rights of man, but that the roots of the present lie deep in the past, so that no problem can be solved except by reference to its antecedents. Apart, however, from this pleasing unity of purpose, and from the common Transatlantic point of view, these three works differ fundamentally.

First, they are written for very divergent classes of readers. Professor Hayes has in mind the "collegian" who has "advanced a grade beyond the secondary school," and accordingly he has produced a learned compendium, full of exact and detailed information, replete with references, bibliographies, and all the apparatus of university study. In Professor Robinson's work "the presentation has been simplified so as to adapt the book especially to use in high schools and preparatory schools"; hence it provides an easy outline narrative of events, and it makes its story attractive by means of a large number of admirable illustrations and useful maps. Messrs. Morris and Dawson do not say what particular class of readers they have had in view, but it is safe to say that their "graphic history" is suited rather to the boy in the holidays than to any sort of serious student. It is well printed, copiously illustrated, neatly bound, and in every other external respect thoroughly presentable, but its style is lurid, its information not always exact, and its prevailing atmosphere anecdotal.

A second important point of difference is to be found in the

periods covered by the three books. Professor Robinson apparently thinks that the behaviour of the Germans in 1914 cannot be adequately explained except by going back to the incursions of their ancestors, the barbarians of the fifth century of the Christian era. It may be remarked in passing that for the early part of his narrative he draws very freely upon earlier works that have appeared under his name. The first eighteen chapters of the book before us (covering the period A.D. 476-1715) are identical, word for word and page for page, with Robinson's *Middle Period in European History*, published in 1915, and also (except in the case of chap. i.) with chaps. xii.-xxviii. of Robinson and Breasted's *Outlines of European History, Part I.*, published in 1914. Moreover, chaps. xix.-xxiv. of the present work have much in common with Robinson and Beard's *Outlines of European History, Part II.* (1912), which itself admits that it is "in the main a condensation of the authors' larger work on the *Development of Modern Europe*." Surely the art of preaching the old sermon under a series of new texts has rarely been carried to more extreme lengths. The only chapter entirely new in this volume is the last, which deals with the origin of the war of 1914.

Professor Hayes does not think it necessary to go so far back as the fifth century in order to explain the twentieth. For him the fifteenth suffices. "The great basic causes of the present war the author has sought," he tells us, "in the history of four hundred years." He defines modern history as "that part of history which deals with the origin and evolution of the great distinguishing characteristics of the present," and these, he thinks, can all be traced to the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation. "The sixteenth century," he says, "witnessed the true beginnings of the change, in the extensive world discoveries, in the establishment of a recognised European State system, in the rise of Protestantism, and in the quickening of intellectual activity." With the year 1500, then, he begins. According to a prearranged plan, he treats the early portion of his period comparatively lightly. He proceeds "with constant *crescendo*"—that is to say, with ever-increasing fulness—as he approaches the present day. One marked and valuable feature of his narrative is the skilful and impressive manner in which social and political factors are kept in co-ordination. There are only two chapters which are specially devoted to non-political themes, viz., those on the commercial changes of the sixteenth century, and the industrial revolution of the eighteenth; but throughout the whole book the influence of economic forces is made manifest. Indeed, in the author's view, the key to the period is to be found on the social side of the story. He holds the opinion that "the rise of the bourgeoisie is the great central theme of modern history." No student of European history or of current international politics can afford to neglect these two able and learned volumes of Professor Hayes.

Messrs. Morris and Dawson start their graphic recital no earlier than the date of the French Revolution. They do not give a detailed account of the period which they cover, but single out prominent events—mainly sanguinary—for picturesque treatment. The opening chapters of their book, viz., those dealing with the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon, are extraordinarily bad; they are marred by gross inaccuracies, unbalanced judgments,

mixed metaphors, and constant exaggeration of language. The book, however, greatly improves as it progresses, and the later chapters, which deal with recent events, are sober and illuminating surveys.

The third point of difference between these three works, and the last on which I now have space to touch, resides in the attitude of the respective writers towards the causes which led to the present war. The two professors—who, by the way, are colleagues in Columbia University, New York—do not diverge widely from one another. They are both, as becomes historians, impartial and judicial. "The exact causes of the great European war," says Professor Robinson, "are still questions of dispute, but the policies which led to it are . . . on the one hand Imperialism, and on the other the Near Eastern question." Professor Hayes examines five influences which militated against peace, viz., nationalism, rival territorial claims, capitalism, growth of armaments, and perverted political theory, and he comes to the conclusion that the war "is the product, at once inevitable and ironical, of materialistic science, of rivalries in the State system, of conflicting ambitions, and of the potent operation everywhere of the principles of democracy and nationalism." Messrs. Morris and Dawson maintain the simpler thesis that "the outstanding sentiment that led to the great war that startled the world in the summer of 1914 was Pan-Slavism *versus* Pan-Germanism," but they also emphasise the importance and significance of the German violation of Belgium's neutrality—to the history of which neutrality they devote a whole entirely admirable chapter. Their sympathy with the cause of the Allies is evident throughout.

F. J. C. HEARNshaw.

Europe in the Nineteenth Century: An Outline History. By E. LIPSON, M.A. Pp. iv + 298. A. and C. Black. 1916. 4s. 6d.

Mr. LIPSON is favourably known to historical students by his *Introduction to the Economic History of England: Middle Ages*, and they would have been more grateful for a continuation of that work to modern times than for this addition to the mass of improvisations on nineteenth-century history stimulated by the war. The text would have been excellent as a series of popular lectures, for Mr. Lipson possesses considerable facility in the art of assimilating, re-arranging, and expressing the works of other people. In his preface he remarks that he has discarded "the traditional method of writing European history from the standpoint of international politics." But this method had been already discarded in the "Cambridge Modern History," and Mr. Lipson's book is for the most part a popularisation of certain chapters in the last three volumes of that work, from which he borrows wholesale, including his quotations. But he only deals with "the internal development of the chief European [*i.e.*, Continental] States"—that is to say, with France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Balkan States. England, Scandinavia, Holland and Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal only crop up incidentally in two chapters on "The European Concert" and "The New Era," in which Mr. Lipson reverts to "the traditional method." There are some errors, as, for instance, the statement (p. 43) that "the imperial title remained in abeyance" after Charlemagne's death "until it was renewed by Otto I."; and the assertion (p. 284) that "Germany obtained

South-West Africa, Togoland, and the Cameroons (1884), as well as New Guinea and the Pacific Islands," is extraordinarily loose. The book is, however, a readable compilation, full of excellent quotations.

A. F. POLLARD.

POLITICS AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT.

MR. KEATINGE'S *Studies in Education* (A. and C. Black, 1916, 3s. 6d.) contains much matter of interest and importance both to teachers and to the thinking public. One may perhaps hope that the gulf which he deplores in his preface between the academic mind and the teaching profession is a good deal exaggerated, and it is, in any case, lessening visibly before our eyes. But one essay in particular will appeal to readers of HISTORY, and we have put its title at the head of this notice. Mr. Keatinge is inspired throughout his book with the excellent and, indeed, essential notion that the true aim of philosophic thinking about education—as about all other things—is to get rid of one-sided views. He quotes appositely enough Bergson's dictum that "the future seems to belong to a philosophy which will take into account the whole of what is given." Now, in regard to the teaching of "Politics as a School Subject," we are confronted at every turn by the necessity of taking sides in what was in its actual process a continual conflict. Mr. Keatinge analyses at some length one interesting case, the enclosures of land in the sixteenth century, and gives some sound advice applicable to the teacher's attitude in all such cases. Much better, he says, to take clearly and strongly the side in judgment which commends itself to you, while at the same time exercising the strictest accuracy and impartiality as to the facts and encouraging those who differ from you to say all they can in defence of their own position. The question is one of first-rate importance, and will no doubt often engage the attention of the writers and readers of these pages. It must suffice in a short notice to indicate one or two other considerations which arise immediately from Mr. Keatinge's essay.

In the first place, we agree with him in regarding history as the proper basis for the teaching of civics. The top class of an elementary school and the middle classes in a secondary school are quite fit places for giving the first general notions of history with a practical political bearing, and we suggest that these first notions should group themselves round two main ideas: (1) the growth of the national institutions of the country to which the scholar belongs—its law courts, the source of its executive authority, and the machinery by which the law is altered; (2) the correlative idea that nations, like individuals, can only thrive and progress by free concert with other independent nations, who are pursuing similar ends by varied means, and that all are members of one whole. It is a mistake to suppose that young people are incapable of great ideas if presented in a simple and attractive form. A book just published by the American Political Science Association on *The Teaching of Government* (Macmillan Co., New York) shows how far ahead of us our Transatlantic neighbours are in treating matters of common interest as the subject for instruction in the common schools.

One other point will occur to many readers of Mr. Keatinge's book. He is seeking throughout to find a common basis in his teaching of history for civic purposes. Why does he not turn to that side of human evolution in which we all co-operate, and in which the evolution is most clearly marked—the growth of knowledge itself? It is the almost complete absence of this side of history from our traditional presentation which creates the sense of unending and unreconciled conflict. It will be the realisation of it that will ultimately supply a common background and bedrock for human progress.

F. S. MARVIN.

SHORT NOTICES.

MR. EDGAR PRESTAGE, who during his long residence in Portugal has done much valuable historical work in the Portuguese archives, has contributed two interesting papers to the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon on the work of Dr. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, Resident of Portugal in London during the troublous early days of the Civil War (*Dr. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, Residente de Portugal em Londres, 1642-1646*, and *Duas Cartas do Dr. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo escritas de Inglaterra a El Rei D. João IV.*, Academia das Sciencias de Lisbon, 1916). The Resident was accredited to King Charles I., but most of his dealings had to be with the Parliamentary leaders who held power in London, and he seems to have had a time of much difficulty. His efforts were directed to the establishment of a league between England, France, and Portugal against the attempts of Spain to re-establish her authority over the revolted provinces. He was successful in negotiating the commercial treaty of 1642 between England and Portugal, which was much valued by English merchants, and which admitted their right to trade with the Indies, but he failed in his more ambitious attempts, and though he was the first to propose a marriage alliance between the two Royal houses, this did not come about until after the restoration of Charles II. He fought hard against the projects of English and Irishmen for the establishment of colonies in Brazil, but it is probable that such projects were frustrated rather by the conditions of the time than by his appeals to Portugal's rights under the celebrated Bull of Pope Alexander VI.

A. P. N.

MR. ERNEST F. HENDERSON'S *Short History of Germany* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 2 vols. 1916, 15s. net) is a new edition, with additional chapters, of a popular history of Germany written for Americans, dedicated to Prince Henry of Prussia "on the occasion of his visit to America," and published in 1902. Its popularity in the United States is shown by the times it has been reprinted, and, indeed, it would have been difficult to point to a better short history of Germany extant in the English language when Mr. Henderson's book appeared. But it does not profess to be a work of scholarship or of literature; and the interesting sketches of German political, economic, and social development since 1871, which Mr. Henderson has added to this edition, are marred by some extraordinary slips. From every point of view such terminology as "Chancellor Lloyd George" (ii., 500) is misleading, and it is difficult to understand the mind of a historian of the last forty years who

thinks that Lord Granville was Prime Minister in 1884 and Lord Derby was his Colonial Secretary (ii., 470). The present Kaiser's father should not be called "the Emperor Frederick III.," and the statement (ii., 477) that "in 1885 Bulgaria joined East Roumelia in a revolt against Turkey, and defeated Serbia, which was on Turkey's side," suggests an obliquity of historical vision which renders a knowledge of facts almost useless.

A. F. P.

We have received the April number of *The Catholic Historical Review* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.). Among its contents are the following, of interest to others besides students of the history of Roman Catholicism in the States: A letter to the Editors (p. 114) from an official of the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, giving *inter alia* a list of the fees for which transcripts of documents in that collection may be obtained; an article, mentioning many names, on Early Irish Schoolmasters in New England (1637-c. 1790), based upon local records and histories; and a paper by Father Pollen on the connexion of the founder of Maryland with Baltimore House, Tisbury, Wilts.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

GREEK IDEALS. By C. Delisle Burns. ix+275 pp. Bell. 5s. n. (p. 292; *Educ. Suppl.*, p. 203.)

SARDINIA in Ancient Times. By E. S. Bouchier. 185 pp. Blackwell. 4s. 6d. n. (p. 206.)

A NOTEBOOK of Medieval History, 323-1453 A.D. By C. R. Beazley. viii+224 pp. Clarendon Press. 3s. n. (*Educ. Suppl.* p. 91.)

LIBER PONTIFICALIS. I., to Gregory I. Trans. L. R. Loomis (Records of Civilisation: Sources and Studies). xxii+169 pp. Columbia Univ. Press. 8s. 6d. n.

HISTORY OF THE FRANKS. By Gregory, Bishop of Tours. Selections, trans. E. Brehant. (Records of Civilisation: Sources and Studies.) xxv+284 pp. Columbia Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 196.)

THE GOLDEN DAYS of the Early English Church (Theodore to Bede). By Sir H. H. Howorth. Three vols., exciv+384 + viii+517 + viii+443 pp. Murray. 36s. n. (p. 257.)

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HISTORY

OCTOBER, 1917.

THE EXPULSION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

THE story of Cromwell's expulsion of the Long Parliament on Wednesday, April 20, 1653 has been so much discussed that it may seem impossible to throw any new light upon it, or even to render it interesting. Yet stale and hackneyed though the subject may be, it is worth while to examine the authorities for the story once more. By methodically comparing and testing the various sources it may be possible to fix with rather more precision what actually happened, and it will certainly be possible to trace the growth of the legend.

Another reason for attempting this task is that no systematic and full discussion of the sources for the incident has been attempted by any English historian, although we have fragmentary criticisms relating to the value of particular authorities or the authenticity of particular statements. The only attempt at an exhaustive study of the sources which is known to me is an article by Professor Wolfgang Michael, contributed to Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1889,¹ and with his conclusions I entirely disagree.

Let us therefore take the various versions of the incident and go through them, arranging them in groups for the purposes of examination. The question being what happened in Parliament on a certain day, it is natural to begin by consulting the official records of that body. When Charles I. came to the House of Commons to arrest the Five Members, John Rushworth, one of the assistant clerks at the table, took down the words of his speech, and it is entered accordingly in the Journals.² The clerk of the House in 1653 was Henry Scobell, appointed to that office for life in 1649.³ Scobell could write shorthand, and we owe

¹ Vol. liii., pp. 56-78.

² *Commons' Journals*, ii. 368; *Historical Collections*, iv. 478.

³ By vote on January 5th, 1648-9, and by an Act passed on May 14th following (*Commons' Journals*, vi. 209).

to him a report of one of the Protector's speeches,¹ but on this occasion he had not the presence of mind or the boldness to take down Cromwell's words. All he did was to enter in the Journals under April 20: "This day his Excellency the Lord General dissolved this Parliament." For this presumption the restored Long Parliament, on January 7, 1659-60, severely censured him. The entry, having been made without the consent of the House, was voted a forgery: he was called to the bar and the Journal-book was showed him. "And being examined who made the aforesaid entry in the Journal-book, he acknowledged that it was his own handwriting; and that he did it without the direction of any person whatsoever." Thereupon the entry was ordered to be expunged.²

There is an erasure in the Journals after this brief mention of Scobell's answer, but Pepys supplies a more detailed account of his defence.

"He answered that they were his own handwriting, and that he did it by virtue of his office, and the practice of his predecessor; and that the intent of the practice was to let posterity know how such and such a Parliament was dissolved, whether by the command of the King, or by their own neglect, as the last House of Lords was; and that to this end, he had said and writ that it was dissolved by his Excellence the Lord G(eneral); and that for the word 'dissolved,' he never at the time did hear of any other term, and desired pardon if he would not dare to make a word himself, when it was six years after before they came themselves to call it an 'interruption'; but they were so little satisfied with this answer, that they did chuse a committee to report to the House, whether this crime of Mr. Scobell's did come within the act of Indemnity or no."³

Since the Journals of the House of Commons afford no help, the next step is to consult the newspapers published at the time, official or unofficial, and see what information they supply. On such a subject the editors of newspapers were likely to express themselves with great caution, because they had the fear of the new authority before their eyes, but at the same time they were not likely to state anything demonstrably false about an incident which was matter of public knowledge in London at the moment they wrote. The result is they are very brief in their references to it. Under April 20 *Mercurius Politicus* observes: "The Lord

¹ That of January 20th, 1658. Burton's *Diary*, ii. 330.

² *Commons' Journals*, vii. 280, 805.

³ *Diary*, January 9th, 1660.

General delivered in Parliament divers reasons wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of the Parliament; and it was accordingly done, the Speaker and all the members departing. The grounds of which proceedings will (it's probable) be shortly made public."¹ *Several Proceedings in Parliament* is a more outspoken journal: it supplies "An account of the dismissing of the Parliament this present Wednesday, being the 20 day of April, 1653." Brief and guarded though the account is, it contains several points of importance. It states clearly the objection of the army to the bill under discussion, "the danger of the Act for calling a new representative, as the House was about to pass it." In the first place, the bill gave "so much liberty that many disaffected persons might be chosen," and secondly, by it "the present members were to sit and to be made up by others chosen, and by themselves approved of." *Several Proceedings* also contains a clear statement of the compromise arrived at in the meeting of members and officers the night before: the members engaged simply "not to meddle with it this day," that is, merely to suspend proceedings on the bill for the space of one sitting. Finally this newspaper adds one fact which no other narrative of what passed in the House on April 20 mentions; namely, that when in spite of this promise the House "fell upon" the Act, Major General Harrison "most sweetly and humbly desired them to lay it aside, showing them the danger of it."²

The account in *Several Proceedings*, which was clearly written by someone who approved of the action of the army, should be compared with the Declaration of the Lord General and his Council of Officers, which gives a very similar account of the events which led up to the dissolution, though no account of that incident itself. The Declaration does not state so definitely the nature of the pledge given, but adds one new fact, that a meeting between the officers and the representatives of the members had been definitely arranged for Wednesday afternoon. "They did agree to meet again the next day in the afternoon for mutual satisfaction, it being consented to by all the members present that endeavours should be used that nothing in the meantime should be done in Parliament that might exclude or frustrate the proposals before mentioned."³

¹ *Merc. Polit.*, April 14-21, 1653, p. 2388.

² *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, April 14-21, quoted at length in *Cromwelliana*, p. 119.

³ This Declaration is printed, slightly abridged, in *Cromwelliana*, p. 120, from the *Perfect Diurnal*; it was also published in *Mercurius Politicus*, and is printed at length in the old *Parliamentary History*, xx. 136.

With these versions of the events published in the newspapers should be compared the letters written at the moment by persons on the spot, which are naturally more free in their comments and give more personal details. One of the most valuable of these is the newsletter in the Clarke MSS. dated April 23, written for the information of the officers of the army in Scotland.¹ It is not an ordinary letter to a private friend, but a quasi-public document, much of the same character as the narrative of "the dismissing of the Parliament" in *Several Proceedings*. Substantially it agrees with that narrative and with the *Declaration of the Lord General* as to the nature of the pledge given at the close of Tuesday's deliberations, and the arrangement of a new meeting for Wednesday.

Thus all the three versions of the event drawn up by the military party agree that the promise made was simply a pledge to suspend the progress of the bill for one sitting (viz., that on Wednesday morning), in order that the conference on the question might be renewed on Wednesday afternoon unprejudiced by anything that might happen in the interim. This point was never answered by the apologists of the Parliament, either at the time or afterwards: they always represent the officers as demanding not merely the temporary suspension of the proceedings, but the abandonment of the bill.

The Clarke newsletter goes on to add further details of the actual scene. "Most of the members," that is, the unpledged majority, "called the next morning for the bill, and before his Excellency could come had neere passed it, contrary to promise as was then told to them." (In the last words we may perhaps see a reference to the speech attributed to Harrison in *Several Proceedings*.) The order of events after Cromwell's arrival at the House is then clearly defined. First came Cromwell's speech, "something said by the General"; next "Captain Scott marched into the House with his companie and tooke the Speaker's mace"; then, either after that, or simultaneously, the Speaker himself "refusing to come out of the chaire, was (modestly) pulled out by a Member of Parliament and army"; finally "the members walk't out." In short, "*the Parliament was dissolved with as little noyse as can bee imagined*," though one member, Alderman Allen, "was a little while under confinement for some words." In spite of the evident desire revealed by the words italicised to minimise the violence of the proceedings, the statement of the letter as to

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 1; also printed in *English Historical Review*, viii. (1893), p. 531.

the order in which the various incidents happened deserves credence. The writers of these newsletters to the army in Scotland are, as the whole series shows, always very well informed about what happened in Parliament.

Besides this newsletter there are four or five private letters, in which the writers so far from seeking to minimise the violence of the act, rather seem to exaggerate it. Mewce, a London lawyer, who was agent to the Hatton family, wrote to Lady Hatton on April 21, as follows:—

“ The Generall and Harrison came into the House, where when hee was sett down and putt on his hatt, he made a sharp speech, and in peticuler reproached the Speaker, the Commissioner Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, Coll. Alger[non] Sidney and some other members, and then commanded that bable the Mace to bee taken awaye; which done hee commanded those pryme men whome hee had forementioned to goe forth; which not redly obaying hee commanded Harrison to call up the soldiers, whoe sone putt out those that seemed unwilling; and the rest easily obeyed, and all departed.”

So, with a brief reference to Allen's arrest, Mewce ends.¹ In this, as in the previous account, the order for taking away the mace comes in the middle of the incident, directly after Cromwell's speech, and before the expulsion of the members. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that things actually happened in this way. For, in the ordinary course of things, the close of the sitting would be marked by the removal of the mace, the Speaker would then vacate the chair, and follow it, and finally the members would follow the Speaker. This is the order in which events would take place if Cromwell sought to give an appearance of legal form to the proceedings which followed his declaration that the House was dissolved.

Then come two newsletters amongst the Clarendon Papers, both written by Royalists to friends abroad, though in the second of them the writer assumes the tone of a republican. The first is undated, but was apparently written on Saturday, April 23.² It is vivid, but very general. It describes Cromwell throwing himself into the middle of the House “with his hat cocked,” and giving “contumelious speech” to Vane, Marten—“the broad-faced adulterer”—St. John, Allen, Sidney, and “some say Haselrig”; and speaks of Whitelocke as receiving “some personal indignities” in the House. But though it adds a couple of touches to the picture, it does not throw any light on the question of the

¹ *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 7.

² It mentions Thursday last, i.e., April 21st, and speaks of “this busy week,” and was written before the author had read the Declaration of the Army, which appeared on April 23rd.

order in which the various incidents happened.¹ The second Royalist newsletter, dated April 29, is more helpful.² It states clearly that Harrison was in the House before the General, and sent for him to come, and that Cromwell's contumelious language was uttered as the members were going out. "The General reviling many of them as they passed by him, calling some of them drunkards, some adulterers, and others dissembling creatures, and that he should have a time to call them all to an account."

Despite the fact that the writers of these three letters were not eyewitnesses of what they related, their evidence has a certain value. They tell us what people believed in London at the moment, and embody the reports which were circulated from man to man in common talk. All dwell with a certain satisfaction upon the personal insults which various members of the House were said to have received. For the Long Parliament had grown so odious that its ignominious exit was welcomed with rejoicing rather than regretted.

One other letter deserves quoting on account of its authorship, although its writer was not in England, and does not profess to be very well informed on the subject. Sir Edward Hyde, who was at Paris with Charles II., wrote on May 1st to Lord Rochester, who was in Germany, to inform him of the late revolution. It is uncertain whether Hyde had then received the two letters which we have quoted from his papers. If he had, he does not seem to have given much credit to the statements they contain, and the part attributed to Ingolsby in his account shows that he relied on some source which has not reached us.

"We are all now at a gaze upon this huge alteracon in England, which, though I know you will receive before this comes to your hands, and probably more perfect than I can relate it, yet I thinke it not amisse to let you know what I hear of it and conceave it to be. First, all the seeming divisions in the Army between Cromwell and Harrison appeared to be merely counterfeits, and there is I thinke little doubt to be made that the Army is intirely at Cromwell's disposall. The officers of the Army pressed importunately and obstinately for a new Representative. The members had noe minde to quitt their benches, and were preparing a Bill to encrease their numbers, and then resolved to adjourne till November, and in the meantime to leave the government in the Councill of State; when they had prepared this Bill and were ready to pass it, Cromwell entred the House, and after two or three imperious questions, and high reproache of their ill carriage and having deceived and deluded the people, he required the Speaker to leave the chayre, who refusing soe to doe, Col. Harrison and Col. Ingolsby making some signe, two fyles of Musqueteeres entred the House, and the two Colonells took the Speaker gently (as they say) by the hand, and lead him out of the

¹ *Eng. Hist. Review*, viii. (1893), p. 532.

² *Ibid.*, p. 533.

House, all the members following. The Generall himselfe brought up the Reare, and when they were all gone out, and he had given the mace to a Colonell to carry to St. Jame's, he caused the doore to be locked, and soe dissolved their eternall Parliament."¹

Let us take next the letters written at the time by foreign observers. The reports which diplomatists of the period wrote to their governments possess a real value, but they must be employed with caution. Their authors were, in general, better acquainted with the foreign policy of the country to which they were accredited than with its domestic affairs. Though they collected information with care, it was in most cases obtained secondhand, and, what is more, conveyed to them through interpreters. In spite of the high intelligence of the writers, and the sense of responsibility with which they wrote, the details they give about English politics must not be implicitly accepted. When they say that such and such things are rumoured they may be trusted; when they say that a particular thing happened in such and such a way, we must seek confirmation of that statement from other sources. It is also necessary to take into account the characteristics of individual diplomatists as revealed by the whole series of their letters.

In this instance Venetian diplomatic reports give us little help. At the time Venice was represented in London by an agent only, Lorenzo Pauluzzi, who came to England in 1652. Dr. Gardiner quotes at length a dispatch of Pauluzzi's, written on April $\frac{17}{17}$ which throws some light on the causes of the breach between army and Parliament, but his letters seem to contain no narrative of the final rupture.² Sagredo gives an account of the scene in the House in the relation of his embassy which he read to the Venetian Senate in 1656, but he did not arrive in England till the end of 1655, and in April 1653 he was in Paris. His account accordingly is of very slight value.³ Fortunately, we have a letter written by the Genoese ambassador, Francesco Bernardi, dated ^{April 25}_{May 5} 1653, which has been printed in full.⁴ Bernardi's narrative may be thus summarised. Cromwell, accompanied by Major-General Harrison and six other officers, with a following of ten or fifteen men, entered the House, and taking off his hat, lifted the mace from the table before the Speaker, and gave it to Harrison,

¹ Clarendon MSS.

² Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii, p. 257 [ed. 1903]; Pauluzzi's Letter Book, Record Office.

³ Berchet, *Cromwell e la Repubblica di Venezia*, 1864, p. 74; Horatio Brown, *Venetian Studies*, p. 385.

⁴ Prayer, *Oliviero Cromwell dalla battaglia di Worcester alla sua morte*, published in *Atti della Societa Ligure di Storia Patria*, vol. xvi., 1882, p. 85.

who gave it to the lieutenant of the General's guard. That done, Cromwell put on his hat again, and made a short speech to the members, to the effect that he no longer recognised the assembly as a Parliament. The people had expected from them the settlement of the government and the administration of justice, but they had preferred their private interest to the public and sought to perpetuate themselves in power. Therefore on behalf of the people he declared the House dissolved, and ordered the Speaker to quit his chair and the members to disperse. The leaders of the party opposed to Cromwell shouted to the Speaker to keep his chair.¹ Cromwell then commanded Harrison to expel him from it. Harrison took the Speaker courteously by the hand, and Lenthall, protesting that he only yielded to superior force, obeyed.² Many of the members loudly complained, each of whom "Cromwell abused in turn, calling old Sir Henry Vane a juggler, young Vane a cheat, Harry Marten atheist and adulterer, Challoner a drunkard, and Sir Henry Mildmay and Scott embezzlers of public money. All went out quietly, and as they went they were not a little jeered at by the soldiers."³

Let us now summarise the narrative written by Bordeaux, the French Ambassador, to Servien, which is printed in full by Guizot.

Yesterday, he says, General Cromwell came to the Parliament about noon, as it was debating the question of a new Parliament; he stood up bareheaded and made a short speech. He told them that the government of so many persons was bad and oppressive, and that they had spent large sums of money for which no account had ever been rendered; that he had resolved therefore to put the government of the nation into the hands of a few persons of integrity, and that henceforth he no longer recognised them as a Parliament. Then he put on his hat and, as the House did not disperse, ordered Harrison to bring in the soldiers. They entered; Harrison courteously took the Speaker by the hand and conducted him out of the House, and all the members

1 "Signor Presidente, continuate nella sedia."

2 "Con modestia lo prese per la mano et lo richiese per uscire quietamente, se no che sarebbe forzato. A che rispose il Presidente: 'Se mi forzate convien che obedisca, riconoscendo la vostra potestà maggiore della nostra.'"

3 "A ognuno de quali diede il Generalissimo la sua mortificatione, come al vecchio Cavaliero Vayne di giocatore vecchio di leggier di mano; al Cavaliero Henrico Vayne suo figlio d'imboistero della Republica; al Henrico Martin d'atheysta et adultero; al Challoner di briacone; al Cavaliero Henrico Milmay di lire 500 mila sterline di gioie et argenteria del passato Re; al Scott di lire 300 mila che restava di dar conto all Republica; et così a diversi altri, che tutti pubblicamente ebbero la sua, et uscirono quietissamente, et passorno a uno a uno tra le guardie di soldati che non poco li burlavano."

followed. General Cromwell took the mace and give it to the soldiers.

The two Ambassadors wrote at the same time and under similar conditions. They agree roughly as to the nature of Cromwell's speech and as to the manner in which it was delivered. They agree also as to the civility with which Harrison treated the Speaker. On the other details they differ, and we can only accept their evidence so far as it is confirmed by independent testimony. Bernardi says that Cromwell brought the soldiers in with him, but Bordeaux's statement that he called them in after his speech is confirmed by the Clarke newsletter, and Hyde's letter to Rochester, and by Mewce. Bordeaux seems to put the removal of the mace at the end of the proceedings, but Bernardi, supported by the Clarke newsletter and Mewce, puts it before the removal of the Speaker. In each case the statement which is supported by the most evidence is also that which seems most probable in itself.

There is yet one other difference to note. Bordeaux makes no mention of the personal reproofs which, according to Bernardi, Cromwell administered to various members as they were leaving the House. Like the writer of the Clarke newsletter he omits this fact altogether. On the other hand, the fact is mentioned by three of the letters, and one of them agrees exactly with Bernardi as to the precise moment when the episode took place. Moreover the story is confirmed by contemporary evidence of another kind, which must also be taken into account. For the populace of that day ballads filled the place which the cheap newspapers do now. They chronicled the events of the day with appropriate comments fitted to the public taste, and served at once to express opinion and to form it. Such an event as the fall of the Long Parliament naturally did not pass unnoticed. "On chante des chansons partout contre eux," says Bordeaux of the fallen assembly. "Il s'en vendait une publiquement que le Général Cromwell, par sa grande modération, a commandé de n'être plus chantée, et en a fait supprimer quarante mille exemplaires qui ont été pris chez l'imprimeur. On ne laisse pas d'en vendre sous main."¹ This is confirmed by a newsletter amongst the Clarke Papers dated April 30: "A scandalous ballade was this weeke sung generally throughout London, and bought by most, the burthen whereof was 12 Parliament men for a penny. His Excellency desired the Lord Maior to suppress it, which he did accordingly and hath since

¹ Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, i. 493; trans. by Scoble.

imprisoned the printers.”¹ In spite of its suppression Thomason obtained a copy of this ballad, though he was not able to get it till June 3.² It is reprinted in Thomas Wright’s *Political Ballads published in England during the Commonwealth*, 1841, p.126. The ballad is simply a cry of exultation over a fallen enemy. It gives but a very general and very brief description of the incident of the dissolution, and contains no personal details. There is, however, another ballad “Upon Oliver’s Dissolving the Long Parliament,” printed in 1660 in *Rump Songs* (p. 305), which was probably written in 1653, though no copy of that date seems to have survived. It depicts in a couple of lines the scene in the House, and sums up Cromwell’s speech in two more.

“Brave Oliver came to the House like a sprite,³
His fiery looks struck the Speaker dumb,
‘You must be gone hence,’ quoth he, ‘by this light!’⁴
‘Do you mean to sit here till Doomsday come?’”

Finally it mentions Cromwell’s upbraiding Harry Marten with his adultery, and introduced the name of Alderman Allen, once “a broken citizen” and now “a broken Parliament man” as if he too had been in some way prominent in the scene. While the second ballad echoes the gossip of the day, which private letters had already embodied in various shapes, and gives it a wider circulation, the first ballad explains why these reports were so greedily received and propagated. It can scarcely be doubted that popular rumour, in its hostility to the members of the Long Parliament, exaggerated the story of the insults to which they were subjected.

These facts and statements, collected from letters written at the time, or from accounts published at the time, represent with tolerable accuracy what was known and what was believed in April, 1653, about the incidents in the House of Commons on April 20, so far as it was matter of common knowledge. Contradictory though the accounts are, it is possible, as we have seen, to extract from them a fairly clear idea of what happened.

During the next few years some further information was supplied by the speeches of men who took part in the expulsion of

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 3. Later historians also mention this ballad. Heath speaking of the expulsion says, “it was turned to a ballad in the most scummy and vilest language conceivable,” adding in the margin, “Twelve Parliament men for a penny.” (*Chronicle*, ed. 1663, p. 627.) “Etiam trivialibus Poetastris irrisi, qui inter affluentis plebeculae circulos in Urbe media Duodenos Senatores asse venales palam cantillarent.” (Bate, *Elenchus*, part ii. p. 286, ed. 1663.)

² British Museum, 669, f. 17 (12).

³ I.e. apparition.

⁴ Quoting this from memory in my life of Cromwell, I misquoted it.

the Parliament, or were present at the time. We have reports of the statements of four persons; Cromwell himself refers to the dissolution in two of his speeches—in that of July 4, 1653, number i. in Carlyle's collection, and in the speech of April 21, 1657, which is number xiii. In both, he dwells rather on the cause of the act than that the act itself, but in the first he does supply some material evidence.¹ After recounting the discussion at the conference on Tuesday night, he says that when the members of Parliament parted from the officers, "Two or three of the Chief of them, one of the chief and two or three more, did tell us, that they would endeavour to suspend farther proceedings about the bill for a new Representative until they had a further conference." This conference, he adds, was to take place "the next day." [It should be noted that while Cromwell's statement of the nature of the promise made exactly agrees with the statement contained in the army declaration, in *Several Proceedings*, and in the Clarke newsletter, he does not say that the promise was made by all the members present at the meeting, but only by two or three of the leaders.] Cromwell next states that there was a meeting early the next Wednesday morning, which was clearly a meeting of officers only, to prepare for the joint conference to take place later in the day. "The next morning, we considering how to order what we had further to offer to them in the evening, word was brought us that the House was proceeding with all speed upon the new Representative." Disbelieving this news the officers continued their discussion: "We could not believe it that such persons could be so unworthy; we remained there till a second and a third messenger came with tidings that the House was really upon that business, and had brought it near to the issue." Then he adds two facts not mentioned by other authorities, as evidence that the House was proceeding "with that haste as was never before exercised." In the first place it meant to pass the bill "only in paper, without engrossing it, for the quicker dispatch of it." In the second place it was "leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications which had appeared all along."

These two points are so important that they must be considered at some length. A digression is necessary in order to explain them. Take first the question of engrossment. When the amendments to a bill had been considered, and those which were acceptable agreed to, it was usual to move "that the said Act so amended be engrossed," and if the motion was agreed to the Act

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, ii. 287.

was then put upon parchment, preparatory to the third reading. Although this was usually done in the case of all important acts, those of less moment were frequently passed without being engrossed, as many instances show.¹ But in all cases the question that this bill be engrossed was always put before the bill itself was put to the question.² This was done, for instance, in the case of the last Acts passed by the House before its expulsion, viz. two Acts passed on April 8, one for the Probate of Wills, the other for continuing Bradshaw as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.³ If the House had finished the discussion of the amendments on Wednesday, April 13, the last occasion on which the amended bill had been considered, it would have been natural to wind up with a motion for engrossment. If not, it should have come during the proceedings of Wednesday the 20th, and it is possible that the motion had been put and lost before Cromwell arrived in the House. The silence of the Journals as to what happened in the House does not necessarily negative this supposition.

The precise meaning of the charge that the House was "leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications which had appeared all along" is more difficult to determine. Carlyle interprets it to mean that the House now omitted certain provisions which had hitherto appeared in the bill, and adds the words "in it till now." This is not likely. Since February 23, when Haslerig reported the amendments to the bill proposed by the select committee, the House had occupied nearly every Wednesday in discussing them. On March 2, 9, 16 and 23, the House decided what the future constituencies should be, making some alterations in the scheme proposed by the Committee.⁴ On March 30 it decided what the property qualifications of the electors should be, rejecting the clause proposed by the committee, and creating instead a new franchise which gave a vote to anyone possessing real or personal estate to the value of £200.⁵ On April 13 the House determined the moral qualification of the persons to be elected: they were to be "such as are persons of known integrity,

¹ *Commons' Journal*, vii. 245, 255, 257, 264, 269, 277.

² "The ancient system of engrossing all bills upon parchment, after the report, was discontinued in 1849; when both houses agreed to substitute bills, printed on vellum, by the Queen's printer, for the old parchment rolls. . . . By the adoption of this system, the old form of question, 'that this bill be engrossed,' which always followed after the report, or further consideration of report, was dispensed with." Erskine May, *Treatise on the Law, etc., of Parliament*, 1879, p. 535.

³ *C. J.* vii. 276, 277.

⁵ *C. J.*, vii. 275.

⁴ *C. J.*, vii. 263, 265, 268, 270.

fearing God, and not scandalous in their conversation.”¹ No doubt there was some political qualification both for electors and elected included in the bill, though there is nothing in the *Journals* to show its nature. “They had made a few qualifications, such as they were,” confessed Cromwell. His complaint and that of the officers in general was not the absence of provisions of this kind from the bill, but that the provisions in it were not strong enough. They said that persons who had been neutral during the war, and Presbyterians who had turned Royalists in 1648, would apparently be qualified to vote. What stringent provisions against such persons the army thought desirable, is shown by the 14th and 15th articles of the Instrument of Government.

The complaint that the House was “leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the provisions” means something different. It was well to make provisions as to the moral and political qualifications of electors and candidates, but the real question was how they were to be enforced. The last thing Parliament did in the sitting of April 13 was to vote a clause declaring that “all and every vote and votes, election and elections, given or made for any person or persons, contrary, or not according to the qualifications before expressed” should be null and void.² Who was to decide whether a vote was legally given or an election legally made? Cromwell and the officers asked the representatives of Parliament in their conference on April 19 “how the whole business should be executed?” To this they obtained no satisfactory reply, and that for good reasons. In the Instrument of Government the task of deciding “whether the persons elected and returned be such as is agreeable to the qualifications” was entrusted to the Council of State.³ In the proposed constitution drawn up by the Protector’s first Parliament in 1654 the task was divided between Council and Parliament. Council was to collect evidence on the question whether a member was qualified or not, and Parliament was to judge whether he should be allowed to sit.⁴ By the Petition and Advice 41 commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament were to examine whether the members be capable to sit “according to the qualifications,” and to suspend them if they were not qualified, till Parliament itself should determine their case.⁵ On the other hand, by the Bill for a new Representative in 1653, it is pretty clear that Parliament intended to reserve the task

¹ *C. J.*, vii. 278.

² *Ibid.* Compare the Instrument of Government, article xvi., which reproduces this clause in a slightly different shape.

³ Article xxi., p. 412.

⁴ Cap. 34, p. 441.

⁵ Art. iv. Gardiner’s *Constitutional Documents*, 2nd ed., pp. 412, 441, 451.

to itself.¹ Some machinery was necessary to determine whether the qualifications prescribed in the Act had been observed. The Act provided no new machinery for the purpose, therefore the existing machinery must be continued. As before, the members of the House itself would continue to decide the validity of all new elections. This supplied the strongest possible security for the continuance of the existing members, as they desired. Hence when they were pressed by the officers "how the business should be executed" they always answered, as Cromwell repeatedly says, "that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of this Parliament," meaning thereby simply that the sitting members should retain their seats. Whether there was a special clause for the purpose in the bill or not, is uncertain. Probably not. The thing could be effected by a simple resolution suspending the issue of the writs in cases when a constituency was already represented in the House. In this way the scheme was worked out in February 1660.

But to return to Cromwell's speech. On the receipt of the news that Parliament was proceeding with this unusual speed, he says that he went to the House to stop the bill from passing. "Upon this the House was dissolved even when the Speaker was going to put the last question." What this phrase means the speeches of other members explain, and they enable us to fix the precise moment of Cromwell's intervention. In a speech made in Richard Cromwell's Parliament on February 7, 1659, Sir Arthur Haslerig said : —

"I heard, being seventy miles off, that it was propounded that we should dissolve our trust, and devolve it into a few hands. I came up and found it so; that it was resolved in a junto at the Cockpit. I trembled at it, and was, after, there, and bore my testimony against it. I told them the work they went about was accursed. I told them it was impossible to devolve this trust. Next day, we were labouring here in the House on an act to put an end to that Parliament and to call another. I desired the passing of it with all my soul. The question was putting for it, when our General stood up, and stopped the question, and called in his Lieutenant, with two files of musqueteers, with their hats on their heads, and their guns loaden with bullets. Our General told us we should sit no longer to cheat the people. The Speaker, a stout man, was not willing to go. He was so noble, that he frowned, and said he would not out of the chair, till he was plucked out; which was quickly done, without much compliment, by two soldiers, and the mace taken : and there was an end of the third estate also. I rejoiced then, from the soul, that the question was not put."²

From this it is also clear that it was Haslerig's intervention which frustrated the temporary suspension of proceedings to which Vane had agreed. We may perhaps infer from his words that he had arrived from the country late on the evening of

¹ There is a trace of some clause relating to this subject in the proceedings of April 13th. *C. J.*, vii. 277. The insertion of the words "discharged or" before "suspended" seems to refer to it. ² Burton's *Diary*, ed. 1828, iii. 98.

Tuesday, when the conference had either broken up or was drawing to a close. In 1653, as in the summer of 1659, after the Long Parliament was restored, Haslerig's influence in the House was stronger than Vane's. To push on the Bill seemed to him the best way of preventing the acceptance of the solution the army proposed. It should be noted, however, that while Haslerig agrees with Cromwell as to the moment of Cromwell's intervention, and dates it with even greater precision, he says the Speaker was "plucked out of the chair" by "two soldiers."

Four days later another member, Robert Reynolds, gave the House his version of the incident. "I was very pressing for that Act to dissolve ourselves. I never desired any earthly thing with more earnestness [than] to see that Parliament fairly dissolved, and another provided to build up what. . . . The question being put to dissolve . . . with a very loud Yea. . . ." It is unlucky that there is a blank in the MS. just at the points indicated, but it seems plain that the question was actually being put to the House when Cromwell intervened, and that those in favour of the Bill had been called upon by the Speaker to say "Aye" and had done it. Cromwell stood up to speak before the "Noes" could be called upon.

This appears to have been quite in order. A vote passed on May 17, 1606, declared: "Any man may speak after the affirmative question, and before the negative."¹ "This done," continues Reynolds, "persons came to the door"—evidently a euphemism for soldiers. "One came in and sweetly and kindly took your predecessor by the hand, and led him out of the chair. I say sweetly and gently."² Reynolds thus contradicts Haslerig's story that the Speaker was pulled out by two soldiers, and confirms the view that Harrison was the agent and that he performed his task with due civility.

A fourth witness is Harrison himself. Questioned in 1660, whilst he was a prisoner at Newgate, as to his share in "breaking the Old Parliament," Harrison replied:

"The breaking of the Parliament was the act and design of General Cromwell, for I did know nothing of it: that morning before it was done he called me to go along with him to the House, and after he had brought all into disorder, I went to the Speaker, and told him; 'Sir, seeing things are brought to this pass, it is not requisite for you to stay there'; he answered, he would not come down unless he was pulled out; 'Sir,' said I, 'I will lend you my hand'; and he, putting his hand into mine, came down without any pulling, so that I did not pull him."³

C. H. FIRTH.

(To be continued.)

¹ Old *Parl. History*, xxiii. 311. ² Burton's *Diary*, iii. 209.

³ *The Speeches and Prayers of some of the late King's Judges*, 1660. 4^o. p. 2.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

I. IN PREPARATORY SCHOOLS.

THE teaching of history in preparatory schools to-day is complicated by at least two difficulties. First, by the comparatively short time we are able to give the subject in our already overloaded curriculum. The small boy must have a good grounding and fair start in Latin, English, Mathematics, and French if he is to do himself credit at, and reap advantage from, his public school. If he is to get a scholarship there, we must probably teach him Greek, and now they threaten us with science too! Secondly, there is the trouble, no inconsiderable one in these days, of getting uniformity of method and a progressive course of teaching throughout the school.

Although no subject perhaps has increased more in importance in the course of the last twenty years in the public schools, it is very difficult for the preparatory school master to give a greater place to the teaching of history in his time-table, no matter how much he may wish to do so; and this is mainly because a boy's knowledge or ignorance of the subject does not, as a rule, affect his place when he enters his public school *via* the common entrance examination; his form is settled chiefly in regard to his Latin papers, therefore it seems unwise to take time from the latter subject to give it to history, which apparently does not count. Neither can we give less to mathematics or French if the average boy is to do those papers even fairly well; the Geography paper must at least be attempted, and some schools, Harrow in particular, insist on a boy showing some knowledge of the Scriptures.

On the other hand, in scholarship examinations the English papers are often of great importance. Harrow gives, I think, at least one scholarship to the candidate who shows promise in history, and sets an extra paper on that subject. Where, as at Eton, the history questions are included in the general English paper, the boy who is able to answer these accurately and well scores tremendously: first, because he has these answers at least

to his credit, even if the rest of the paper does not suit him particularly well, as may quite well happen to the moderately well read and informed small boy, general knowledge being such a very wide subject. Secondly, he is guided to a certain extent as to which questions to choose, always a difficult matter.¹ Therefore, it appears to be well worth while to give as much time as possible for history to the clever boy; but there is less encouragement to do the same for the average or even stupid child, although one feels that the latter might really benefit more by a good grounding in history and extra training in the reading and writing of English than his more fortunate brother, who is apt to pick up such knowledge naturally in the course of reading and conversation.²

In most preparatory schools the boys in the upper forms work, as a rule, from 30-32 hours a week. Classics and mathematics claim considerably more than half this time, in some schools quite two-thirds; that remaining has to be divided between Divinity, French, and English subjects, which last include, of course, general knowledge, geography, essay-writing, and some knowledge of English literature and poetry, as well as history. It has been suggested that some statement of the hours and periods we are able to give here to English, more particularly to history, may be interesting; it must, however, be understood that we do not pretend that our division of time is necessarily the right one, any more than that the methods explained later on are exempt from criticism; but we have arrived at our system after some years of careful thought and experiment, and are fairly well satisfied with the results.

In the classical sixth only four and a half to five hours a week can be spared for English subjects.³ These are divided into six periods of about three-quarters of an hour each, of which three are given to history, one to geography, and one to the reading and writing of essays (some on historical subjects) and to English

¹ For instance, at Eton eight questions are set of which the boy must answer five; the first, an essay, is obligatory, and if he chooses two on history, he will probably not have much trouble in finding two more that he can do among the remaining five.

² It is a question whether the dull boy without linguistic or mathematical ability would not gain more in education if he were allowed to give more time to the history and literature of his own country, and spend less struggling with Latin sentences and syntax, which are often quite beyond his powers of assimilation, and leave him hopelessly bored, so that he gives up trying and loses all interest in his work. But this we must leave in the hands of our headmasters. Of course we do not want early specialisation, but the stupid boy does have rather a dull time of it under our present system of education.

³ Navy candidates and modern side boys in a parallel form get six extra periods given equally to extra French, Geography, and English reproduction, while the others are learning Greek.

literature and poetry, the last as far as possible in connection with the period of history being studied during the term. The sixth and remaining English lesson is taken up by general papers which are set one week and answered in class the next, but prepared out of school hours. Four or five questions are given every week, and always include at least one on general history. These entail a certain amount of reading and research if they are to be properly answered, and while on the subject I should like to insist that the boy should look things up for himself. Tell him where and how to look, what to read, give him plenty of good reference books, but don't do all his work for him. With a week in which to prepare his answers and to make notes, he should do the paper fairly well, and he gradually acquires a large amount of diverse and useful information which opens up fresh channels of interest for him in all directions, and he remembers it all the better for having taken some personal trouble to acquire it. These answers are usually written, and teach the boys to state their facts briefly and clearly; occasionally they give them orally, but they are not allowed to rely on doing so, otherwise some of the lazy members would not trouble to look everything up, but would rely on getting asked something they know.

Two of the three history lessons go to the period being learnt during the term, the third is used for revision and questions and answers on history outside the afore-mentioned period. After the scholarship and common entrance examinations are over—that is, during the last fortnight or three weeks of the term—the boys often read quickly through one of Shakespeare's historical plays, taking parts, giving up a few history lessons to it, as well as the weekly literature class, and not stopping for elaborate explanations or notes which divert their attention from the story. Frequently the class selects a scene and produces it at a Saturday night concert for the benefit of the rest of the school; a cupboard full of acting-clothes supplying the necessary costumes. In the same way all the classes often themselves dramatise scenes from English history for the benefit of their friends, and murder Becket (with the aid of much red ink), scourge Henry II., "turn the loaf" for the betrayal of Wallace, and try Charles I. with evident enjoyment.

The fifth forms get four lessons a week in history, three in geography, and two in English composition and reproduction, one for reading and literature; no general papers are set, but one history lesson a week is given to the writing of answers to six or seven questions set the week before, to their verbal correction,

and to the setting of new ones. These questions are contained in very few words; the answers are easily corrected in class, but they entail a certain amount of reading and trouble, as the specimen which follows will show.¹

1. Whose ship was the *Royal Sovereign*?

2. There were two Mary Tudors. Name their husbands.

3. Name (a) an English battle fought in a snowstorm; (b) an English Prince who was drowned; (c) a Prime Minister who was murdered.

4. Name a preacher who caused a stir in Anne's reign. Was he a Whig or a Tory?

5. "Roll up that map." What map? Who said it?

6. Against which Danish king did Alfred fight?

The younger boys have four history lessons, three geography, and four in English composition and dictation; the fourth form also look up a few easy questions in the same way as their elders, and they all learn some English poetry in class every day; no lesson is ever longer than three-quarters of an hour.

It will be found possible in this way to give an intelligent boy a sound groundwork and growing interest in his subject, particularly if he gets some help and guidance in his out-of-school reading and is provided with the right sort of books. It is delightful to see how quickly he develops a nice taste in literature and rejects rubbish; he only needs encouragement. If, for example, at the end of a history lesson on the Stuarts, the teacher will read a few pages from *Old Mortality* or *The Three Musketeers*, and leave off at any interesting place, the whole class will want to borrow the book, which will be read with avidity. *The Talisman*, *The White Company*, *Windsor Castle*, and *Westward Ho!* can all be read in connection with their respective periods, and plenty of similar books will suggest themselves. The great thing is to get interest awakened; the boys enjoy the story, and soon learn to distinguish fact from fiction.

We are all agreed that boys ought to be interested in the history of their own country, and that the subject is not to be treated as a sort of mental gymnastic course like Latin grammar; and it is very easy in these days of delightfully written and illustrated books to make the lessons pleasant and entertaining. But at the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that we want the boys to *know* the outlines of British history accurately and

¹ These questions were all set by the late Mr. Townsend Warner in the Harrow History Prize Competitions at different times. This competition, which is open to all Preparatory Schools, is now to be called "The Townsend Warner Prize Competition," and examined for by Mr. Marten in March every year.

well. Slipshod, careless answers, wild guesses at dates, and ignorance of all sequence of events are far too common, and are the evidence of a slack, sloppy habit of mind on the part of both teacher and pupil. The boy who was asked in the last common entrance examinations to state what he knew about Judge Jeffreys, and replied that "He was called the Bloody Assize," evidently had no idea of the meaning of the last word in his answer, and also was completely muddled in mind. Another reply that "he was a cruel judge who murdered a lot of people" is an instance of the sort of answer which should not be tolerated, and is the result of what may be called the vague method of teaching. It is so easy to spend the lesson in reading to the boys stories in which they are mildly interested. They are apt to remember quite well, for instance, that somebody "never smiled again," but who the gentleman was and the cause of his extreme gloom are matters to which they are entirely indifferent unless their teacher takes the trouble to make these facts important. We all know how difficult it is to teach a boy a thing which he half knows, and this is particularly true of history. Unless he gets a clear, broad outline when he is quite young and is taught to be accurate, he gets into a muddled state of mind out of which it becomes almost impossible to extricate him. Some teachers—we hope they are few—are content to give the boys a text-book and tell them to learn so much while they read the paper or write letters, after which they ask dull questions relating solely to facts. This method often produces worse results than the vague one, as the boy becomes unspeakably bored and actively dislikes his history lessons.

Another method, rather an old-fashioned one, is to let the boys read some history book aloud in turn before catechising them at the end of the chapter, but this plan has several disadvantages. The effort of reading distracts the mind of the young boy from the matter in hand; few of them read really well aloud; dull and monotonous reading will cause the attention of the others to wander, and when a really bad or nervous reader begins they all become horribly alert to catch him tripping, and have no idea of the meaning of what he is trying to produce. Of course, boys must learn to read aloud, but not in their history lesson.

Perhaps the most satisfactory method is for the teacher himself to read some book suited to the age and intelligence of the class, stopping to explain words, emphasise important points, and ask questions. These should be of two sorts, the first bearing simply on what he has been reading, to make sure that the boys

are all attending and to catch the dreamer napping; and the second testing their reasoning powers. For instance: "Why did such a person do such a thing? Was he right or wrong?" Any definite point, such as a date, on which the class do not agree can be looked up in a text-book which every boy should have to hand; we use Carter's *Outlines* here. There will be a scramble to find the place first and to prove their neighbours in the wrong, and they will remember it far better than if they had been told it.

Sometimes they may write their answers, and these should be short and concise, containing some definite information; the elder boys can write short biographies and explanations, but for the younger ones questions which can be answered in two or three words are better; they are learning to write English in other lessons. The late Mr. Townsend Warner, who examined for at least twelve years in the Harrow History Prize Competition, told me that he believed in the above type of question for little boys, and he was a past-master in the art of setting them in such a way that the well-read or well-read-to boy was at an advantage over his rival who crammed from text-books for the examination. Let the boy learn to write down what he knows first; style and power of expression will come later, particularly if he only reads and listens to well-written books.

In this connection I do not think it is often realised that children understand and appreciate books when read aloud which they could not deal with themselves. For instance, most boys here, except, of course, the babies, thoroughly enjoy Green's *Short History*, more particularly the chapters on the Normans and early Angevin-kings and on Puritan England. One youth of eleven remarked to me that it was "the best book for making up plays" he knew, and I have heard them reeling off long sentences from it in some of their historical dramatic productions. Here we use several books in the top forms: Warner and Marten's *Ground-work* perhaps most just now; Fletcher's *Introductory History* is a great favourite too, particularly the first two volumes. Every boy above the two lowest forms possesses a Carter, and directly he is old enough and interested enough to want a bigger and fuller book of his own, he can have one. Some collect nearly all those mentioned in this article before they leave, and do not regard them merely as lesson-books but as valued private possessions.

The lower sixth are being taught from Meiklejohn's *History* just now, one of the fifths has Warner's *Brief Survey* read to them; in other classes we use the Cambridge History Readers,

which are excellent and very well graded; while Mrs. Synge's *Stories of the English* and H. E. Marshall's *Our Island Story* are delightful for the smallest boys.

In the top forms we generally take four terms to cover the whole period of British history; the middle school get through it with less detail in three, and the little boys cover the ground more rapidly and therefore more frequently. All the younger ones spend more time in proportion over the earlier period and touch very lightly on the Hanoverians, as constitutional history is beyond them. We try as far as possible to fix their attention in each age on the most important event or policy of that time without worrying them with details which do not affect the main issues; while at the same time we try to tell them something of French and Scottish history which does affect these issues. It must be admitted that tables of genealogy are dull things, but if instead of learning them from a book the boy makes his own in class from information given him from time to time, he will rather enjoy working out the relationships, and will be very much pleased to find he has done it correctly when he compares it with the table in his book.

As the boys grow older a system of note-books will be found excellent—at least, we have tried it here with great success. No one may have one (so the thing is a privilege) until he can write fairly well and cleanly. Then he gets a stiff-covered exercise-book, quite different from his class-books and private property, and he begins by writing in order the names of the Kings and Queens of England, setting two pages aside for each with dates under each name. Then half-way down the page he writes down an event in that particular reign; he generally chooses a battle if possible. As he goes up from class to class he fills up these pages with further details as he learns them about wives, children, laws, parliaments, and important men and events, till he has a fairly comprehensive synopsis written by himself. He also copies in genealogical tables which he has made, sketch-maps of Scotland, France, Ireland, and the American colonies. These may be coloured. Three or four pages are set aside for nicknames, with their owners opposite; there is a list of important archbishops—Canterbury on one page, York and St. Andrews on another. Prime Ministers and Justiciars have a page to themselves, and we like to have a list of famous ships with their owners; regiments get attention in some note-books with their dates, and names of the men who raised them. In the same way pages are set aside for notable sayings with their contexts and approximate

dates. All this is done gradually out of school hours, at odd times on wet afternoons, etc. The books are examined from time to time, suggestions made, and prizes for the best awarded in divisions. The boys can get help where and from whom they like, but everything must be verified from a *book* before it is written down. The note-book becomes a cherished possession, and is often very useful later on.

It is very usual in these days, and incidentally a great saving of trouble to themselves, for teachers to maintain that historical dates are dull and unnecessary for boys and can be learnt later on. Nothing is more untrue or misleading; they never are learnt later except with great trouble and annoyance, and are then often valueless. To try to teach a boy history without dates seems rather like building a house without putting up a scaffolding. We want to give him a broad outline with a chain of important events if he is to look upon history as a whole, and the dates are useful pegs to help him on his way. Let him learn, as a matter of course, the date of each important event as he is told about it, otherwise he will have no idea where he is, and will get dreadfully muddled and produce horrible chronological blunders later on. It is not a bad plan to let the little boys repeat frequently the dates they have already learnt during the last five or ten minutes of their history lesson; they will enjoy standing up in a row and taking each other up and down. The element of competition prevents their being bored by constant repetition, while the change of position and train of thought is welcome to the mind and body of the restless small boy. A scholar of his public school, a boy of seventeen, told me lately that he had never forgotten what he had learnt in this way as quite a little child.

With this method of training all necessity for learning lists of dates later is removed, and the boy will possess a sequence of events in his mind and will be able always to fix on an approximate date for a minor event.

Mr. Grant Robertson, who examines here every year, and has kindly given us much valuable help and advice, always insists on the value of accurate and definite knowledge for young boys. I hope, therefore, I may be forgiven for urging the need for accuracy so persistently. It should not militate, as some people believe, against interest, if the teacher is ready to let the boys see that *he* is both keen and accurate and ready to answer intelligent questions, though this sometimes entails a good deal of extra work on his part; the boys appreciate the fact that he is taking trouble too. They think none the less well of him if

he says frankly that he is not sure of a point they have raised but will "look it up and tell them to-morrow." We cannot expect to get history specialists to teach our little boys in these days; the public schools want all there are left who are not making history themselves in France or on other battlefields; but we must have teachers who are enthusiastic on the subject and willing to work with their pupils. No boy ever works for a master who does not!

In teaching history, as in other subjects, there must be a certain amount of spadework done, but competition keeps the interest going at first till the boy gets a pride in his own definite knowledge and is willing and ready to work to add to it. Little boys are delightfully keen; if they are not, it is their master's fault for boring them; he has no excuse when teaching such an interesting subject. It may be considered that I have insisted too much on his responsibility, but there can be no doubt that the horrid results one sees in common entrance papers are brought about by careless and bad teaching, and headmasters are not altogether free from blame, in so much that they are often ready to hand over the history to a games master whom they do not consider capable of dealing with anything else (the poor young athlete would probably teach the juniors their Latin grammar extremely well and patiently, remembering his own early struggles!). It is not fair to expect our public schools to produce history scholars if we send them boys badly grounded, with all interest in the subject destroyed; better to leave it alone altogether and let them begin it there.

Let us get the best teacher we can for history, and let him take the subject right through the school as far as possible and teach it to the boys as a logical and interesting sequence of events, and not as a jumble of dry facts. In this way it will train the reasoning power, exercise the memory, develop the intelligence, besides being a valuable medium for teaching a boy to express himself and reproduce what he knows in good, simple English. Apart from all educational considerations, if, as some of us believe, "the future of the world lies in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race," is it not of the first importance that our boys should learn, while their hearts are so susceptible and their minds so receptive, to love and understand the great heritage to which they are born; and how shall they do this better than by being taught faithfully and sympathetically the history of the British nation?

C. VAUGHAN WILKES

II. IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Two documents stand out as representing the high-water mark in the development of history teaching in elementary schools. These are the "Suggestions" of the Board of Education for the teaching of history in elementary schools (1913) and the "Report of a Conference on the Teaching of History in London Elementary Schools" (1911). The former was compiled with a view to utilising to the best advantage the services of the whole teaching staff as it exists at present, while at the same time it lifts the whole subject to a higher plane. The latter covers the whole ground of history-teaching in London elementary schools, and also contains sketches of the corresponding work in other countries. From this it develops suggestions for the teaching of history in various types of schools with specialist and non-specialist teachers, and indicates a wide range of material for selection.

Yet, notwithstanding all this assistance, it is by no means an easy matter to make a judicious selection if anything like proportion is to be secured in the treatment of the subject. Moreover, although the elementary schools do not suffer from the difficulties of conflicting examinations, the range between the best and worst abilities and opportunities of scholars of similar ages is much greater than is the case with corresponding pupils in secondary schools. With a subject so wide and so difficult as history, there is an inevitable tendency to take up some single aspect of the subject, or to dwell upon questions that happen to be most prominent at the moment, whether social, constitutional, or international. These courses have, at any rate, several satisfactory features. They are in touch with what the child is experiencing; they are often enthusiastically carried out; and, being limited, they are well done from the standpoint of information. And these are features which are by no means to be despised. Indeed, in the hands of teachers who have had no opportunities for special training in history, one is entitled to doubt whether they are not educationally more valuable than a wider scheme would be. But no history teacher can be satisfied with this. As Sir Julian Corbett said of the teaching of naval cadets, it was soon found that even naval history could be properly understood only when fitted in with more general history. In the elementary school the same principle holds good, although the method, material, and point of view will all be different. Yet these one-sided and stop-gap

courses of historical information must be the rule until we have a large supply of teachers qualified specially in history, and until some form of historical training is evolved which, while providing suitable means for the intellectual development of the child, does give some elementary view of the whole subject.

Another difficulty, perhaps not so serious, is the tradition of a single historical reader for each class. This arose out of the circumstances of elementary education about 1880. In addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, only two other subjects could be taken. These two were almost in every case selected from grammar, geography, and elementary science; and it is significant of this fact that we find, in the "Instructions to Inspectors" for 1878 and 1882, suggestions for the teaching of each of these subjects but none for the teaching of history. Apparently it was felt that children should know something of the history of their own country, and, to make provision for this, a reading book in history "adapted to the ages of the scholars of the standard" was prescribed for each standard above the third. In 1890 this reader took on a new aspect. For the first time a complete schedule in history for every standard was set out in the Code, and "readers" were recommended for other subjects—*e.g.*, geography—in order to "give definiteness" to the teaching. About 1896 a new spirit is discernible in Board of Education Codes, and a great advance in the liberalisation of school studies is apparent. In 1901 history as a subject was made compulsory in all schools, with a certain amount of option subject to the consent of the Board in special cases. Coming events cast their shadows before, and we find one inspector writing: "When history is taught by a real expert it is well taught and the time is well spent"; and another: "It [history] is at present too much an exposition of the reader."

Until five or six years ago there were practically no teachers in elementary schools specially qualified in history. All, of course, had some historical knowledge, as the subject had been compulsory for teachers since 1860, and Green's *Short History* was well known by many, as was also Macaulay. But to manage, with perhaps the assistance of a boy of fifteen or sixteen years old, any number from seventy up to a hundred children, and present them yearly for individual examination in from five to eight different subjects required a capacity for control and a power of instruction which ruled out all opportunities for pursuing special studies. And although that condition of things only obtained before the 'nineties, the tradition is there; and large classes and unsuitable buildings are still prevalent. Where, however, cir-

cumstances have changed, specialisation has stimulated in the children a resource and initiative, a high standard of knowledge and general intelligence which was undreamt of twenty years ago. But history has not shared in this advance anything like as much as it should have done.

However, experiments have been made, and it is worth while comparing them with similar experiments in secondary schools. Only by so doing can we establish a sound groundwork of historical education. The ages of the children concerned are from about ten or eleven to fourteen or fifteen years of age, and the pages of HISTORY testify to an increasing agreement amongst teachers working independently. There seems to be a fairly general, though by no means universal, consensus of opinion that isolated aspects of history are, to say the least, not the best form of historical training. The Association has resolved that historical training should begin with the history of the child's own country, though this does not preclude the telling of stories of people and of conditions of life in other lands in other ages than the present.¹ Omitting the very valuable habits that historical training engenders, and confining ourselves to the subject itself, there is unanimous agreement that our central object is to develop a sense of the way the present has grown from the past, and that this sense should be based as far as possible on first-hand conceptions. Ideally, this is what the post-graduate student does, so that we are at once faced by the fact that these first-hand conceptions can only be acquired on a very small scale and in a very limited way. As a consequence, the general run of the child's work must have a framework of more or less cut and dried narrative. But we can easily impart vitality and flexibility to this narrative, first by illustrating the narrative in the widest possible way, and, secondly, by securing that it shall be built up from as many minds as possible.

The first of these implies a much more liberal supply of illustrations of all kinds, and, above all, the use of those illustrations which exist in the locality of the school. Probably within a radius of ten miles of any school there exist evidences of every period of British history. This applies with special force in places like London, which themselves have a continuous historical record. Of course, this entails the collection of records locally, and if such things must be in book form there should be, as the above-mentioned "Report" suggests, a book containing descriptions of such local illustrations as exist.

¹ Report of Proceedings, 1917.

The second condition is also very necessary. The single series of historical readers still flourishes like the Biblical green bay tree, and I shall probably not be overstating the case when I say that by far the greater number of schools depend upon them. Certainly it is true that, given one good book, it is possible to get something definite, and something definite there must be. But where there is a teacher with special qualifications in history, this restriction surely ought not to exist. What I most feel the need of is a large number of books dealing with the same period, but not necessarily with the same aspect of the period. It seems to me that it is the eternal sameness, generally speaking, of history books which is largely accountable for children never realising the richness and variety of the subject and for their never entering into the fulness of its pleasures. And I think Miss Nield indicates a very profitable field for experiment in this matter in her letter in the last number of HISTORY. If this can be done, then children will get conceptions which are not quite the teacher's, nor yet those of the authors whose books they read, but something which they have, partially at any rate, built up for themselves.

With regard to what may be done in primary schools, I would refer readers of HISTORY to the two documents mentioned, and especially to pp. 38 and 39 of the "Report." I have found that what is suggested in those pages works very well in the hands of a teacher who is specially qualified in the subject. But during the last four or five years my experience has led me to consider certain modifications in the nature of rearrangement. For it has been evident for some time that more thought would have to be given to imperial problems. This implies a corresponding need for a more widely disseminated knowledge of colonial expansion. As teachers of history, it is a platitude to say that we should always be looking to the future as well as to the past. Hence, if we remain true to the principle that we must keep the unity of our subject, it is incumbent upon us to find some means of incorporating this wider knowledge with its general development. I suggest, therefore, the following arrangement:—

Ages ten to eleven, earliest times to 1603.

Ages eleven to twelve, brief recapitulation to 1485, and 1485 to 1715.

Ages twelve to thirteen, brief recapitulation 1485 to 1715, and 1715 to present time.

There are several advantages in this arrangement. It secures continuity. Special attention is given to the transition period from mediæval to modern history. Modern history is divided into two

periods, which correspond in a general way to (1) more or less individual attempts at fostering colonial expansion, (2) definite and increasing government intervention in colonial enterprise. These two periods also correspond more or less to (1) the development of scientific knowledge, (2) the application of scientific knowledge to industry and commerce. No doubt from time to time it will be necessary to modify the matter as colonial and more recent history become more available, and possibly if the school age be raised to fifteen this last period may be again divided.

This arrangement leaves the final year for a short, simple sketch of general history, and, if necessary, a simple story of Parliament. I say "if necessary," because, in the event of day continuation schools becoming an accomplished fact, the growth of parliamentary and municipal institutions would certainly occupy an important place in the history course. On this matter of general history there seems a possibility of there being a fairly unanimous opinion. And the pages of HISTORY are justifying themselves to teachers by registering opinions from widely divergent but, at the same time, expert sources. These opinions, gathering in number, all point to the fifteenth year of the pupil's life as being the time when more interest is taken in general history than in British history. But pupils of this age in secondary schools correspond in their experiences of life to the pupils in the top class of elementary schools, and my experience entirely agrees with these opinions. The point of view from which the course is taken may not, perhaps, be quite the same. In the elementary schools it will be more or less a recapitulation of British history put in its general setting; whereas I gather that in the secondary schools it forms a useful background to further work in British history.

Finally, a few remarks will not be out of place on the question of training the children to see that the present has grown from the past, and how largely the present is affected by it. Miss Howard touched upon it in her quotation from a paper which mentioned the slave trade and the growth of Prussia as illustrating the bearing of past history on present events. The Dutch in South Africa and the Spaniards in South America are further obvious examples. Without, I hope, labouring the point, I wish to go somewhat more into detail.

In the elementary school it is of the greatest importance that the syllabus shall not be overloaded with detail. Of course, every event in history has its influence on modern conditions, but only

those whose present effects are fairly obvious to children can be given a place in such a syllabus. Then, as a rule, no history lesson should be given without touching upon at the same time its present-day remains or its present-day effects. Every time a child works a sum, every time he writes, every time he opens a book, he is bringing into play things rich with historic tradition. Every railway, every road, every post office, every field and hedge-row, every official title, every religious order, every rate, tithe, tax, or rent charge—in fact every aspect of national, municipal, and social life has its time of emergence into the historic fabric. History lessons which bring out these facts live; and no matter how far we go back, these present-day reminders can be found. It is this unfolding of the present-day picture through its historic growth that forms such a fascinating study for the young. The present will be to them, then, not a flat mosaic, but a living organism.

JOS. A. WHITE

NOTES AND NEWS.

It may seem a far cry from the first article we publish in this number to the last, from a discussion by the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford of the authorities for the dissolution of the Long Parliament to accounts of the difficulties of teaching history in preparatory and elementary schools. Yet the juxtaposition illustrates not only the range of the history teacher's interests but also their fundamental unity. Professor Firth's article will appeal to our readers as an authoritative pronouncement on one of the most familiar episodes in English history, but still more as an example of historical investigation which might be taken as a model by students working in seminars or preparing theses for higher degrees in universities; while the authors of the technical articles on teaching have come to the conclusion, already suggested in our Correspondence columns, that much of the secret of success in teaching history is to show pupils how to find out things for themselves. It is refreshing to have this moral enforced from a preparatory school, which has been remarkably successful in winning scholarships, as well as from elementary schools in which history has been best taught; for, so long as physical science was regarded as a training in investigation, and history as merely a matter of memory, there was little prospect of a recognition of the claim of history to its proper place in the curriculum or the affections of students.

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Meanwhile, there is much to do in protecting students and teachers of history from the ignorance of educational authorities; and a striking instance of unintelligent legislation has just been provided by the Senate of the University of London. The modern history of the old matriculation syllabus has been split into two, English history and European history, though the schism is obscured by the bizarre regulation that the new "English" history is to be the same as the old "modern" history—that is to say, is to include imperial and colonial history and some reference to European history. The new European history is obviously, in

these circumstances, intended to be a "soft option," particularly as it is limited to the period from 1789 to 1910, the latter term being presumably designed to sever the candidate's study of history from his interest in the present war. These are, however, trifles compared with the fact that the two aspects of history are made mutually exclusive, the candidate who offers European history not being allowed to offer English history, and vice versâ. It would be quite as intelligent to make elementary and higher mathematics mutually exclusive, or Latin and Greek, English and French, Physics and Chemistry, and to prohibit any candidate from taking any of these pairs of subjects. If history is big enough to require treatment as two subjects, it should carry the weight of two subjects in the examination, like Mathematics, Science, and Languages; if not, its unity should not have been destroyed.

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The *personnel* of the new Examinations Council has now been announced, and it does little to remove the doubts entertained of its probable usefulness. The universities which make money by examining schools have generally chosen as their representatives the capable bureaucrats who have hitherto exploited the system with such financial success. Others, which take a more educational view of the matter, have selected their vice-chancellors who will think in terms of possible undergraduates if not of school-boys and girls. Then there are the representatives of local educational authorities, who, in their attitude towards external examinations, will probably oscillate between the interested champions of this system and the nominees of the Teachers' Registration Council. The multiplicity of these examinations is no doubt an intolerable vexation; but we can hardly imagine a worse educational tyranny than that of a single uniform system of external examination.

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The Minister of Education, as befits an historian, has been besieged by historians anxious to make hay while the sun of his presence illumines Whitehall or South Kensington; and the Navy League has been pressing upon his attention the claims of naval history. There can be no doubt of the importance of the subject, and we do not think that the comment of the *Journal of Education*—"if our island story is taught with the least intelligence, boys and girls cannot fail to learn that the Fleet of England is, and always has been, her sheet-anchor"—quite meets the case. We have read not a few speeches by eminent soldiers during the war which showed that they at least had not the

faintest perception of this fundamental fact, and it cannot be brought home to children unless they are taught history, and unless they are taught it intelligently. The difficulties are, firstly, that hundreds of thousands of children are not taught any history worth mention, and secondly, that the teaching of naval history is rarely intelligent. For the latter evil, teachers are no doubt themselves largely responsible, and we hope to provide a partial remedy in the series of notes on naval history which Mr. Callender begins in the present issue. Where the Government may fairly be expected to help is not in the giving of advice or orders, which the *Journal of Education* deprecates, but in the provision and encouragement of expert teaching in naval history in universities and schools. We have chairs of economics in all our universities, and consequently some means of training competent teachers of this subject in schools; but in spite of the facts that England has had the longest and greatest naval history in the world and depends for its existence upon the appreciation of its "sheet-anchor," there is not a chair of naval history in any university in the Empire. The object is not to teach in schools that technical naval science which is the business of Osborne, Dartmouth, and the Naval War College, nor even to make naval history a special subject by itself, but to provide means through the universities whereby the teachers educated there may be able to inform coming generations of citizens of the foundations of their liberties and influence in the world.

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Historians are not, we think, as a rule enamoured of compulsion even when it is exercised on behalf of their own subject, and they would prefer it to rest on its own merits, operating by way of persuasion rather than that of force. But it is a somewhat severe test of that faith when the latest reform of the regulations for the Higher Civil Service Examinations leaves it a matter of choice whether or no the future bureaucrats of the Empire shall know anything about the history of the lands they aspire to rule. Of course, there are many spheres of work in the Civil Service to which history has no immediate application, and civilians probably do not rise very high in the Civil Service without acquiring some knowledge of the history they would have done well to learn before. But even those who remain on the lowest rungs of the least historical ladder are voters as well as civil servants and need the same historical education as the general public for the intelligent exercise of their powers; while there is nothing to be said for the lack of system which enables a civil servant to enter the Home Office,

the Local Government Board, or the Treasury, in complete ignorance of the history of English law, English administration, and English finance. No little harm has been done in the past by the introduction into the Colonial Office of civil servants ignorant of the whereabouts of British Colonies; and not many years ago the confidence of a distinguished Maharajah in the efficiency of British government encountered a rude shock when he was received by an Under-Secretary at the India Office with the bland inquiry as to where was the State over which he ruled. The legend that the American Colonies were lost because a Secretary of State began to read their history has not yet lost its terror for the official mind.

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The susceptibilities of some historical students have been disturbed by the royal assumption of the style and name of Windsor, which was not particularly fortunate in its association with Henry VI. or with the peerage. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth connected Windsor with royalty, but its pre-eminence as a royal residence dates from the not very glorious days of George IV.; and if antiquity were any recommendation for a place name, there would be more to say for Winchester, Westminster, Whitehall, or St. James'. But there is no reason why a "house" should take its name from a place; the "house of David" has better credentials than any local name for a royal house in English literature and history, and an ancestor might have provided a better title than a residence. The King is descended from Alfred the Great; and while the "House of Alfred" was perhaps impossible after a recent notorious ode, the "House of Cerdic" has excellent English associations and would have indicated the fact that his Majesty enjoys a lineage running through the whole of English history and going back centuries further than that of the Habsburgs or the Hohenzollerns.

CORRESPONDENCE.

H.M.S. *Erebus*.

SIR,

IN the April number of HISTORY your reviewer "F" is in some places rather severe in his dealing with Mr. Law's book, *England's First Great War Minister*.

He criticises "first," and asks if Sluys, Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were won without organisation. Certainly they were not; but Wolsey's army was the largest British army ever employed in one place on the Continent until August, 1914. Sluys was a naval battle, at Crecy a number of the troops composing Edward III.'s army were already in France, and at Poitiers and Agincourt the English armies were quite small. Again, in Edward's time the feudal system was in force, and the armies were to a great extent composed of the barons and their retainers, whereas in 1513 the army was differently recruited. Your reviewer also objects to the phrase "New Army," but the task of reorganising the undisciplined rabble which acted with the Spaniards the previous year was well accomplished.

W. E. N. HAWKSLEY WESTALL.

[Our reviewer writes: "Mr. Westall's confident assertion that 'Wolsey's army was the largest British army ever employed in one place on the Continent until August, 1914,' illustrates the need of that series of corrections of popular legends which you, sir, promised us in your last number; and perhaps some expert in military history will give us as accurate figures as are possible for the British forces employed in great British battles and campaigns. Meanwhile, I can only remark that Cardinal Wolsey does not agree with Mr. Westall's estimate of the size of his 1513 army; for, writing on August 30th, 1523, about the later expedition of that year, he says that it was 'the largest which has passed out of this realm for a hundred years' (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, Vol. III., No. 3281). That would suggest that in his opinion the English armies of the Hundred Years' War were also larger than the expedition of 1513; we know from Wetewang's accounts that the army which took Calais was (see Wrottesley's *Crecy and Calais from the Public Records*, and Dr. J. E. Morris's review of the same in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XIV., 768). Has Mr. Westall, moreover, examined the evidence for the statement in the *Political History of England* (XI., 64) that the Walcheren expedition of 1809 was 'the greatest single armament ever sent out fully equipped from the shores of Great Britain,' and convinced himself of the falsity of the official British documents (printed by Napier and Oman), which give much larger figures for Wellington's British forces in the Peninsula? As for Mr. Westall's other statements, I must content myself with the

bare assertions that the English armies at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were not based on the 'feudal system,' and that there is no evidence that Wolsey's army was in any sense 'new.'"]

Bristol.

SIR,

THOUGH it would be unduly optimistic to ascribe anything like unanimity, or even general agreement, to those who would "reconstruct" the educational curriculum of future generations, one fact must be gratifying to all readers of this periodical: that almost all our reformers are in favour of more teaching and better teaching of history. Yet to us teachers, and still more to the young men and women whom we are with difficulty persuading to enter the teaching profession, the prospect is serious—not to say appalling. For the demands that we are to supply are in part new and in part bequests from a discarded system. The historical teacher will be saddled with the duty of making the new generation familiar with the course of the present colossal war in its causes and main episodes. And at the same time he will be expected to gather up and use a few at least of the wares of the impoverished classical teacher, in preserving for the youth of the future some of the memories and experiences of far-back times. His teaching will have to be scientific, for all "reconstruction" is on a scientific basis. He will have to be practical and intensely modern. He will have to know how to take broad sweeps and to help accumulate details. And the days will be no longer than heretofore, and the claims of physical exercise, of manual culture, of organised amusement will probably be more exacting than ever. As was urged in a recent paper in this magazine, we shall have to drop some things. My present object is to urge that, whatever else goes, one branch must remain. Every young man and woman must, at some period of school or college life, have learned something of the history of Rome.

It seems necessary to urge just now the claims of ancient history, at a time when the present and the very recent past are absorbingly interesting, and also when teachers of modern history only are credited with power to produce good and patriotic citizens. I do not, however, think that we shall ever make the most of history as a moralising power unless we regard it from another point of view than that of the practical moralist. It is a commonplace remark that the higher ethical instruction consists far less in inculcating duties than in forming a sound judgment and a mental and moral sense of proportion. Now the disadvantage in teaching recent history is that it cannot as yet be seen in correct perspective. It must, of course, be taught, but—I should say—in subordination to a general and duly proportioned view of history as a whole. I am not, of course, proposing that a teacher of history should indulge in airy generalisations. It is his duty to emphasise the difficulty, and also the supreme necessity, of digging down to the bedrock of fact. But at the same time he has to foster the perpetual consciousness that life in the present is the product of life in the past, and that a sympathetic and rational appreciation of the great periods and great characters of ancient and mediæval

times is necessary for any but a fragmentary conception of modern history.

But, it may be said, does not this amount to insisting that universal history should be a necessary subject in all schools? This certainly would, in my opinion, be highly desirable, if feasible, but at present I dare not suppose that we have sufficient teachers qualified to teach it. If we tried, it would be a case of *corruptio optimi pessima*. I believe that, if we think of those teachers who, by writings or by real instruction, have helped us to regard History as one great whole, we shall find that they were not students or teachers of universal history *as such*, but scholars who had laboured in wide though not unlimited fields, and were not afraid to point out analogies and connecting links between events and processes in many different ages and countries.

My plea for the retention and improvement of Roman history in schools is chiefly that it has some of the educative power of universal history, while it is far more manageable. Without some knowledge about the Roman Empire, mediæval history and the Renaissance are utterly incomprehensible, and so is any rational comprehension of the New Testament. It is to be hoped—or, rather, to be desired—that the upshot of the sickening controversy as to “definite” and “undenominational” religious instruction may be the introduction into *all* schools of a *bonâ-fide* historical treatment of the Bible. Some of our friends would regard this as anti-religious, but such persons would seem to assume that there is no religion to be found in the Bible but what is put into it by the “denominational” and “definite” teacher. I am not, of course, proposing that Biblical teaching should be entirely historical (even using the word “historical” in its broadest and best sense); but if the historical element in the Biblical teaching given both to young clergy and to the laity were indefinitely increased, we should have less foggy notions both about Christian dogma and Christian morals than are found, even in cultivated persons, at the present day.

It may be said that I am exaggerating the pretensions of Rome to represent all the higher culture of the ancient world, since the good days of Greece and the best days of the Hebrews were past before the active intervention of the Romans in Hellenic and Semitic lands. But if this be true, the teacher of Roman History is bound to give his pupils some notion of Greek culture in relation to Macedon and to the Diadochi; and every student of the Roman Empire, in considering its relations to Jews and Christians, is obliged to make a retrospective digression into the determinant events by which these relations were formed. The Roman Empire may, for educational purposes, be regarded as embracing all that is most necessary to know in ancient history, and all that was to determine the course of the mediæval world.

Of course, the object desired would not be obtained by setting an occasional snippet of Roman history for examinations without regard to what went before or after. But there is no need for any such limitation. Several respectable school books have been written with the view of giving a connected view of the whole in moderate compass. I believe that a quite moderate number of lessons with reference to illustrative extracts in translations from classical writers would be of real illuminating power to young people who had been

brought up on an entirely insular method, or on the hypothesis that the world was created some time between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century.

I may meet with some opposition from genuine classical scholars who know the enormous difficulties of the subject, the hopeless intricacies of the Roman constitution, the different estimate in which the leading characters are still held. But I maintain that children, and still more young students, *ought* to be taught that history is a difficult subject, and yet is not "all lies." And I am even inclined to think that the practice of examining into historical problems and of sifting evidence can be more readily acquired in ancient than in modern history. But this subject does not concern us here.

More effective is the cry of the overburdened teacher: How are we to make room for it? My answer would be threefold: (1) Every subject that is officially labelled as *necessary* does find time for itself by hook or by crook; (2) why not serve a double purpose by making some other lessons a vehicle of historical knowledge (especially reading aloud, composition, recitation, and the like)? (3) why not endeavour to encourage the reading of good books, in holidays or leisure time? A writer in *The Times Educational Supplement* pities the "neglected class" whose children have every minute of time filled up with work or organised play till there is absolutely no time for reading what one would like to read, or for brooding on what one finds interesting. But in our "reconstruction," is this leisureless state of mind and body to be accepted as necessary?

I have, I fear, exceeded the limits of a letter, but I should feel glad if I could stimulate some thought on the dangers to which, it seems to me, our young people are likely to be exposed: a loss of piety—in the Roman sense—for want of friendship with men and women of old time; and a hopeless narrowness of view through slavery to the present conditions of social and political existence.

ALICE GARDNER.

Newcastle-under-Lyme.

SIR,

I had hoped that your last issue would have contained the views of teachers of history on the two points with which Mr. Marten largely dwelt in the number before, namely, (a) the position of modern languages in the curriculum of history scholarship, (b) the importance that should be attached to languages in awarding history scholarships and the best methods of examining in the same. There is no doubt that these are two points on which there will shortly be, as the Headmasters' Conference foreshadowed, considerable discussion and disagreement.

In the first place, it is essential to understand the material from which the history scholar has to-day, and will have more so in the future, to be moulded. A boy who is elected to a history scholarship, as, indeed, any other scholarship, will have, I think we may take it, passed an examination on the lines of the Joint Board School Certificate at the age of sixteen or sixteen and a half. In this a reasonable standard in mathematics will have been reached,

and this subject may therefore be discarded. He will have passed also in two languages: let us say, for argument's sake, French and Latin. To what standard, then, should the average boy attain in the two or two and a half years left to him for specialisation?

The usual weekly hours in school, I suppose, amount to about twenty-six, and I am of the opinion that fourteen of these hours is sufficient for history. I am, of course, assuming that all general reading is done out of school. This leaves twelve hours per week for other subjects. It is surely not unreasonable, therefore, to ask for at least a working knowledge of three languages, by which I mean the ability to translate the authorities, etc., which will be required in the higher branches of historical study at the university. Surely the object of the teacher in a school is not the attempted production of the finished article, but the laying of a solid foundation for future work.

The scheme on which we endeavour to work at Newcastle is that a boy reading either mediæval or modern history should specialise in French language and literature, and should give six hours to this subject, four hours to German (a subject taken up after the school certificate has been passed), and two hours to Latin, which is entirely devoted to unseen translation. On the other hand, a boy taking ancient history substitutes Latin for French, does four hours Greek a week, and two hours French unseen translation. The result is that at the time a boy takes his scholarship examination he should be nearly, if not quite, up to the honours standard of the Joint Board Higher Certificate in one language, and have a working knowledge of two others.

With regard to the second point, I do not see why more weight should not be given to the knowledge of languages in awarding scholarships than is given now, for surely they are one of the essential bases of historical scholarship. On the other hand, I am not an advocate of any violent innovations in the examinations themselves. I should suggest that either (a) compositions should be set in Latin and French, one of which, in addition to the Unseens, should be compulsory, or (b) one of the Unseens set in these two languages should be of sufficient difficulty to entail a really deep knowledge of that language. In addition to this, more questions involving a knowledge of the literature of foreign languages might very well be set in the general paper.

May I further take this opportunity of touching on another subject, the present position of history in the smaller State-aided secondary schools? There the Muse has for a long time played the rôle of Cinderella. The best brains lie largely among the "free placers" who have gained scholarships, often after severe competition, from the public elementary schools. Many of these are material from which history scholars could be made, but there is little attraction at present in the subject from the financial side. It must be remembered that the "free placer" is usually entirely dependent on his scholarships to take him to the university, and the university scholarship of itself will not suffice. In almost all instances bequests for leaving scholarships, in the case of the older schools, are for classics, while in the newer schools they are for science and mathematics. No encouragement is offered to the history boy. There is, however, another source, namely, the

scholarships controlled by the various county councils and county boroughs; and I cannot help thinking that useful work might be done by the Historical Association in putting pressure on these bodies to alter their syllabus in favour of history candidates.

Staffordshire is in this respect progressive. It has of late years been possible for a boy to win one of these scholarships, which are between £30-£40 per annum, by taking the following subjects: (1) an essay, (2) either ancient, mediæval, or modern history, (3) outlines of English history, (4) a special period of English history, including Constitutional, (5) one of two papers set in any one of the usual foreign languages. In addition, he must produce evidence of having reached a certain standard in mathematics, or must take the elementary mathematical paper. He may offer also a subsidiary subject, usually another language in which a lower standard is expected.

The result has been that in the last five years, to my own knowledge, eight scholarships have been awarded to boys who have subsequently won scholarships for history at the universities; and this has undoubtedly opened the door to the elementary school-boy, to whom history before had, of necessity, been a tabooed subject.

NIGEL HEARD.

Hanworth House, Holt, Norfolk.

SIR,

May I draw attention to a suggestion made by Mr. D. C. Somervell at a conference on the teaching of history and scripture organised by the Women's International League in January? A busy teacher is in practice limited in what he can do by the books which educational publishers supply. This is especially true of the use of sources. It is easy enough to find collections of original documents for illustrative purposes or to give "atmosphere," and documents for this purpose need not be in the hands of the class. But there is no source-book covering the whole of English history, which gives really satisfactory material for the kind of problems advocated by Mr. Keatinge in his *Studies in the Teaching of History*. The existing books seem to assume either that the text-book is done away with altogether, or that there is unlimited time for the study of a special period by means of source work. Many of us believe that from about the age of sixteen problems on original documents are of value in giving children insight into the working of historical forces, and we should be glad if some enterprising publisher would arrange for something on the lines suggested by Mr. Somervell—for "a source-book which took just nine events, one for each term in a three years' course, distributed over English history, and illustrated each by a fairly full and complete group of documents." These, I would add, should be chosen primarily for their value as problem material, and not for their illustrative interest. They should deal only with the most important events, where fuller understanding than can be given by the text-book or by the teacher's lectures is most needed. Two years' experience of using sources has convinced me of the truth of Mr. Keatinge's warning that the best training is to be got by squeezing every scrap of value out of

a few carefully-selected documents, and that there is a real danger in the superficial treatment of a large number.

I suppose it is too much to hope for a similar collection of sources suitable to a two years' course in the outlines of European history. How little belief there is even now in the teaching of European history may be gauged by the article on "The Education of the Citizen" in the *Round Table* for June. The writer outlines a course of study for a suggested pass degree in citizenship at the university. This syllabus includes English literature, some other literature ancient or modern, British history, the study of one science in the laboratory, economics, and the ethics of individual and social life. Except that a foreign literature may be studied, there is no hint that citizenship requires any knowledge of European history or of the social and political institutions of foreign nations.

C. H. C. OSBORNE.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS

[Under this title it is proposed to give in each number of HISTORY two or three notes on historical subjects which modern research has shown to be most widely misunderstood, with a view to bringing the teaching of History in schools and elsewhere more closely into touch with historical scholarship.]

I.—MAGNA CARTA.

THIRTEEN years ago there appeared in a monthly review an article entitled "The Myth of Magna Carta,"¹ and the views somewhat crudely summarised therein have done much to revolutionise the older conceptions of the Great Charter. The field of research, in which many scholars were labouring before and have laboured since the publication of that article, is by no means exhausted; but the following points may indicate to teachers some of the legends connected therewith which they should avoid.

(1) The first may seem a small technical matter, but Magna Carta was never "signed" by King John or anyone else. Sealing and not signing was the method of formally expressing assent to the legislation which then took the form of "charters"; and the point is of importance because of its connexion with the popular impression that the King "signs" Acts of Parliament. A few years ago even eminent lawyers discussed in public whether George V. would "sign" the Home Rule Bill. The answer was easy that he certainly would not, because Kings of England do not sign and never have signed Acts of Parliament. The Royal assent is and always has been given, since Parliament began to legislate, by the enunciation, not by the King, but by the Clerk of the Parliaments, of the words *le Roy le veult* or *soit droit fait comme il est désiré*.

(2) The next point is that the Great Charter of 1215 is not, and never has been, the law of the land, save for a few weeks before its repudiation by King John. Civil war followed, which lasted till after John's death; and when Henry III. came to the throne a new Charter was issued. This in its turn was revised in 1217, and again in 1225, and when Edward I. confirmed the Charter in 1297 it was not the Charter extorted from John, but the Charter made "in the time of King Henry our father." This point, again, is of greater importance than it looks at first sight. For instance, the

¹ By Edward Jenks in the *Independent Review* for November, 1904. Maitland, J. H. Round, Vinogradoff, Miss Norgate, and other scholars had done much to undermine the older view; but the authoritative exposition of the newer is contained in W. S. McKechnie's *Magna Carta* (1905, 2nd ed. 1914), which was already in the press when Mr. Jenks' article appeared. Mr. McKechnie must not, however, be held responsible for all the views I have expressed in this note.

first clause of Henry III.'s first charter omitted the words which guaranteed in 1215 freedom of election to the Church, and Henry III. and his successors were therefore not breaking the law when they ignored that liberty. Similarly, it omitted clause 12 of 1215 requiring the common consent of the realm before scutage and feudal aids could be levied, and mediæval kings were therefore not ruling unconstitutionally when they exacted those dues on their own authority. Further changes were made in the Charter of 1217; the limitations imposed in 1215 on the king's power of amercing his own villeins were abolished, and the protection against arbitrary dispossession granted by John's famous clause 39 was now restricted to *free* tenements, leaving *villein* tenements liable to the old abuses. It was the Charter of 1225 which remained the basis of the law through the Middle Ages, and by which the constitutional or unconstitutional character of Governments must be judged; and it would be better to teach students that Charter, leaving the 1215 version to specialists who have to trace the processes by which law is evolved. These facts are also useful as a reminder that, while attempts were made to treat Magna Carta as fundamental and immutable law, they were not successful: there are no rigid fundamental laws in the British Constitution.

(3) More widespread is the confusion caused by a total misunderstanding of what "liberty" meant in the thirteenth century. Nothing makes history more difficult as a study than the fact that words change their meaning as completely as institutions do their spirit and their form; and the "*libertas*" of Magna Carta is as little like our modern notion of liberty as the monarchy of John was like that of George V. The best indication of the mediæval meaning of "liberty" is perhaps to be found in a petition sent up by the Commons to Edward III. in 1348; it begs the King to grant no more liberties for the future, on the ground that they have been so liberally granted in the past that almost the whole land is enfranchised "to the great hindrance and weakening of the common law and to the great oppression of the people."¹ The great Charter is not a grant of general liberty, but a confirmation of special privileges. A "liberty" was a concrete, individual thing, a local and personal monopoly of jurisdiction; it consisted commonly in the unchecked power which the lord exercised over his tenants in the manorial courts, and the object of Magna Carta was largely to prevent the royal judges from encroaching on these private preserves and drawing jurisdiction into the national courts of justice. The servitude of his villeins was the principal element in the liberty of the lord. The benefits of Magna Carta were almost entirely restricted to those who were "free," the aristocracy of the time; there is not a word in it to enfranchise the great mass of the population, and not a single villein was emancipated by the "Great Charter of Liberties." It must always be remembered that the value of a guarantee of liberty to those who possess it depends upon the number of the possessors and the extent of the liberties they possess. Magna Carta guaranteed extensive liberties, amounting to arbitrary power over the mass of the people, to a small minority consisting mainly of greater and lesser barons. So far as it was effective, it checked rather than hastened the growth of general liberty.

¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii. 166b.

(4) Another comprehensive error is the idea that Magna Carta asserted the principle of "no taxation without representation." It would be truer to say that the real meaning of the clauses (12-14), which are supposed to embody this principle, is that the barons were not to pay certain parts of the rent they owed to the Crown for their lands unless they chose to. There is really little about "taxation" in Magna Carta at all; it deals with rents and services due from tenants of the Crown, and the baronial insurrection which secured it had many points in common with a "no rent" campaign. Their lands were not their own, but the Crown's; they held them only on condition of paying feudal aids and rendering feudal service, and, in spite of the increasing value of land, they were determined that their rent should not be raised. These "rents" or services were not fixed by law, and John was not inclined to fix the custom. The barons no doubt had a grievance, but it was their own, and they were the last people to lay down a general and democratic principle. There was no national taxation at that time, except perhaps the carucage on land, and still less was there any national representation. The feudal system meant that everything was based on land and people paid in rent or service to their landlord. The grievances are against John as supreme landlord and not as head of a national State. If a man held no land of the King directly, he did not, unless he were a Jew, suffer much from royal oppression. The villeins paid in the form of services and tallage; but both went to their lords and not to the King (except on the royal demesne), and Magna Carta gave them no protection against their lords. After it, as before it, they were liable to as much service and as much tallage as their lords could extort. It was the barons who felt the burden of John as a landlord; and it was their capacity as tenants that made them appear in Magna Carta as comparatively progressive. Hence they demanded that their "commune consilium" or common consent must be obtained before scutage or aids could be levied. But nothing would have horrified them more than a suggestion that they should obtain the "commune consilium" of their villeins before extorting tallage. Nor must this baronial "consilium" be transformed into a "common council." That is one of the myths of Magna Carta. For the purpose of obtaining the common consent ("ad habendum commune consilium") the greater barons were to be summoned by individual writs, and the lesser by general writs sent to the sheriffs. These might all come or might all stay away. There is no provision for "election" in Magna Carta even for the baronial class and no suggestion of the necessity for consent to taxation by the rest of the community. The barons granted to the King the scutage which humbler tenants paid; and such consent as was required for taxation by Magna Carta was not necessarily the consent of those who paid it.

(5) Perhaps the most persistent and impossible legend connected with Magna Carta is that it created or secured trial by jury. There was no such thing as trial by jury in the modern sense until long after 1215. To ascertain the thought or motive in men's minds, which is largely the object of "trial," was confessedly beyond the capacity of primitive jurisprudence which admitted its inability to distinguish between murder and homicide; and the two tests in

vogue in the twelfth century were the ordeal and the combat. For these Henry II. endeavoured to substitute a sworn declaration as to fact by a body of "recognitors." Even in this reform there was little "trial," and the decision went in favour of the party who could first secure twelve "recognitors" in his favour. The old methods also existed as the "custom" of the country side by side with the new reform. It was not till 1819 that the combat was legally abolished, and an appeal was made in 1917 to the ordeal; the evolution of the system of recognition into trial by jury was a process which took centuries and cannot be described in this note on Magna Carta. It could not even be discussed without deciding beforehand whether it is the judge or the jury who really "tries" a case, and defining clearly their respective functions. Now the well-known clause 39 of Magna Carta declares that no *free* man is to be arrested, imprisoned, dispossessed, outlawed and so forth except by the lawful "doom" of his equals or by the custom of the country. The "or" is here disjunctive: the custom of the country is the ordeal or combat, and the "doom" of his equals is the novel system of "recognition." It did not involve what we mean by trial: for instance, the later Acts of Attainder were "dooms" of the accused man's equals, but the common objection to them is that they dispensed with "trial." But who were the "equals" or "peers"? The barons meant themselves, the feudal magnates, and denied that the King's judges and especially the Barons of the Exchequer were their equals, competent to condemn them. In other words, they repudiated the jurisdiction of the King's courts and demanded one consisting of themselves. Hence the trial of Peers on criminal charges in the House of Lords. For the rest, "equals" apparently were not considered worth an interpretation; the general idea seems to have been that "recognitors" should not be beneath the status of the accused, but they might well be above it, and it will be noted that the privilege is limited to the small class of "free" men. The weakest point about the clause is that it postponed the arrest of the criminal until after his condemnation, and thus made the execution of justice a practical impossibility; and of course it is absurd to read into the clause the contents of the *Habeas Corpus* Acts.

The above are probably the most notorious illusions which have gathered round Magna Carta. To a large extent the popular view was invented by Sir Edward Coke as a weapon in his contest with the Crown. There was an ecclesiastical and a baronial, but no popular, appeal to Magna Carta before the end of the sixteenth century, and Shakespeare makes no allusion to it in his *King John*. That monarch was rather a popular hero with Elizabethan audiences which knew nothing of Magna Carta, but liked to hear defiance hurled at Popes and Cardinals. There were, of course, good points in the Charter, such as the regulation of weights and measures, the fixing of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, and the limitation of amercements. But most of them failed for lack of provision for their execution, and the real value of Magna Carta consisted in its implicit, but by no means novel, principle that royal power must be limited and responsible, and that rights, albeit the excessive rights of a privileged class, should not be at the mercy of an arbitrary king.

A. F. POLLARD.

II.—THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ARMADA'S OVERTHROW.

IF a deputation from the Historical Association, wending its way backward through the centuries on the magic carpet of curiosity, could reach the little port of Palos in the year 1492 and interview Columbus on board the *Santa Maria*, they would find that he quite agreed with them in dividing all sea-going craft into two main divisions—vessels built for purposes of war and vessels built for purposes of trade. But if they were thereupon to put this question: "Are we correct, sir, in supposing that vessels of war are *armed* vessels, and vessels of trade *unarmed*?" he would reply, "Certainly not! Fighting-ships are propelled by oars, and trading-ships by sails. That is the distinction. Mark it well! ALL vessels are armed."

We must not stop to ask when merchantmen ceased to carry armaments; the inquiry would betray a carping spirit in the middle of a U-boat campaign. It is sufficient for the moment to remember that the battleship of 1492 was propelled by oars; and that, as a warrior, she despised any sailing-ship as a wretched freight-carrier or bearer of burdens. The man-of-war and the merchantman could in 1492 make spiteful exchange of the terms "Long Ship" and "Round Ship"; for, supposing their greatest breadth to have been the same, and its measure fifteen feet, then the fighter's keel would have been at least seventy-five feet, and the trader's no more than thirty.

Now it is a singular thing that England reached the sixteenth century without possessing a permanent "fighting fleet," if by "fighting fleet" we understand a fleet of vessels built for purposes of war. This does not necessarily mean that mediæval England was not a maritime Power, nor does it mean that she never fought battles at sea. As both sides of the Channel were, after the Conquest, more often than not under one Crown, it followed that armies were not infrequently transported from England to France or from France to England. But they were transported, as they are transported to-day, in vessels built primarily for purposes of trade. Note, however, this difference! An army of to-day, finding itself afloat, does not expect to engage in battle until it disembarks. But the mediæval army was just as much prepared to fight in wooden floating towers upon the waters of the Channel as in wooden siege towers against the walls of a town. It is this factor which creates the false impression of English *naval* warfare in the Middle Age.

When an English mediæval army put to sea, the merchantmen that conveyed it were fitted with fighting-platforms above the level of the ship's hull. This fact is universally known. What is not sufficiently recognised is that the "fore-castles" and "aft-castles" did not affect the architecture of the vessel proper any more than anti-U-boat guns affect the shape of a modern merchantman. The *quatrocento Holigost* might carry 2,899 bows, 12,557 arrows, 5,000 spare arrow-heads, and 16,075 bow-strings. But all this fighting-gear made not an inch of difference to the framework of her hull.

The first hint of revolution came with the use of gunpowder. Some of Henry IV.'s ships were provided with little iron guns which we may call "serpentes." These pieces were very rudimentary, but they must have been found more efficacious than bows and javelins, for throughout the fifteenth century they became more and

more popular. Not only that, but they metamorphosed the fighting-platforms. These lost their temporary or "war-time" character, and became permanent and integral parts of a ship, the recoil of the guns, slight as it was, demanding nothing less.

A fresh stride forward was made by Henry VII. when (1486-1490) he created the *Regent*. The *Regent* mounted no fewer than 225 serpentines and piled up her fighting-platforms, forward and aft, into two or even three storeys. Yet the *Regent* was not (as one might suppose) a transitional craft. She was purely mediæval. She was intended, by the crowned merchant who built her, to corner the Levant trade in spite of pirates, and her armament, multitudinous as it must appear, was not of a kind to modify or change the architecture of her hull.

By the time that Henry VIII. ascended the throne the big gun had reached a point of development which was not materially improved upon until after the Crimean War. Henry VIII., tyrannising over his shipwrights, commanded that this new weapon should be carried afloat. When he did so he revolutionised marine architecture. For it goes without saying that it was impossible to mount heavy ordnance on the fighting-platforms. If big guns were taken to sea, they had to be mounted in the belly of the ship. Holes were accordingly cut in the vessel's broadside, and these gaping apertures were closed against the water's inrush by protecting doors called "ports." The *Great Harry*, though not the first ship so armed, is the accepted prototype of the transitional fighting merchantman. She mounted all the guns that the *Regent* mounted and in similar fashion, and, like Nelson's *Victory*, she had broadside batteries as well. Henry VII. would, like enough, have wept over her as a capacious freight-carrier ruined for her proper task by the cumbrous engines of war in her inside. As a matter of fact, she was not really a merchantman at all, but the precursor of an entirely new kind of battleship. Before the end of his reign Henry VIII. built a "Wild Beast" class of ships (*Tiger*, *Bull*, &c.), which dispensed altogether with a secondary armament of multitudinous serpentines in timber towers, and mounted heavy broadside guns and heavy guns alone.

Henry VIII.'s ships, however, were never tested by a pitched battle properly so-called, and when, in 1577, John Hawkins became the virtual ruler of the Crown navy, they underwent further improvement. Without a moment's delay the new Treasurer and Controller carried Henry's reforms to their logical conclusion. The heavy-gun ships were spoiled for merchandise. What use, then, in preserving measurements that were designed for the carriage of freight? He pulled out the keels of Royal Navy ships to something approaching galley-length, and the finer lines of the *Revenge* endowed her with qualities almost as valuable as her hitting power. After this there is no further change of equal magnitude to chronicle until we come to the launch of the ironclad *Warrior* in 1860; for the ships that Nelson fought with were simply "improved" *Revenues*. Hawkins built eight *Revenues*, but not all of them were ready by 1588. On the other hand, several of the older ships (e.g., *Bonaventure*, *Nonpareil*, &c.) had been rebuilt in the *Revenge* style.

When Philip II. resolved to subjugate England in 1588, he decided, for reasons which cannot be discussed here, to fight her not with his BATTLE-FLEET, but with vessels which he thought

were similar to her own; that is to say, instead of a naval battle of the Lepanto pattern, he elected for a land-encounter-at-sea after the English mode, such an affair as "Espannols sur Mer" of August 29th, 1350. In such an affray his peerless infantry could not fail, he believed, to overpower the half-drilled hinds of Elizabeth. Accordingly he sent to the Channel nearly 130 sailing-ships, and the best of them resembled the *Regent*—that is to say, they creaked with the obsolescence of mediævalism. The English opposed to them a modern battle-fleet composed of ships similar to those which were to win all victories at sea for the next two and a half centuries. Sir John Laughton has counted up 197 English vessels that took part in the Armada campaign. Not all of these were in the fighting line, and many of them were not of the latest pattern. But it is not too much to say that if 163 of these had stood aside, the thirty-four Crown ships could by themselves have prevented an invasion of England by Philip's effete collection of mediæval sea-wagons with their overcharged "cargoes" of cannon-fodder. No nautical expert in this country would have recommended such a "purge," for it was not until the *Revenge* in 1591 defeated fifty-three Spaniards single-handed that the potentialities of the broadside capital ship began to be understood.

The nature of Howard's best ships being what it was, it is totally beside the mark to debate whether the Spanish or English ships were the bigger. The elephant is larger than man, but the elephant's bulk simply does not count after the elephant-gun has been invented. The English broadside capital ships drove from the ocean the mediæval *mastodon de mer* as mercilessly as Caxton's printing-press displaced the mediæval manuscript.

Of authorities upon the subject dealt with in this note it is difficult to compile a useful list. Illustrations afford the most valuable guides, but these, unfortunately, are all too few. For pre-*Regents* the best source is the "Warwick Roll" or "Rous MS." in the British Museum. This piece of pageantry has been reproduced in facsimile more than once, Mr. Emery Walker's edition of 1914 deserving special praise. Next we have the well-known *Embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover, May 31st, 1520*, by Vincent Vulp. The ships in this picture, which is at Hampton Court, are Early Henrician or true transitional. It is only when scrutinised that they reveal the heavy ordnance mounted down below; at first glance they might very well pass for sister ships of the *Regent*, the upper works presenting by far the most noticeable feature. The "Roll" of Anthony Anthony, made at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, shows what the *Great Harry* looked like after she had been rebuilt, and how far she was left behind by the ships of the "Wild Beast" class. Of the *Revenge* unhappily no portrait survives. The most commonly reproduced picture of an Elizabethan ship is the *Ark Royal* from the wood-cut in the British Museum; but with this print the higher criticism has not yet finished, and it would be a mistake to accept as typical of 1588 what may prove to be a reconstruction of thirty years later.

On the English mediæval navy Sir Harris Nicolas's *History* still holds its own, Mr. Oppenheim's *Administration* carrying on the work where Nicolas laid it down. Mr. Oppenheim has also contributed an interesting article to Barnard's Com-

panion to *Mediæval History*, and a valuable introduction to *Henry VII.'s Accounts and Inventories* for the Navy Records Society. For the Elizabethan ships the first chapter of Sir Julian Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy* should be consulted, and the last chapter of his *Successors of Drake*. The best book in English on naval architecture (Charnock's) is unreliable on the matter dealt with in this note. Among recent writings the following deserve notice: *Blackwood's Magazine*, No. mclxxx,, which contains a good article on the first and second phases of the *Great Harry*; and the *Yachting Monthly* for January, 1913, which has an illustrated criticism on the full-sized model of the *Revenge* exhibited at Earl's Court in the summer of 1912.

GEOFFREY CALLENDER.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A History of Modern Europe from the Middle of the Sixteenth Century, and Europe in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1878).
By J. E. MORRIS. (Cambridge University Press.)

NOTHING is more common nowadays, and few things are, unfortunately, more difficult than the writing of short historical handbooks, so hard is it to find the golden mean between the dry and crowded chronicle of external events and viewy generalisation unsupported by facts. Dr. Morris's useful little books may be described as "right centre" if we call chronicle-history "right." They form a very readable summary of events, and he is quite ready, when it makes his points clearer, to travel outside his period both backwards and forwards. Characteristically he is never so much at home and so illuminating as when he is dealing with things military, and never so brief as in his references to "ideas," to the great religious or political movements. He attributes the French Revolution mainly to economic causes, though he admits the force of Rousseau's "natural rights." But it is never safe to minimise the power of ideas at least upon the French, and there can be little doubt that the cumulative effect of the teachings of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Philosophes in general was to disintegrate moral and religious principles and to leave Frenchmen without any anchors in the past when the crisis came and the Revolution swept them along with all its apparent fatalism. Again, an understanding of the nineteenth century is impossible without some effort to grapple with the meaning of Continental "Liberalism," a body of doctrine, a view of life, rather than a theory of government. In such matters Dr. Morris gives the student little help. It is true, of course, that a small handbook must avoid controversy as far as possible, but it is the special difficulty of recent history that the most important things are still matters of controversy. The nineteenth century is dominated by the question of Nationality, and we are much too close to judge that movement from its results. Ten years ago Bismarck was forgiven his brutality because he was patriotic and successful. We shall perhaps in time begin to understand how to many sound and thoughtful minds, Acton's for instance, Nationality was considered, because of its methods, an immoral and a revolutionary force even in Italy. It is not enough, even in handbooks such as these, to give only one side of a case.

In matters of fact Dr. Morris is, on the whole, a safe guide. Naturally there must be some slips when so long a period is covered. Sicily and Sardinia were exchanged before 1788, and the Treaty of Kainardji did not give Russia the right to protect the-Christian

subjects of Turkey. It is strange that one who is so sensitive to military events and to the teaching of the facts of to-day should still fail to appreciate the military power of the Turks, and should repeat the old tale of Turkey having been kept alive by her Western allies. It was the representatives of England and France who helped to make the Sultan give way in 1829 when the position of the Russians at Adrianople was almost desperate, and the Russians were driven across the Danube in 1854 by the Turkish army, and not by any Austrian intervention.

F. F. URQUHART.

Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth. By ARTHUR JAY KLEIN, Professor of History in Wheaton College, Massachusetts. London: Constable. 7s. 6d. 1917.

IN his clear discussion of intolerance in the reign of Elizabeth Prof. Klein has consulted the works of the older writers. Their books he has read with discrimination, and the result is a piece of work representing honest thought. In his bibliography there are some books which have an exceedingly remote connection with the subject, and some intimately connected with it—*e.g.*, Usher's *Rise and Fall of the High Commission*—are omitted. Omissions of this nature are serious, but far more so is the neglect of the author to consult adequately the pamphlets of the reign. Not a few of these Prof. Klein does not seem to have read, leaving the impression on our mind that a longer period spent on the book would have added much to its value. At the same time, allowance must be made for the fact that the author is an American, and the distance separating him from his material is no doubt answerable for much. He has made a serious contribution to a perplexing and deeply interesting problem. The arrangement of the book is orderly and the writing is vivid. When we consider the mass of facts handled, the dexterity with which the historian beguiles our attention commands our respect. He is at pains to analyse the attitude of the different types of Roman Catholics, and is as fair to a patriot like Campion as to a traitor like Parsons. He brings out the fact that Anglicanism and patriotism at last came to be synonymous terms in the minds of the people to the undoing of the Roman communion. It is obvious that so long as a Roman Catholic was suspected of betraying his country, so long was it difficult to conceive that he ought to be tolerated. Naturally, the author is preoccupied with the share taken by foreign politics in aggravating the condition of the adherents of the Pope. The desire of Spain to remain neutral ensured the defeat of the French party in Scotland, thereby ensuring the eventual triumph of Anglicanism.

Prof. Klein unduly restricts the scope of his important subject. He is concerned so much with his interpretation of the ordinary deeds of the reign of Elizabeth that he does not seem to realise the effects of the voyages of the sea dogs in widening the intellectual horizon of London. The connection between Puritanism and the metropolis is not fortuitous. Poetry, science, and architecture were all making giant strides, and these tended to create an atmosphere so far removed from the traditional one as to render the conception of toleration at least a possible one. The poetry of

Shakespeare, the prose of Bacon, the windows of Longleat all opened out new aspects of truth and compelled men to realise that the whole of its many-sidedness had not been delivered to men in the past. The idea of progress at last dawned on the mind of man. No idea, not even that of evolution in the nineteenth century, has done so much to alter the standpoint of men in the sixteenth. The author is content to ignore the epoch-making nature of such a conception. As we peruse his pages we began to wonder, Who was the first modern man? The honour is sometimes claimed on behalf of Plutarch. Great as this humanist is, the idea of progress escaped him. The first man who conceived the notion of boundless scientific knowledge in the future is Copernicus, and from this standpoint we acclaim him the first modern man. The Frenchman Guillaume Postel holds similar views. Of course, Prof. Klein perceives the importance of Francis Bacon, who is to be regarded as a prophet of science, not as one who announced the proper method of attaining scientific results.

The author gives us a careful survey of the work of Richard Hooker. He is quite clear that this great theologian employed reason as well as the Bible in his attempt to reply to the Puritan position. It would have been well worth while to show the attachment of Hooker to the conception of natural law, for in it he found one of the surest supports of the doctrine of toleration. Here, indeed, he displays his originality. The Continental reformers, except Melancthon, made little use of the idea of a *jus naturæ*. Hooker, however, derives his origin of the State purely from such law. There is a *jus divinum*, but there is also a *jus naturæ*, and the latter proved the means of his triumph over the Puritans and—what is vastly more important—gained a foothold for the policy of toleration. The theory of natural law was a necessity for him, and, fortunately, it proved a necessity for the England of the seventeenth century. It conserved the toleration which was a result of the Great Rebellion, thereby earning the gratitude of posterity.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

Geschiedenis van een Hollandsche stad. Door P. J. BLOK. *Een Hollandsche stad onder de Republiek.* The Hague: M. Nijhoff. 1916.

PROF. BLOK, who between 1890 and 1907 wrote his standard "History of the Dutch People," returned to an older plan of the same voluminous nature, when in 1910 he undertook a revision of his "History of a Town of Holland." In the 'eighties he had not carried this work farther than the time of the Burgundian and Habsburg Princes. The second edition of these two volumes, much altered and corrected, appeared a few years ago. The book under review is quite new; it is the third volume of the whole work, and deals with the period of the Republic ($\pm 1572-1795$).

This is a time when the town histories of most of the famous town countries are getting less interesting. As a general rule the rôle of the town was played out when modern history opened. But in Holland the town remained the political unit *par excellence* as long as the Republic lasted. The corporate life of the towns was hardly less strong than formerly, and in the province of Holland

nearly all political power, outside the uncertain element of the Stadholder's influence, was based on the broad bourgeois oligarchies of the eighteen "voting towns."

Of these, Leyden, which forms the subject of Prof. Blok's book, was certainly one of the most interesting. For dramatic effects and stirring anecdotes the history of the famous siege (1574) is hard to beat. It is a wonderful record of human endurance, and it leaves a glamour of heroism on men like burgomaster Van der Werff and secretary Jan van Hout, who fill the stage of the town's history till the close of the century.

Leyden, moreover, was the most industrial of all the Dutch towns. It was the seat of the renowned "draperye," the cloth manufacture. The town had been famous for its cloths throughout the later Middle Ages, but this "old drapery" was at the close of the sixteenth century utterly ruined. The "new drapery" was founded just then by the thousands of refugees from the southern Netherlands, who settled at Leyden. Nowhere was the influx of Flemings and Walloons, who spread all over Holland while Belgium was overrun by Parma, so great as at Leyden. The industry, profiting by the immense carrying trade of Holland, which scattered its products all over Europe, flourished all through the seventeenth century, and was only late in the eighteenth century overtaken by the general decay under which Holland sank. Leyden's "drapery" has been the subject of much searching investigation lately: I refer to the excellent works of Dr. Posthumus.

Leyden never was of much importance for Dutch literature. As for art, I need only mention the names of Rembrandt, Dou, Van Goyen, Steen. But it was the University, founded immediately after the siege, in 1575, which made Leyden one of the most important intellectual centres of the Netherlands and attracted, all through the first two centuries of its existence, hundreds of foreigners—Germans, Scandinavians, Englishmen, Poles, Hungarians—to the lovely canals of the Rapenburg and the Steenshuur. Leyden University, too, much less orthodox than the sister University of Utrecht, was a hotbed of the fierce religious quarrels which used to shake Holland in the seventeenth century.

The town itself played a very important part in the religious history of the province, and the chapters which Prof. Blok devotes to it are perhaps the most fascinating of his book. The revolt against Spanish oppression had hardly gained an initial success before a division came to light in the ranks of the rebellious people. Nowhere was the rift so deep as at Leyden. The common people, and especially the Flemish refugees, were bitter Calvinists, and stood behind the "predikants" in their efforts to make the Church supreme in the State. But the "better sort" of burghers, in whose hands all political power was concentrated, were more moderate in their faith and more tolerant towards Catholics and Protestant dissenters, but at the same time, in their fear of priest rule, they were prepared to go to any length to keep a strict control over the Church and its servants and even over its tenets. This struggle between Church and State was waged incessantly, though under various battle-cries and catch-words. Leyden was the most "libertine" town in Holland, till the defeat of the oligarchic party in 1618, which was followed by the Calvinist Synod of Dordrecht, overthrew the town

government, and made it the most Calvinist. For while in nearly all the other towns the magistrates soon after the crisis of 1618 returned to the old tolerant, and at the same time despotic, ways, Leyden's name was till deep in the century sullied by a petty and relentless persecution of the "Arminians."

Prof. Blok's book is to be welcomed with the greater pleasure, as modern town histories of such amplitude are rare in Holland. The only other one of which I can think is Ter Gouw's history of Amsterdam, a work already half a century old. This is strange, if one considers the importance of the town in Dutch history. The excellence of so many of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century town histories may help to explain the fact. About Leyden itself there exist two of such older works: Orlers and Van Mieris, both from the seventeenth century.

P. GEYL.

The Expansion of Europe. By RAMSAY MUIR. (London: Constable and Co., 1917.) 6s. net.

WHOEVER sets out to deal with the story of European expansion, from the time of Henry the Navigator to the time of the present war, has need of a singularly sound historical judgment, of the capacity (almost instinctively) to seize upon the salient facts, and of an honesty that forbids making the facts chosen the mere instruments of a preconceived theory. In all these respects *The Expansion of Europe* makes good its author's credentials, and therefore, if we here venture to question some of its conclusions, it is not because we fail to recognise its excellence as a most admirable and stimulating introduction to a more detailed study of its subject.

Prof. Ramsay Muir, no doubt with justice, gives short shrift to the idols of the Whig school; but facts are such tangled, complicated things that there may be new risks from new generalisations. Thus the *couleur de rose* account of the Colonial activities of the Restoration statesmen is fully justified if we look only at one side of the shield; but, if we look at the other, we recognise the corruption and jobbery which existed side by side with enlightened theories, forces which apparently to some extent succeeded in alienating royalist Virginia from its old affection for the Mother Country. Again, by means of its favourable situation and from other causes, Philadelphia grew by leaps and bounds; but "admirably managed" is a strange description of Pennsylvania to those who have waded through its squalid and depressing records under proprietary government.

Mr. Ramsay Muir, having successfully demolished the fatuous view that the American Colonies were lost through George Grenville reading the American dispatches, substitutes the statement that the trouble arose out of "the demand of the Americans for unqualified and responsible control of their own affairs"; but in fact the Americans never demanded, nor desired, *responsible* control; and *irresponsible* control they had already obtained through the working of committees of their Assemblies. If anyone doubts it he has only to read the evidence collected in Mr. Greene's convincing volume on "The Provincial Governor." The immediate cause of strife was surely not interference with local self-government in purely local affairs, however little in theory British statesmen admitted such self-govern-

ment, but the attempt to make the Colonies pay part of the cost of the imperial piper when they had no voice in calling the imperial tune. But behind and beyond immediate causes was the conflict between ideals, religious, political, and social, which had for years been preparing the final catastrophe.

This is why the statement that in Canada the conditions in the thirties of the nineteenth century "which preceded the revolt of the American Colonies were being reproduced with curious exactness" seems to us superficial and misleading. What the French Canadians wanted was not responsible government, but an elective Legislative Council, by means of which the French majority should be able to do as it pleased in questions relating to the British minority; and when responsible government was introduced it only proved workable because the Union of the Canadas had already secured fair play for the British element of the population. Upper Canada, indeed, was for some years ripe for responsible government, but there matters, in all probability, would never have reached the stage of rebellion—and what a ridiculous and abortive affair that rebellion was!—but for the rival eccentricities of the Lt.-Governor, Sir F. Bond Head, and the disappointed demagogue, William Lyon Mackenzie.

Owing doubtless to condensation, the account given of the introduction of responsible government is not altogether satisfactory. Durham's remedy for the conflict of races was not that "both should be made to feel their responsibility for the destinies of the community in which both must remain partners." This was the doctrine of Durham's wise son-in-law, Lord Elgin. Durham himself believed that the only ultimate cure was euthanasia, that the inferior and less enlightened French element should be swallowed up in the more vigorous and efficient Anglo-Saxon stock.

It is distinctly misleading to bracket Durham and Lord John Russell together as holding the same doctrine. In fact, Durham "rushed" the Whig Ministry when he published his epoch-making report; but Lord John and Sydenham remained unconvinced with regard to the possibility of combining *full* responsible government with the British connexion, and it was not till the time of Lord Elgin that the system came into full working order. Lord John's great speech, in introducing the Australian Governments Bill (made, by the way, in 1850, and not 1852, as Mr. Ramsay Muir more than once says), did not altogether represent the ideals of Durham and his school, because there was "the sting in the tail," thereby deeply wounding Lord Elgin and his Liberal Prime Minister, Robert Baldwin, which contemplated the probability of the Australian Colonies being, at some future day, great independent States.

Mr. Ramsay Muir is seldom to be caught napping, but it is not the fact, however "plain," "that the first Dutch war led to the conquest of the Dutch . . . New Netherlands (1667)." The conquest was made in 1664 and during a time of uneasy peace. Again, Mr. Ramsay Muir seems under the impression that there had been a direct annexation of the Transvaal at the time of the annexation of the Orange River Settlement. The situation was complicated by the British doctrine *nemo potest exuere patriam*; but the Convention of 1852 merely recognised existing facts, and thus differed fundamentally from the later one which renounced the Orange River Sovereignty.

In dealing with the Monroe doctrine Mr. Ramsay Muir affirms that the message was "intended as an alliance for the defence of freedom, not as a proclamation of monopoly." In fact, however, on the advice of J. Q. Adams, Canning's offer of co-operation was rejected, the letter from Jefferson quoted having been written to advise its acceptance; and Canning himself understood the message as containing the seeds of a future claim to monopoly.

In its later chapters, "The Era of the World-States, 1878-1900," "The British Empire amid the World-Powers, 1878-1914," "The Great Challenge, 1900-1914," and "What of the Night?" the volume rises to a high level of thought and eloquence. It is well to emphasise the fact that, if Germany found so little of the world open to occupation when she embarked upon a vigorous Colonial policy, it was largely her own fault, because Bismarck had deliberately encouraged French Colonial ambitions, in the expectation that they would breed friction between France and England, and France and Italy. No better account, within so short a compass, could be found than is here given of the various schemes for world-dominion that floated before German eyes in the years preceding the war. Mr. Ramsay Muir is probably right in deciding that the most practicable field of operations was to be found in extending a German mid-Europe economic dominion to the Persian Gulf, thereby holding the sword of Damocles over British India.

On the subject of the South African War Mr. Ramsay Muir is trenchant and invigorating. "In reality the issue was quite a simple and straightforward one. It was the issue of racial ascendancy against racial equality, and as her traditions bade her, Britain fought for racial equality. It was the issue of self-government for the whole community as against the entrenched dominion of one section; and there was no question on which side the history of Britain must lead her to range herself."

In his treatment of Colonial nationalism Mr. Ramsay Muir is equally convincing. "The essence of the British system is the free development of natural tendencies and the encouragement of variety of types; and the future towards which the Empire seems to be tending is not that of a highly centralised and unified State, but that of a brotherhood of free nations, united by community of ideas and institutions, co-operating for many common ends, and, above all, for common defence in case of need, but each freely following the natural trend of its own development."

Contrast the position of Germany. "A parvenu among the great States, . . . Germany has shown none of that 'genius of equality' which is the secret of good manners and of friendship among nations as among individuals. Her conversation at home and abroad had the vulgar self-assertiveness of the parvenu, and turned always and wholly upon her own greatness; when she wished to be firm she bullied, when she wished to be polite she cringed. And her conduct has been the echo of her conversation." But enough of quotations; the reader who cares for clear thought and its vigorous presentment will take care to make himself familiar with the contents of this volume.

H. E. EGERTON.

Russian Realities and Problems. By PAUL MILYUKOV, PETER STRUVE, A. LAPPO-DANILEVSKY, ROMAN DMOWSKI, and HAROLD WILLIAMS. Edited by J. D. DUFF. Cambridge University Press. 1917.

THE University of Cambridge has been singularly fortunate in the subjects selected for study at its Extension Summer Meetings and in the lecturers chosen to deal with them. There are few better introductions to the history of the nineteenth century than the volume of lectures published as the outcome of the summer meeting in 1901, and in this year of war and revolution nothing could be more helpful to the intelligent general public than this series of lectures on Russia. They are none the less interesting for having been delivered before the revolution, though the knowledge of that later event will enable the reader to see a significance in many passages in these lectures which would otherwise have escaped him, and to realise that the lecturers had a good deal in their minds which discretion forbade them to utter. Each of the lecturers is a man of distinction, most of them in the world of practical politics as well as in the more restricted sphere of academic learning. M. Milyoukov was one of the leading figures in the Duma before the revolution, and was the first Foreign Minister of the revolutionary Government. Before that he had for some years lived in the Balkans, and no one knows more than he does of the subject of his first lecture on "The War and Balkan Politics." His views of Russian policy towards Constantinople and the Dardanelles have not commended themselves to the majority of the revolutionists, but they all agree with him about the folly of expecting to make peace in the Balkans by placing Bulgarian people under the rule of alien Governments. His next lecture on the representative system in Russia explains the defects under which the Duma worked, and accounts incidentally for the rise of those rival bodies, the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council and the Peasants' Delegates.

M. Struve is no less informing on the economic conditions of Russia, and M. Roman Dmowski, a Polish representative in the Duma, sketches the past and present of the Polish problem, and gives invaluable information about the present attitude of the Poles towards their respective German, Austrian, and Russian masters (on p. 85, "West Russia," is a misprint for "West Prussia"). Mr. Harold Williams follows with a survey of the multifarious nationalities of Russia, with which every student of foreign politics should make himself acquainted. Particularly interesting at the present moment is his account of the Ukraine—the "Ireland of Russia." Every participant at the Peace Congress will have an Ireland on its hands, and they will be wise to treat those Irelands as a common problem of political science, and not for each to wrap itself up in haughty isolation and the proud conviction that it alone knows how to deal with the problem of its own nationalities. M. Lappo-Danilevsky's contribution is a longer and more academic survey of the growth of Russian scholarship and science; but the whole volume is indispensable to everyone who pretends to an interest and voice in the future government of the world.

A. F. POLLARD.

SHORT NOTICES.

PROF. CH. DE VISSCHER'S *Belgium's Case: A Juridical Enquiry* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1916) is a careful and studiously moderate vindication of the action taken by the Belgian Government when confronted with the German ultimatum at the beginning of August, 1914. To the vast majority of Englishmen the work may seem one of supererogation; they have no doubt of the correctness of Belgium's attitude and action, partly because they have no knowledge of the case which the German Government has attempted to set up before the tribunal of German and neutral public opinion, and do not realise the extent to which the remaining neutral Powers in Europe have been tempted by their anxieties and sufferings in this war to wish that Belgium had not prolonged it by impeding Germany's success, and thus to doubt the justice or the necessity of her resistance. For it is one of the pitiful characteristics of human nature to test truth and justice in the light of its success; the conqueror is always right in the eyes of the majority. It is therefore well to have this calm exposition by a trained jurist of the legal and international position of Belgium under the treaties of 1831 and 1839, and of the arguments by which German jurists have supported the campaign of German militarists against the principles of international law.

A. F. P.

MR. EDWARD CRESSY'S *Outline of Industrial History* (Macmillans, 1915) is an admirable manual which we must apologise for not having noticed earlier. It is perhaps a little too technical in parts for general use in schools, but it would be excellent for the purposes of W.E.A. classes, University Extension courses in Economic History, continuation and technical schools; and teachers of history in ordinary schools would find it a valuable addition to their equipment. For, unlike most writers on technical development, Mr. Cressy writes excellent English and possesses a clear and vigorous style. He can see the wood in spite of the trees, and he is very successful not merely in tracing the growth of industrial processes, but in indicating their historical perspective and place in the general evolution of the commonwealth. He also proceeds from the consideration of the agricultural, textile, shipping, and other industries to deal with the evolution of industrial management and the connexion of industries with the problems of politics, the functions of government, and national education. A historian of industry is perhaps naturally tempted to think that progress depends more upon what a man eats and how he works than upon what he thinks; but an illustration of mechanical progress which Mr. Cressy gives on pp. 182-3 indicates its seamy side in the political sphere. He shows how a body of workmen increased their production threefold and their wages sixty per cent. by placing themselves absolutely under

the control of an overseer who "regulated their rate of working by a stop-watch." There we have the secret of Germany's strength and the menace of efficiency to the freedom of the world.

A. F. P.

AN excellent piece of research is appearing in *Under the Dome: the Quarterly Magazine of Bethlem Royal Hospital*, by the Rev. E. G. O'Donoghue. Its material is largely drawn from the registers of Bridewell Chapel, and the instalment for June deals with the architect of Bridewell, Thomas Larke, whose kinswoman, Joan Larke, was the mother of Cardinal Wolsey's two children. Mr. O'Donoghue's articles add a footnote to national history and a good deal more to the local history of London.

A. F. P.

THE report of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held at Cincinnati on December 27th to 30th, 1916 (*American Historical Review*, April, 1917), contains many points of interest to English students of history, both as showing what is being done by the sister Association and as an incentive to us to carry the activities of our own Historical Association out into the other parts of the British Empire where little has yet been done to organise students, teachers, and the general readers of history into a co-operative whole. It is pleasant to learn that the American Historical Association is now in the most prosperous condition, with resources and activities increasing, and interest widespread; and one looks almost with envy upon the power of an association that, not satisfied with its permanent endowment of \$28,000, is setting out to increase that amount to \$50,000, and has every prospect of success. Among the papers of interest to English historians, Prof. Geo. B. Adams, of Yale, sets forth a plan for the foundation of an American journal of European history, mainly in order to furnish larger opportunities for the publication of technical articles than can be afforded by a general historical journal. Prof. Wallace Notestein, of Minnesota, points out that the history of the Stuart Parliaments must be studied in the light, still imperfect, of earlier parliamentary development, and that there is a range of problems respecting Parliament which Gardiner left almost untouched—such matters, for instance, as the electoral campaigns for the Parliaments of James and Charles, the deeper questions of the character of their membership, and the rise of the organised opposition to the king. Prof. Roland G. Usher carries the matter a stage further and maintains that only by carefully organised co-operative effort can light be cast upon the numerous legal and institutional problems left unsolved by Gardiner, and concerning which we have been content to accept the *ex parte* statements of the judges of the time. Prof. Guernsey Jones, of Nebraska, treats of the "Beginnings of the Oldest European Alliance," that between England and Portugal. He shows that the Treaty of 1654, Portugal's penalty for assisting the Stuarts and defying the regicides, was the source of her "commercial vassalage," commonly but erroneously attributed to the Methuen Treaty of 1703. Charles II.'s Marriage Treaty of 1661, which determined the whole course of his foreign policy in a direction different from that of his original inclinations, was due at bottom to the desire of the English Court to placate the commercial classes of London, by

retaining Jamaica against the opposition of Spain, and by opening the way to the trade in India. Prof. W. E. Lingelbach, of Pennsylvania, in a paper on "England and Neutral Trade in the Napoleonic and Present Wars," holds that the seizures of neutral vessels in 1793, the Parliamentary Acts of 1795, and the crushing blows inflicted by and in consequence of the Orders in Council in 1807, were measures intended not only to protect Great Britain against the consequences of aggression and fraud, but to secure to her by the most extreme assertion of belligerent rights a complete commercial supremacy, not through the destruction of neutral commerce, but through processes which compelled it to serve her own purposes. Several papers which are later to be published in collected form described the organisation and methods of procedure of the great Peace Congresses of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, and these should be of considerable value in the circumstances of the present. Prof. Charles Seymour, of Yale, contested the view that the conflict of alliances that marked the crises of 1905, 1908, and 1911 was due to the endeavours of the Triple Alliance to encircle and isolate Germany, and held that the British support of France and the nature of British treaties made with Germany in the same period were inconsistent with the German theory and were indicative only of a sound defensive policy. Prof. B. E. Schmitt, of Western Reserve, agreed with these views, partly on a basis of diplomatic documents, partly because of the obvious desire of the Asquith Government to avoid trouble abroad, in the interest of a domestic programme of social reform. Prof. A. M. Schlesinger, of Ohio, read a paper on the uprising in America against the East India Company in the years 1770-1774. He showed that the boycott agreements of 1770 against dutied tea adopted in the leading provinces of British America were totally ignored in all places save New York and Philadelphia, which were the centres of tea-smuggling. But when a new Act of Parliament in May, 1773, provided that the East India Co. might export tea directly to America and thus deprive the middlemen of their profits, the colonial tea merchants, whether dealing in the customed or the contraband article, joined forces in fomenting popular opposition to the company; and this was enlarged by the fear of other merchants that the company might next proceed to extend its monopoly to other articles. Fear of mercantile monopoly, rather than of taxation without representation, was the mainspring of American opposition.

A. P. N.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

INTRO. TO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. By H. P. Farrell. vii+220 pp. Longmans. 3s. 6d. n.

MYTHS OF CRETE and Pre-Hellenic Europe. By D. A. Mackenzie. liv+361 pp. 10s. n. Gresham Publishing Co. (*Educ. Suppl.* p. 325.)

STUDIES IN GREEK SCENERY, Legend and History. By Sir J. G. Frazer. x+419 pp. Macmillan. 5s. n. (p. 421.) Selections from the commentary on Pausanias, and a reprint of the article on Pericles in the *Ency. Brit.*

THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO. Trans. H. L. Jones. Vol. I., xliii+531 pp. (The Loeb Classical Library.) Heinemann. 5s. n.

THE RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION: a Study in Origins. By C. F. Nolloth. xii+608 pp. Macmillan. 12s. n. (p. 380.)

THE GROWTH of Medicine: from the earliest times to c. 1800. By A. H. Buck. Yale Univ. Press. 21s. n.

HISTORY OF SERBIA. By H. W. V. Temperley, x+359 pp. Bell. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 291.)

SPAIN. By David Hannay. viii+329 pp. (The Nations' Histories.) Jack. 3s. 6d. n. (p. 423.)

PORTUGAL, OLD AND YOUNG. By G. Young. vii+342 pp. Clarendon Press. 5s. n. (p. 399.)

STUDIES IN ENGLISH FRANCISCAN HISTORY. By A. G. Little. ix+248 pp. Manchester University Press. 8s. 6d. n. (p. 401.)

YEAR-BOOKS of Edward II: vol. xii, 1312. Ed. W. C. Bolland. xlv+pp. 250-282. Selden Soc. (p. 436.)

THE BEGINNINGS of English Overseas Enterprise. By Sir C. P. Lucas. 203 pp. Clarendon Press. 6s. 6d. n. (p. 317.)

MARGARET OF SCOTLAND and the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.). By L. A. Barbé. xii+192 pp. Blackie. 6s. n. (p. 344.)

DE LAUDIBUS Legum Angliæ. By Sir John Fortescue. Trans. F. Grigor. xvii+100 pp. Sweet and Maxwell. 4s. 6d. n.

AN OUTLINE of the History of Printing. By R. A. Peddie. Grafton and Co. 2s. 6d. n.

LUTHER. By H. Grisar. Trans. E. M. Lamond. Vol. VI. ix+551 pp. Kegan Paul. 12s. n.

THE DIVINITY PRINCIPALS in the University of Glasgow, 1545-1654. By H. M. B. Reid. 316 pp. Maclehose. 6s. n. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 211.)

FASTI ECCLESIAE SCOTICANÆ. By Hew Scott. Revised and continued by a committee appointed by the General Assembly. Vol. II. 468 pp. Oliver and Boyd. £1 n. (p. 332.)

SHAKESPEARE'S FIGHT with the Pirates. By A. W. Pollard. vii+115 pp. Moring. 7s. 6d. n. (p. 414.)

Four lectures, the first on the regulation of the book trade in the 16th century.

AKBAR, the Great Mogul. 1542-1605. By V. A. Smith. xvi+504 pp. Bibliography. Clarendon Press. 16s. n. (p. 305.)

A HISTORY OF EUROPE: Part III. By A. J. Grant. New edn., with additional chapters on the history of Great Britain since the 16th century, and of Europe since 1870. xv+pp. 411-751 +16 pp. Longmans. 4s. 6d. n. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 287.)

CHRISTIANOPOLIS: an ideal state of the 17th century. By J. V. Andreade. Trans. and Intro. F. E. Held. xi+287 pp. New York: Milford. 5s. n. (p. 341; *Educ. Suppl.*, p. 275.)

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE: Lists and Indexes, No. XLV. Chancery Proc., 1613-1714. Vol. IV. H.M. Stationery Office. 12s. 6d. n.

HENRY BENNET, EARL OF ARLINGTON. By Violet Barbour. xii+303 pp. American Hist. Assoc. (Milford). 6s. 6d. n. (p. 365.)

ANNALS of the Royal Society Club, 18th and 19th centuries. By Sir A. Geikie. xv+304 pp. Macmillan. 18s. n. (p. 307.)

REVIEW of Historical Publications relating to Canada. Ed. G. M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. S. Wallace. Vol. XXI., 1916. xi+192 pp. Toronto Univ. Press.

CHRONICLES OF CANADA. Ed. G. M. Wrong and H. H. Langton. 32 vols. Toronto: Glasgow Brook and Co. \$32. (pp. 340, 369, 393, 405.)

THE OLD EMPIRE and the New. By A. P. Newton. Intro. Sir C. Lucas. (Imperial Studies Series.) xi+140 pp. Dent. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 423.)

LIFE AND TIMES OF DAVID HUMPHREYS, "Belov'd of Washington." By F. L. Humphreys. 2 vols. xiii+451+vii+506 pp. Putnams. 37s. 6d. n. (p. 280.)

BRIEF HISTORY of the United States. By M. P. Andrews. xvii+368+xlvi pp. Lippincott. 4s. 6d. n.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By E. Channing. Vol. IV. Federalists and Republicans, 1789-1815. viii.+575 pp. The Macmillan Co. 12s. n.

LIFE OF JOHN WILKES. By H. Bleakley. xiii+464 pp. Lane. 16s. n. (p. 318.)

THE TOWN LABOURER, 1760-1832. By J. L. and B. Hammond. xi+346 pp. Longmans. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 339.)

EARLY REVENUE HISTORY of Bengal. By F. D. Ascoli. 272 pp. Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. n. (p. 279.)

ISHTUR PHAKDE, and other studies. By C. A. Kincaid. Bombay. *The Times Press*. 3s. 6d. (pp. 328, 346.) Papers on Maratha history.

A NATIONAL HISTORY of Australia, New Zealand, and the adjacent islands. By R. P. Thomson. xvi+423 pp. Routledge. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 328.)

SOUTH AFRICA. By G. McC. Theal. (Story of the Nations Series: 8th edn., continued to 1916.) xx+522 pp. Fisher Unwin. 5s. n.

THE STATESMANSHIP of Wordsworth. By A. V. Dacey. viii+134 p. Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. n. (p. 270.)

NELSON'S LAST DIARY, 13 Sept.—21 Oct., 1805. Intro. and notes by G. Hudson. 46 pp. Elkin Matthews. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 318.)

RUSSIAN COURT LIFE: correspondence of Alexander I. with his sister Catherine. Trans. H. Havelock. Ed. Grand-Duke Nicholas. 331 pp. Jarrold. 15s. n. (p. 343.)

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY. By H. E. Egerton. xi+440 pp. Macmillan. 6s. n. (p. 483.)

A SHORT HISTORY of the English People: Part V., Epilogue, 1815-1914. By Alice S. Green. Tables and analysis by A. Hassall. xxxv+330 pp. Macmillan. 2s. 6d.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, 1815 and 1914. By H. R. Hodges. 91 pp. Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d. n.

ECONOMIC ANNALS of the 19th century, 1821-30. By Wm. Smart. xxii+584 pp. Macmillan. 21s. n. (p. 375.)

DIAZ. By D. Hannay. vii+319 pp. (Makers of the 19th century.) Constable. 6s. n. (p. 327.)

THE HANDLING of Historical Material. By L. F. R. Williams. (Publications of the Dept. of History, Allahabad Univ., No. 1). x+86 pp. Longmans. 3s. n.

CURRENT HISTORY AND POLITICS.

THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK, 1917. Ed. J. Scott Keltie and M. Epstein. xlv+1504 pp. Macmillan. 12s. 6d. n. (p. 314.)

WAR SPEECHES, 1914-1917. Ed. B. W. Ginsburg. xxxii+194 pp. Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d. n.

WAR SPEECHES by British Ministers, 1914-1916. 374 pp. Fisher Unwin. 1s. n.

WAR-TIME SPEECHES by General Smuts, 1917. xi+127 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 1s. n.

A CENTURY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY. By G. P. Gooch and J. H. B. Masterman. 109 pp. Council for the Study of International Relations. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 410.)

GUILLAUME II. (1890-1899). Par Mme. Adam. Alcan. 3.50f. (p. 303.)

THE METHOD IN THE MADNESS. By Edwin Bevan. vii+309 pp. Arnold. 5s. n. (p. 315.)

THE WILL TO FREEDOM, or the Gospel of Nietzsche and the Gospel of Christ. By J. N. Figgis. xix+320 pp. Longmans. 6s. n. (p. 388.)

THE WORLD'S DEBATE: an historical defence of the Allies. By W. Barry. xx+332 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d. n. (p. 411.)

LE GÉNIE LATIN et le Monde Moderne. Par G. Ferrero. Grasset. 3.50f. (p. 384.)

DAS VERBRECHEN. Vom Verfasser des Buches "J'accuse." Lausanne: Verlag Payot. 6f. (pp. 341, 382.)

IS WAR CIVILISATION? By C. Nyrop. Trans. H. G. Wright. vii+256 pp. Heinemann. 3s. 6d. n. (p. 422.)

GERMAN LEGISLATION for the occupied territories of Belgium:—official texts. Ed. C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer. 8th, 9th, and 10th Series, July, 1916—March, 1917; 517+413+231 pp.; 12s. 6d., 10s. 6d., and 6s. n. INDEX to Series i—v, 1914-15, 79 pp., 5s. n. The Hague: M. Nijhoff. (p. 422.)

THE GERMAN TERROR in Belgium. By A. J. Toynbee. 158 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 1s. n. (p. 279.)

BELGIUM under the German heel. By O. Halasi. x+257 pp. Cassell. 6s. n. (p. 279.)

BELGIUM in War Time. By Commandant de G. de Gomery. Trans. B. Miall. xii+243 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 5s. n. (p. 344.)

LA VICTOIRE DE LORRAINE. (24 Aug.—12 Sept., 1914.) Par A. Bertrand. Berger-Levrault. 3.50f. (p. 276.)

LA GUERRE ECONOMIQUE, 1914-1917. Par R. Pommereuil. Poitiers: Paul Oudin. 5.50f. (p. 384.)

L'ÉTÉ BULGARE, Juillet-Octobre, 1915. Par Marcel Dunan. Chapelot. (p. 384.)

THE REVOLT IN ARABIA. By C. S. Hurgronje. vii+50 pp. Putnams. 4s. n. (p. 377.)

REPORT of the Commission appointed by Parliament to inquire into the operations of war in Mesopotamia. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 5d.

THE GREAT WORLD WAR: a History. Ed. F. A. Mumbv. Part xvi. 112 pp. Gresham Publishing Co. 2s. 6d. n.

NELSON'S HISTORY of the War. By John Buchan. Vol. XVII. 215 pp. 1s. 3d. n.

"I APPEAL UNTO CÆSAR": the Case of the Conscientious Objector. By Mrs. H. Hobhouse. Intro. Gilbert Murray. 84 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s. n. (p. 411.)

BRITISH FREEDOM, 1914-17. By "North Britain." Foreword by John Clifford. 95 pp. National Council for Civil Liberties. 1s. n.

BRITAIN AND THE WAR. By A. CHEVRILLON. Preface by Rudyard Kipling. 237 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 5s. n. (p. 279.)

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LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS. Par E. Milhaud. Grasset. 3.50f. (p. 370.)

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THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT in Russia. By J. V. Bubnoff. 162 pp. Manchester: Co-operative Soc. Printing Co. (p. 291.)

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THE RE-BIRTH OF RUSSIA. By I. F. Marcossion. 196 pp. Lane. 3s. 6d. n. (p. 350.)

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By I. D. Levine. vii+248 pp. Lane. 3s. 6d. n. (p. 413.)

LE DEVOIR des Neutres (1916). Par R. Barbosa. F. Alcan. 2f. (p. 276.)

WHY WE ARE AT WAR. Messages to Congress, etc., January to April, 1917, by Woodrow Wilson. 79 pp. Harper. 2s. 6d.

WITH OUR FACES IN THE LIGHT. By F. Palmer. vii+98 pp. Murray. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 410.) America and the War.

AMERICAN WORLD POLICIES. By W. E. Weyl. 307 pp. The Macmillan Co. 10s. n. (p. 374.)

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES: their future relations. By G. L. Beer. xiii+322 pp. The Macmillan Co. 6s. 6d. n. (p. 422.)

L'ANGLETERRE, LE CANADA, et la Grande Guerre. Par Lieut.-Col. Desjardins. Quebec. (p. 384.)

THE NEW ERA IN CANADA. Essays by leading Canadians. Ed. J. O. Miller. 421 pp. Dent. 6s. 6d. (p. 362.)

THE FEDERATION of Canada, 1867-1917. Lectures by G. M. Wrong and others. 144 pp. Milford. 3s. n. (p. 434.)

A LODGE in the Wilderness. By John Buchan. 250 pp. Nelson. 1s. 3d. n.

A symposium on the future of the Empire, first published (anonymously) in 1906.

IN THE WAKE of the War: Parliament or Imperial government. By Harold Hodge. ix+226 pp. Lane. 5s. n.

REPORT of the Empire Settlement Committee. H.M. Stationery Office. 11d.

AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS. By the late Lord Cromer and others. Ed. W. H. Dawson. 366 pp. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d. n. (p. 266; *Educ. Suppl.*, p. 243.)

THE WAR and THE NATION. By W. C. D. Whetham. ix+312 pp. Murray. 6s. n. (p. 339.)

THE CHOICE before us. By G. Lowes Dickinson. xi+274 pp. Allen and Unwin. 6s. n. (p. 303.)

NATIONALISM. By Sir R. Tagore. v+135 pp. Macmillan. 4s. 6d. n. (p. 435.)

SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL IDEALS. By B. Bosanquet. ix+325 pp. Macmillan. 6s. n. (p. 326.)

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ECONOMIC PROBLEMS of Peace after War. By W. R. Scott. xii+122 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 4s. 6d. n. (p. 314.)

LA GUERRE ET LA VIE ECONOMIQUE. Alcan. 3.50f. (Addresses by experts on the effects of the war in Germany, England, and France, and the economic future of the three countries.)

OUR MONEY and the State. By Hartley Withers. viii+122 pp. Murray. 3s. n. (pp. 386, 394, 430.)

THE SYSTEM of CONTROL over Government Grants. By A. J. V. Durell. xxv+519 pp. John Hogg. 21s. n. (p. 363.)

NATIONAL ECONOMY: an outline of Public Administration. By Henry Higgs. 147 pp. Macmillan. 3s. 6d. n.

BOARD of EDUCATION REPORT, 1915-16. H.M. Stationery Office. 6d.

ROYAL COMMISSION on Univ. Education in Wales. 1st Report, and Appendix. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s. 6d.

LOCAL HISTORY.

THE GLASTONBURY LAKE VILLAGE, vol. II., pp. 323-724. Glastonbury Antiq. Soc. Both vols. £3 3s. n. (p. 293.)

(1) THE PARISH REGISTERS of Grant-ham, vol. I., 1562-1632. Ed. C. W. Foster. Intro. G. G. Walker. xv+228 pp. (2) THE PARISH REGISTERS of Alford and Rigeby, supplemented by the Bishop's transcripts, 1538-1680. Ed. R. C. Dudding. xv+209 pp. (3) THE VISITATION of the County of Lincoln, 1666. Ed. Everard Green, Intro. W. H. Rylands. xiv+99 pp. (Lincoln Record Soc.: vols. IV., V.,

VIII.) Horncastle: W. K. Morton. (1) and (2) 16s. each; (3) 7s. 6d. (p. 328.)

DWELLY'S PARISH RECORDS: Vol. 5. Bishop's Transcripts at Wells, Vol. 4. vii+255 pp. Fleet, Hants: E. Dwelly. 10s. n.

THE RECTORY MANOR, Walthamstow. By G. F. Bosworth. 16 pp. Walthamstow Antiquarian Soc. 4s.

A SHORT HISTORY of THE ROYAL PARISH of ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS. By J. McMaster. 344 pp. Author, 17 Pantom Street, S.W. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 413.)

SCHOOL BOOKS.

THE LATER MIDDLE AGES, 1254-1494. By R. B. Mowat. 339 pp. Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 255.)

NOTES on European History. By D. L. Lipson. 40 pp. Blackie. 1s. n. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 235.)

A HANDBOOK of Modern European History, 1789-1917. By S. E. Maltby. 128 pp. Headley. 1s. 6d. n. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 287.)

THE STORY of NORWICH. By Edith Henderson. 279 pp. Jarrold. 5s. n. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 267.)

E. J. D.

HISTORY

JANUARY, 1918.

THE EXPULSION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

(continued)

AFTER the Restoration of Charles II. had taken place, the story of Cromwell's expulsion of the Long Parliament began to be treated as an historical event. The biographers of Cromwell and the historians of the late revolution put together what they could learn about it for the information of posterity and for the instruction of the rising generation. These writers constructed their accounts from very imperfect materials. Neither the contemporary newsletters we have quoted nor the reports of foreign Ambassadors were accessible to them. Excepting Cromwell's speech and Harrison's statement, the speeches just recited were still in MS. In the main, therefore, they relied on reminiscences of what they heard at the time, on oral tradition, and on the little they could glean from the newspapers and other printed sources. In their hands the story of the scene took a more fixed and definite shape, but the more important features of the incident were overlaid by traditional anecdotes and doubtful details.

The most important of these early historians, so far as this incident is concerned, was George Bate. Bate was chief physician to Cromwell while he was general, and afterwards when he was Protector. "Upon the Restoration," says Wood, "he got in with the Royal party (by his friends' report that he, by a dose given to Oliver, hastened him to his end), and was made chief physician to King Charles II., and a member of the Royal Society."¹ Bate had published in 1649 his *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*, which gave a history of the Civil Wars down to the King's death, and added to it later a second part containing a history of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.

¹ *Athenae Oxon.*, ii. 424. ed. 1721.

"The second part of the said *Elenchus*, wherein the author was assisted by some papers lent to him by Sir Edward Hyde . . . was printed at London in Latin in 1661, and at Amsterdam in the year following, and reprinted with the first part in London, 1663."¹ I have not seen the foreign edition, but the imprimatur prefixed to the London edition is dated October 15, 1662. In it Bate gave a more detailed account of the expulsion of the Parliament than any which had yet appeared in print.

It runs as follows :

"Istud simulac inaudiverat Cromwellius, praeceps fertur ad senaculum, jussis pone sequi denis aut duodenis militibus, ac pro foribus praestolari. Ipse Fleetwoodio unico comitante ingressus, in haec verba Oratorem alloquitur : *Satis illud a vobis populo, satis affinium privatisque perspectum commodis; perdiu haec subsellia occupantes, reipublicae instituendae, Legum reformandarum, boni communis procurandi obtentu, patriae imposuistis: dum interim invasistis tantummodo Reipublicae bona, in omnia quaestuosa et honorifica munia vosmetipsos aut affines vestros ingessistis; in fomentum luxuriae et impietatis. Dein pede propulsans humum (quod signum erat militibus foras expectantibus) Proh pudor (inquit) surgite abhinc ocyus, locum date honestioribus, et fide meliore officia praestituri. Cum vero singuli, subitaneo terrori consternati, obmutescerent, unus interpellare ausus est, Excellentiae tuae cum justitiâ male constat, ita generatim et promiscue, absque ulla probatione, crimen omnibus impingere. Quo ille commotior, unum pallio prehensens, Tu moechus es ait; alium, Adulter tu; tertium, Tu ganeo et ebriosus; quartum, Tu depeculator: et irruentibus illico sclopetariis, omnes excludens, abrogari Comitia jubet. Oratorem interim surgere nescientem, leviter e cathedra elevatum Harrisonus expulit."*

²

The English translation, published in 1685, renders the Latin as follows :

"As soon as Cromwell heard of that, he hastens to the Parliament House, ordering ten or twelve Soldiers to follow him, and to stay for him at the door. He himself, accompanied only with Fleetwood, entering in: To this purpose spake to the Speaker: *You have sufficiently imposed upon the People, and provided for your selves and Relations; you have long cheated the Country, by your sitting here under pretext of settling the Commonwealth, reforming the Laws, and procuring the Common Good; whilst in the meantime you have only invaded the Wealth of the State, screwed your selves and Relations into all Places of Honour and Profit, to feed your own Luxury and Impiety. Then stamping with his Foot, which was the Signal to the Soldiers without, For Shame, said he, get ye gone, give place to honest men, and those that will more faithfully discharge their Trust. But whilst all, surprised by this sudden Consternation, held their tongues, one had the boldness to tell him, It suits ill with your Excellencies Justice, to brand us all promiscuously and in general, without any Proof of a*

¹ *Athenae*, ii. 425; in the Epilogue to his 1st part in the London edition Bate names various persons who had aided him.

² There were two editions in 1663; the passage is p. 284 in the 1st edition, p. 147 of part ii. in the second.

Crime. At which being a little more heated, taking hold of one by the Cloke, *Thou art a Whoremaster*, says he; to another *Thou art an Adulterer*; to a third, *Thou art a Drunkard and Glutton*; to a fourth, *Thou art an Extortioner*: and the Musquetiers rushing in, he excludes them all, and commands the Parliament to be dissolved; whilst Harrison gently pulled the Speaker out of his Chair, being unwilling to rise, and sent him going."¹

The story thus told by Bate became the foundation of the versions of the event given in the two best-known lives of Cromwell published during the reign of Charles II. The earliest life of the Protector of any size was *The Perfect Politician*, of which the first edition appeared in 1660 and the second in 1680. According to a note in Anthony Wood's copy, it was written by a bookseller named Henry Fletcher. In the first edition Fletcher had dismissed the dissolution in very few words.

"The Lord General went into the House, attended by some of the prime officers of the army, where he delivered certain reasons for a present dissolution of the Parliament, which were no sooner heard but all the members in obedience avoyded the place, and everyone betook himself to his particular habitation."²

In the second he, or his publisher, substituted for this an abridged version of the description given by Bate:

"The Lord General *Cromwell* went into the House, April 23, 1653, attended only with *Fleetwood*, and about a dozen soldiers commanded to wait at the door. Being entred he spake thus: *You have sufficiently deluded the people, and provided for your own and your Relations' benefits: possessing these seats, under pretence of forming a Common-wealth, of reforming the Laws, and promoting the publick good, you have imposed on the kingdom; whilst in the mean time you have only invaded the goods of the Common-wealth, have thrust yourselves and your relations into the gainfullest and most honourable offices, only to nourish luxury and impiety.* Then stamping on the ground with his foot, (which was the token to the souldiers standing at the door) *For shame*, says he, *rise quickly hence, give place to those that are honest, and will better perform their trusts.* Whereupon they all began to leave the House; and the Speaker not rising readily out of the Chair, *Harrison* did gently heave him out of it; and so after they were all gone out, the doors were shut up."³

A year later came another version of the scene, based like that in *The Perfect Politician* on the account given by Bate, but adding several new details. It is worth quoting for another reason, too, because it was written by a man who had some sense of the obligations of an historian, and was in a good posi-

¹ Bate, *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*: 1685, part ii. pp. 160-1.

² *Perfect Politician*, ed. 1660, p. 219. Following apparently *Mercurius Politicus*.

³ *Ibid.*, ed. 1680, pp. 171-2.

tion for collecting information. Sir William Dugdale, in his *Short View of the Late Troubles*, published in 1681, wrote as follows :—

“Upon the 20th of April therefore, attended with strong guards, he entred the Parliament-House (with Fleetwood his great confident) commanding some few of his attendants to tarry without. Where, without moving his hat, or going to any seat, he first addressed his speech to the Chief Justice St. John; telling him, that he then came to do that which grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears prayed to God against. Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: but that there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of this nation. Whereunto St. John answered that he knew not what he meant; but did pray, that what it was which must be done, might have a happy issue for the general good.

Then Cromwel turning towards the Speaker, told him how long, under cover of service to the public, they had sate and acted there; and that instead thereof, themselves and their kindred (engrossing all places of great profit) had, upon their own pride and luxury, consumed the wealth of the land. Which being said, he gave a stamp with his foot, and bad them for shame be gone, and give place to honester men.

Whereupon a member standing up and modestly saying, that it stood not with common justice to cast so general an aspersion upon them all, without any proof; he in wrath taking Sir Henry Vane junior by the cloak, said Thou art a juggling fellow; and told Allen the goldsmith, that he had enricht himself by cosening the state, for which he should be called to account: and commanded those of his guard, who at the signal of that stamp, were entred the door, immediately to turn them out of the House; Colonel Harrison accordingly pulling the Speaker out of his chair.

It was observed, that as they went out of the House he pointed at Harry Marten and Tom Challoner, and said Is it fit that such fellows as these should sit to govern? Men of vicious lives; the one a noted whore-master, and the other a drunkard? Nay he boldly upbraided them all, with selling the Cavalier's estates by bundles; and said they had kept no faith with them.”¹

A still-more popular biography of Cromwell is *Flagellum; or, The Life and Death, Birth and Burial of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper*, published by S. T., Gent. in 1663. According to Wood, this was written by James Heath.² In his preface the author ingenuously admits that his work is partly a compilation. “There are, it must be confessed, some passages herein

¹ P. 405.

² At the end of the table of contents prefixed to the second edition of his *Chronicle*, Heath makes a brief and very obscure statement on the point: “The Reader is likewise advertised, that the design of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, being taken from this Chronicle which afforded a full view of the later part of his life, and thereby encouraged a research into his Originals (as Rivers are traced back to the Springs), I could not but in justice to the Ocean of the whole War, of which he was the chief Concern, contribute the derivation of him to the entire work, wherein he is, though dispersedly, yet more fully and amply conveyed to public satisfaction, as by the Contents and other Tables will appear.” He is more explicit on p. 95 of the *Chronicle*, where, speaking of Cromwell, he quotes, “my own words in his *Life and Death* lately printed.”

coincident with the Histories of the Times, which are borrowed thence, but generally there is very little which is not novel altogether." This plainly appears in his narrative of the incidents of April 20 :

"*Oliver himself attended by Major General Lambert, Harrison and some 8 more Officers having after several conferences with their Committees (who shewed him the danger of calling a new Representative as the case then stood with the Common-wealth, for that no qualifications could sufficiently secure the interest thereof, and that the only way was to recruit the House which could judge of such Elections by their own Authority) received no satisfaction, entered the House (some members being made privy to his design before, especially Sir Gilbert Pickering, who had held consultation the night before with him, and was up armed in his Chamber till the very time) and after a speech therein showing the reasons and necessity of that Dissolution, did declare it to be so, and required them to depart; [saying in some passion to some who began to ask the reason of this, thou art a Whoremaster, thou a Drunkard, thou a Cheater of the publique]; and presently M.G. Harrison peremptorily bid the Speaker to leave the Chair; which he refusing to do without the Order of the House, and till he was pulled out, Harrison desired to lend him his hand, and gently heaved him out; Cromwell also commanded that Bauble (as he called the Mace) to be taken away, and to be carried no more in State before him, and so having turned them out of Dore, lockt them up and clapt Guards before them, and about all the Avenues of the Palace, to keep these spirits out from possessing it again."*¹

This account Heath repeats word for word in his *Chronicle*² with the omission of the passage italicised. The passage in question is plainly derived from Bate's *Elenchus*. Other printed sources are also used. Harrison's dialogue with the Speaker is an abridgment of the statement made by the former in Newgate, published, as we have seen, in 1660. Both Heath's *Chronicle* and his *Flagellum* were widely read at the time and largely utilised by later writers. The *Chronicle* seems to be the source from which Edward Phillips derived the account of the expulsion contained in his continuation of Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle*.³ In his *Flagellum* Heath adds to the account of the expulsion various anecdotes which later historians repeat. For instance, he tells the story that Colonel Streeter, opposing before it took place the dissolution projected, was told by Harrison that "the Lord General sought not himself, but that King Jesus might take the sceptre"; to which Streeter, "presently replied, that Christ must come before Christmas, or else He would come too

¹ Heath, *Flagellum*, 1663, p. 136.

² Page 628.

³ P. 636, ed. 1670. In the edition of this *Chronicle* published in 1660 Phillips gives a much briefer and vaguer account of the matter, p. 533.

late.”¹ Heath also records that after the dissolution Cromwell told the Council of Officers: “That when he went into the House he intended not to do it; but the Spirit was so upon him that he was overruled by it, and did not therefore consult with flesh and blood at all.”²

While Heath as well as Bate influenced the accounts given by English writers, Bate’s *Elenchus*, being written in Latin, was more read and followed by foreign writers. Raguenet, in his *Vie d’Olivier Cromwel* (1691), and Gregorio Leti, in the life he published in 1694, both took some touches from Bate, adding copious fiction of their own. Raguenet, for instance, gave a totally new version of Cromwell’s speech to the House, and fixed the date of the expulsion in 1651 instead of 1653, in which error he was followed slavishly by Leti.

Towards the close of the-seventeenth century a new species of authorities began to be available for the historian, as one after another the memoirs, autobiographies, and journals of Cromwell’s contemporaries came to light and were printed. Whitelocke’s *Memorials* appeared in 1682, Ludlow’s *Memoirs* in 1698, Sir Philip Warwick’s *Memoirs* in 1701, the third volume of Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion* in 1704. More than a century later came the *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, published in 1806, and the *Journal of the Earl of Leicester* in 1825.

The accounts which these authorities give us are of very varying value. The two Royalists amongst them, Warwick and Clarendon, had no personal knowledge of the incidents; they could only summarise what they learnt from others. Warwick, who wrote about 1677, dismisses it in five or six lines which add nothing to our knowledge. Clarendon, though brief, is fuller and more exact. His account comes from the additions to his *History* written between November, 1671, and June, 1672. We know from the letters amongst his correspondence upon what sort of information his account was based, and he probably received other letters of the same kind at the time, besides what he may have learnt in conversation. But he wrote his narrative during his exile, and entirely from memory:

“In the month of April that was in the year 1653, he came into the House of Parliament, in a morning when it was sitting, attended with the officers who were likewise members of the House, and told them that he came thither to put an end to their power and authority, which they had managed

¹ *Flagellum*, p. 134. Hume, without citing his authority, incorporates this in his *History*, v. 348, ed. 1841.

² *Flagellum*, p. 135.

so ill that the nation could be no otherwise preserved than by their dissolution, which he advised them, without farther debate, quietly to submit unto.

And thereupon another officer, with some files of musketeers, entered into the House, and stayed there till all members walked out; Cromwell reproaching many of the members by name, as they went out of the House, with their vices and corruptions, and amongst the rest, Sir Harry Vane with his breach of faith and corruption; and having given the mace to an officer, to be safely kept, he caused the doors to be locked up."¹

Clarendon's summary of the scene is definite enough, but he attempts to give merely an outline of it. There are few details, and he does not even give the exact date of the incident he describes. He is clear, however, that the soldiers did not enter till after Cromwell's speech; that there was no actual violence offered either to the Speaker or the members, though there was a show of force; and that the personal reproaches which Cromwell addressed to various members were uttered as they were leaving the House, and not in his speech to the House as a whole. Like the letter to Rochester written nearly twenty years earlier, this account represents the conception of the scene he formed at the time from the best evidence available. We must not be surprised that he includes none of the vivid details given in the newsletters addressed to him, for when he wrote he was at Montpellier, and his papers were in England. Moreover, judging from his letter to Rochester, it is evident that at the time he received these details with a certain scepticism.

Let us turn now to the accounts written or inspired by members of the republican party. Mrs. Hutchinson has very little to tell us. She describes Cromwell as "pulling out the members, foaming and raging, and calling them undeserved and base names," but gives no further details, and adds that "at the time when the Parliament was broken up Colonel Hutchinson was in the country."² Whitelocke's account requires a detailed examination, because he undoubtedly was an eye-witness of the incident. For this reason Dr. Michael in his examination of the sources considers Whitelocke's narrative the most trustworthy of all we possess, and follows it with too implicit a faith.

Whitelocke's *Memorials of English Affairs*, from the fact that the various notes in that work are entered in chronological order under days and months, has been treated as if the book were a genuine contemporary diary. In reality it is nothing of the kind, but a compilation put together after the Restoration from various sources. It contains autobiographical matter extracted from

¹ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xiv. 8, 9.

² *Life of Col. Hutchinson*, ed. 1885, ii. 191-2.

Whitelocke's "Annals" of his own life, and no doubt based on notes made at the time. It contains also extracts from newspapers and notes on public affairs evidently collected and entered much later. From these materials Whitelocke appears to have intended to put together "Memoirs of his Life and Times" or a "History of his own Times," or some historical work of the sort, of which the existing *Memorials* represent a rough draft. Whitelocke was an indefatigable writer and was never tired of polishing his productions. There are three versions of his Swedish embassy in existence, besides that printed, representing every stage of its composition, from the rough notes and documents on which it is based to the published work. There are two, if not more, versions of the "Annals of his Life" preserved wholly or in part, besides the extracts embodied in the *Memorials*. The famous conversations between Whitelocke and Cromwell, for instance, exist in two versions—one reported in the third person, the other in the first; and there are considerable differences in the wording of the speeches though the substance is much the same. Taking these facts into consideration it would be obviously unsafe to regard the account of the incident of April 20, 1653, which the *Memorials* contain, as a strictly contemporary narrative, and it would be equally unsafe to lay too much stress on particular words or phrases;

Whitelocke prefixes to his narrative an account of the conference on the evening of April 19, but says nothing of the agreement there arrived at to suspend the progress of the bill. Nor does he mention the agreement to meet again upon Wednesday afternoon upon which the three versions put forth by the military party all insist. Instead of that he describes a new meeting of officers and parliamentmen "according to appointment" at Cromwell's lodgings in Whitehall early on Wednesday morning, in which the proposal for devolving the supreme power upon an interim committee of forty, debated the previous night, was again discussed. This meeting on Wednesday morning is extremely improbable. The House of Commons met at this period from nine to twelve every morning, and the parliamentmen would not be able to attend a conference fixed at that hour. Intrinsically, therefore, the statement made by Cromwell and the soldiers is much more likely to be correct. Further, Whitelocke states in a very vague and confused way the nature of the bill upon which Parliament was engaged. He goes on to assert that Cromwell hurried to the House with a party of soldiers "and led a file of musketeers in with him."

"In this manner entering the House he in a furious manner bid the Speaker leave his chair, told the House that they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremasters, looking then towards Henry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth: that others were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the Gospel, and that it was not fit they should sit as a Parliament any longer, and desired them to go away. The Speaker not stirring from his chair, Colonel Harrison, who sat near the chair, rose up and took him by the arm to remove him from his seat, which, when the Speaker saw, he left his chair. Some of the members rose up to answer Cromwell's speech, but he would suffer none to speak but himself. . . . All of them tamely departed the House. He bid one of the soldiers to take away that fool's bauble, the mace; and stayed himself to see all the members out of the House, himself the last of them."¹

This is all the material part of Whitelocke's account. AS Gardiner justly observes, "Whitelocke slurs over the whole affair, being probably unwilling to notice that some of Cromwell's hard words were directed against himself."² Considering that Whitelocke was actually present, and that he possessed, as his Journal of the Embassy to Sweden shows, the power of describing a scene or a conversation both clearly and vividly, his account of the expulsion is singularly vague and general. It should be noted, however, that while he represents Cromwell as bursting out into a violent speech against the Parliament the moment he entered the House, which is contrary to the very explicit statements of Sydney and Ludlow, he confirms Sydney's statement that in that speech Cromwell did not attack particular members by name.

Ludlow's account is as detailed as Whitelocke's is vague, and it differs in all the most important points from the narrative in the *Memorials*. It must have been composed from ten to twenty years after the event, since his *Memoirs* were written between 1663 and 1673.³ As he was in Ireland in April, 1653, Ludlow was not an eyewitness of the scene he describes, but we know that he discussed the matter with Harrison in 1656, and that he had before him when he wrote the statement made by Harrison in 1660.⁴ No doubt he also gathered information from some of his parliamentary colleagues, either during the Protectorate or during his exile in Switzerland. The whole narrative reads like a compilation made up from the evidence

¹ *Memorials*, iv. 5, ed. 1853.

² *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 264.

³ *Memoirs* I. viii-ix. ed. 1894.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 352; ii. 6. Ludlow uses the printed narrative of the trial and of the dying speeches of the regicides in his *Memoirs* II., 317, 322, 331, 334, 338. A French translation of these speeches put together from the various pamphlets was published by the exiles, entitled *Les Juges Jugez se Justifians*, 8vo., 1663. It was apparently printed in Switzerland, at Lausanne or Vevey.

of several witnesses, vivid but somewhat confused. Of the preliminary conferences between officers and parliamentarians and the alleged agreement Ludlow says nothing. He describes Cromwell as listening quietly to the debate for a time, and not intervening till the question was about to be put, or as he says, "being to be put." Then Cromwell makes a speech loading the parliament itself with reproaches, but not naming individuals. Wentworth intervenes to answer him, Cromwell then leaves his place for the floor of the House, and continuing his speech there winds up with a declaration that he will put an end to their sitting, and calls in the soldiers. As the soldiers enter Vane comments on Cromwell's act and is answered by the railing reply, "The Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane," and Cromwell goes on to give other members the like "reviling language." The entry of the soldiers is followed, first, by the removal of the mace, next, by Harrison's obliging the Speaker to quit the chair. Then once more Cromwell addresses the members in general and a brief altercation follows with Alderman Allen, who is committed to the charge of a musketeer. Cromwell, after ordering the House to be cleared of the members, seizes the records, and snatching the Act of Dissolution which was ready to pass, out of the hand of the clerk, puts it under his cloak, and goes away.

Several particulars which Ludlow's account supplies are not mentioned by any other. For instance Harrison's dialogue with Cromwell, Wentworth's intervention, Cromwell's final remark to the House, the precise nature of the altercation with Allen, and the fate of the Act under discussion. They are not for that reason to be rejected, for the silence of other narratives is not contradiction, and they are probable enough in themselves. Ludlow places the altercation between Vane and Cromwell earlier than other accounts do, and gives Cromwell's words differently. It should be noted too that, like the author of the Clarke newsletter, Ludlow places the removal of the mace before the removal of the Speaker. He agrees with Clarendon, the Clarke newsletter, and the despatch of Bordeaux about the moment when the soldiers entered, and emphatically contradicts Whitelocke. His account of the scene up to the moment when the soldiers were called in is in very close agreement with the account given in the Earl of Leicester's *Diary*.

Leicester's *Diary*, with its vivid and exact details, reads much more like an account written at the moment than the vaguer and more general narrative of Whitelocke. The *Diary* consists of a number of personal and family memoranda, interspersed with

notices of public events. As in the case of Whitelocke there are some entries from newspapers, but, unlike Whitelocke, Leicester always notes their source. Since the *Diary* was not intended for publication its writer was under no temptation to arrange or colour the facts he notes. For this particular scene Leicester seems to have derived his information from his son Algernon Sydney, whose personal share in it he alone records. If so, we have here the statement of an eyewitness, although it must be remembered that it comes to us secondhand. Leicester's account of Cromwell's speech supplements rather than conflicts with Ludlow's; both describe Cromwell's walking up and down the floor; both mention that at first it was by looks and gestures that he indicated the particular members whose faults he denounced. The only essential contradictions between Ludlow's and Leicester's account are that Leicester places the removal of the mace after instead of before the removal of the Speaker, and that Leicester while stating Cromwell's words to Vane differently assigns them to the close rather than the middle of the scene. The remarkable thing is that these two independent accounts agree so closely; the discrepancies between them are to be explained by the fact that neither was himself an eyewitness of the scene he describes, and that Ludlow seems to have derived his facts from several informants, Leicester only from one. The two accounts are practically equal in value. If Leicester's derives a certain superiority from the fact that it was committed to writing earlier, Ludlow had a more vital interest in the subject, and took more trouble to find out exactly what happened. Where the two differ we must ask whether Ludlow's or Leicester's statement is supported by the the best contemporary evidence remaining. For that reason I accept Ludlow's statement as to the date of the removal of the mace, which is supported by the Clarke newsletter, Mewce, and Bernardi. For the same reason I accept Sydney's statement that Cromwell's personal remarks to Vane by name, and his altercations with other individual members took place as the members were leaving the House. This is confirmed by one of the contemporary newsletters, by Bernardi, and by Clarendon in his *History*.

It remains now to discuss two or three points in the history of the incident. First, what number of members were present in the House at the time? Ludlow says that they "were in number between eighty and a hundred."¹ Cromwell in one version of the speech he delivered on July 4, 1653, says there were not above fifty-three in the House; in another version that

"there was scarce any day that there sat above fifty, fifty-two, or fifty-three."¹ The Journals of the House show that the highest number present at any division during March was fifty-four on March 2, and during April, when only one division is recorded, thirty-eight on April 8. Cromwell's figure is more likely to be correct than Ludlow's.

Secondly, as to the soldiers employed; all accounts which specify their character describe them as musketeers. We must therefore picture them as dressed in hats and red coats and grey breeches, not array them in helmets, breastplates and boots, as artists occasionally do. They numbered, according to Ludlow, two files; according to Leicester, five or six files, which he explains as twenty or thirty men. A file in the Cromwellian infantry consisted of six men. I conclude that they were about thirty. Ludlow and Leicester agree in saying that they belonged to Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley's regiment, and the Clarke newsletter adds the further information that they were drawn from Captain Scott's company. Now of this regiment Cromwell himself was colonel. On June 21, 1650, Parliament had voted a foot regiment should be raised in Lancashire to be under his command, and gave him the appointment of its officers. Charles Worsley, a young Manchester parliamentarian, was selected as its lieutenant colonel and joined Cromwell with it in Scotland about ten days after the battle of Dunbar. At the close of 1652 the regiment was stationed in London and was quartered at St. James's.² Cromwell therefore had at his disposal, when the moment for action came, a regiment on which he could thoroughly rely.³ Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley, who was devoted to Cromwell, sat in the Parliament of 1654 as member for Manchester (the first representative it had in Parliament), and was one of the major-generals appointed by the Protector in 1655. When he died (June, 1655) he was buried in Westminster Abbey, and as he accidentally escaped disinterment in 1660 his remains still lie in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

¹ Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, ed. S. Lomas, ii. 287.

² *Cal. of State Papers*, Dom. 1651-2, p. 352; 1652-3, p. 460; *Dictionary of National Biography*, lxiii. 32.

³ I have thought it worth while to be thus precise about the regiment employed, because Mr. Chamberlain in the speech in which he welcomed the Coldstream Guards to Birmingham, attributed this feat of arms to them. "On one occasion," he said, "the regiment turned Mr. Speaker and the whole House of Commons into the street—(laughter)—and what was worse, they based their action on the statement that these gentlemen were useless babblers who did not know their own mind." (Laughter and cheers.) The Coldstream Guards will probably be glad to know that they have no claim to this dubious laurel. In April, 1653, that regiment was in Scotland.

As to the history of the mace which Worsley at Cromwell's command carried off, its fate has been carefully traced by Sir W. H. St. John Hope. It had been specially made for the Long Parliament in the summer of 1649 by Thomas Maundy, goldsmith, of London, and bore instead of the royal arms those of the republic, and was inscribed with the legend, "The freedom of England by God's blessing restored." When the Barebones Parliament met it demanded the return of the mace, and on July 12th, 1653, it was brought back to the House, where it remained in use till the Restoration. On May 21, 1660, the Convention Parliament ordered a new mace to be provided. This, as Sir St. John Hope points out, seems to have been done by making a new head, bearing the royal arms and surmounted by a crown, while retaining the shaft made by Maundy in 1649. "As it is quite possible that the old head and foot were recast to form the new head and foot of 1660, the famous "bauble" may be said to be, to all intents and purposes, still borne before the Speaker of the House of Commons."¹

One more fact remains to be dealt with. In 1767 there was published what purported to be a report of the speech made by Cromwell on April 20th, 1653. It was printed in the *Annual Register*² with this introductory note:—

"The following piece is *said to have been found* lately among some papers that formerly belonged to Oliver Cromwell; and is *supposed to be a copy* of the very words which he spoke to the members of the Long Parliament when he turned them out of the House. It is communicated by a person *who signs his name* T. Ireton, and says the paper is marked with the following words: "Spoken by O.C. when he put an end to the Long Parliament."

The italics are mine; they show that the editor of the *Annual Register* was careful not to pledge himself to the genuineness of the document he published. Nevertheless, the speech is so curious that it deserves reprinting in extenso:—

"It is high time for me to put an end to your sitting in this place, which ye have dishonoured by your contempt of all virtue, and defiled by your practice of every vice. Ye are a factious crew, and enemies to all good government. Ye are a pack of mercenary wretches, and would—like Esau—sell your country for a mess of pottage, and—like Judas—betray your God for a few pieces of money. Is there a single virtue now remaining amongst you? Is there one vice ye do not possess? Ye have no more religion than my horse. Gold is your God. Which of you have not bartered away your consciences for bribes? Is there a man amongst you that hath the least care for the good of the commonwealth? Ye sordid prostitutes! have ye

¹ *The Mace of the House of Commons*, in *The Antiquary*, 1890.

² *Annual Register*, 1767, appendix to the *Chronicle*, p. 212; 5th ed. London, 1796.

not defiled this sacred place, and turned the Lord's temple into a den of thieves? By your immoral principles and wicked practices ye are grown intolerably odious to the whole nation. You, who were deputed here by the people to get their grievances redressed, are yourselves become their greatest grievance.

Your country, therefore, calls upon me to cleanse this Augean stable by putting a final period to your iniquitous proceedings in this House, and which, by God's help, and the strength he hath given me, I am now come to do. I command you, therefore, upon peril of your lives, to depart immediately out of this place. Go! Get you out! Make haste! Ye venal slaves, begone! Soh! Take away that shining bauble there, and lock up the door."

Dr. Michael in his article on the authorities for the history of the expulsion of the Long Parliament, accepts this speech as undoubtedly genuine, embodies large portions of it in his account of the scene, and expresses his surprise that it is not mentioned by Carlyle and other English historians.¹ It is however perfectly clear that this speech is not what it purports to be. It is not seventeenth-century English. In reality it was simply a political squib aimed at the corrupt and servile Parliament which had expelled Wilkes, and was written by some republican of the period.² Its fictitious nature and its political intention were perfectly obvious to contemporaries. On December 9, 1768, a man named Dennis Shade was arrested for posting up a paper at the corner of Bond Street. "It pretended," complained Colonel Onslow, "to be the speech of Oliver Cromwell when he came to the House, and turned the members out of doors." On the following day Shade and his instigator, one Joseph Thornton, a milkseller, were committed to Newgate by the House of Commons for their share in publishing this "infamous and seditious paper."³ The resemblance which exists between some of the sentiments contained in this pseudo-speech and the utterances attributed to Cromwell in various contemporary accounts is explained by the desire of the author to give some verisimilitude to his production. In it we see the development of legend and tradition into absolute fiction.

C. H. FIRTH

¹ *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. lxiii, pp. 69-71. Unfortunately Dr. Michael also quotes the speech as genuine in his *Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, i. 196, 1896, and in the learned and valuable life of Cromwell he has published in the series entitled *Geisteshelden*, Berlin, E. H. Hoffmann and Co.

² I gave in the *Academy* for March 22nd, 1890, my reasons for believing that "T. Ireton," who communicated it to the *Annual Register*, was probably that noted eighteenth-century republican, Thomas Hollis. Hollis was probably its author.

³ Sir Henry Cavendish's *Debates*, i. 100; *Commons' Journal*, xxxii. 97, 99, 113, 116.

AN ELIZABETHAN PROPHECY.

"This prophecy Merlin shall make."—SHAKESPEARE.

ONE of the many charms of old books, apart from all interest of the writings they enshrine and the beauty of print or engravings or binding, is that derived from their former owners. It may be an autograph and motto which assure us that Ben Jonson once pored over some bulky folio of divinity in the intervals of a panting search for rhyme, or merely that the leaves open easily and naturally at some passage, a favourite with the forgotten nameless owner. Dead emotions, faded histories, hang about the pages in despite of change and the flight of time, and one fancies that many ghosts must pace noiselessly in their buckled shoes up and down an ancient library, trying with ineffectual fingers to draw from the shelves their sometime pleasures.

A book I have lately come across in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, has an advantage over most of its like in that the interests of its owner bore a distant connection with affairs of State. It is a pretty copy of *Guillermi Postilla*, a series of homiletic notes on the Epistles and Gospels of the day, printed at Paris in 1479, with those capitals painted in, which are so often mere *desiderata* only indicated by the printed minuscule, a vain direction to the illuminator. In its flyleaves some anonymous owner has written short inscriptions in an Elizabethan hand. That on the back flyleaf is devotional and personal. It runs :—

" corpus est ecclesiae, caput Christus, membra fideles.

Debemus reddere deo triplex tributum sive orationem quam postulat (scilicet) de corde perfectam dilectionem de ore ferventem et frequentem gratiarum actionem, de corpore voluntariam viciorum mortificationem.

August(inus). Multum¹ me movit dei amor et timor. Amor quia misericors et timor quia justus iudex. Tria movent nos cito converti ad dominum. primum est, timor divini iudicii. secundum est pudor nostri peccati. tertium est. amor coelestis praemii."

[The Church is the body, Christ the head, the faithful the members. We owe to God a triple tribute or worship which He demands, viz. : from the heart perfect love, from the mouth fervent and often rendering of thanks, from the body willing mortification of vices. (St.) Augustine : the love and

fear of God moves me much; love because He is merciful, and fear because He is a just Judge. Three things urge us to be speedily converted to the Lord. The first is the fear of the divine judgement, the second is the shame for our sin, the third is the love of heavenly reward.]

This does not tell us much, save that we are here in the presence of a devout spirit, whose thoughts perhaps took a conservative, even a Roman Catholic, cast. But the inscription on the front flyleaf is of another character. It seems to be written partly in rugged Leonine verse:—

"Idus novembris bis duobus diebus acceptis
Brittannia terra renovabitur nova trophea.
Cum fuerint anni milleni quingenteni
Septagessimi (*sic*) completi post partum virginis almæ,
Corruet Anglorum gens impia fraud[e] suorum.
Anglia non gaude. Sed respice vi[lia?]¹ caude.

Ista feras, te corde teras, coelestia quer[as].

Qui prius fuerat mortuus resurget in alt[um]. Bis sepultus, iterum erit coronatus, Et intrabit in terram Anglorum et dominabitur eo[rum]. Caveat omnis homo. draco draconem rubeus album superabit. Anglorum nomen mutabitur, tempore lapsa, posteritas Bruti cum albanis sociabitur, non erit anglorum dux tunc de stirpe priore.

Anglia te prodit gens tua quam quilibet odit.
Te circumfodit gens scotica, francia rodit,
Wallicus minatur, Hibernicus insidiatur.

Ter erit Bittannia (*sic*) (juxta præsagia) subjugata, primum quidem per danos. Secundo per Normannos, Tercio per scotos ac hibernicos, ceterasque naciones quas vilissim[as] reputabimus."

[On the Ides of November, with twice two days added, the land of Britain will renew new victories. When 1570 years shall be completed after the parturition of the propitious Virgin, the impious race of the English will fall to ruin by the guile of its own folk.² England, do not rejoice. But look back at the vile things of thy tail (!). Bear those things, be contrite at heart, seek heavenly things. Who before was dead shall re-arise on high; twice-buried, he shall again be crowned, and shall enter the land of the English and shall rule them. Let every man take heed. The red dragon shall overcome the white dragon. The name of the English shall be changed in the lapse of time: the posterity of Brutus [*i.e.*, the Britons] shall be allied with the men of Albany [*i.e.*, the Scots; but in the sixteenth century Albany was confused sometimes with Almayne, *i.e.*, Germany]. Then the leader [or Duke] of the English will not be of the former family. England, thy race, which everyone hates, betrays thee, the Scottish race undermines around thee, France gnaws, the Welshman threatens, the Irishman plots. Thrice (according to the predictions) will Britain be conquered, first by the

¹ The MS., which like many of its kind has a corrupt text, may have read "vi" only.

² Cf. the *Political History of England*, vi. 301; "there was some significance in the current prophecy that she [Elizabeth] would not complete the thirteenth year of her reign, and in the extraordinary rejoicings which greeted its falsification on November 17th, 1571."

Danes, secondly by the Normans, thirdly by the Scots and Irish and other nations whom we shall deem most vile.]

These lines contain singular nonsense, which the present transcriber may have increased by a maladroit conjecture where a few letters are worn away at the edge of the page: but they form a curious illustration of Elizabethan history. It was in the twelfth century that Geoffrey of Monmouth inserted a long prophecy of Merlin into his fabulous *Historia Brittonum*. With admirable prudence he brought the series down to his own time, merely adding a trebly dark appendix of what to him was future. Other prophets followed in his wake, among whom Merlin Silvester with his *Prophecy of the Eagle* and John of Bridlington were conspicuous. Later generations took it all in earnest, and were for ever searching for light on their own times in forgetfulness of the real interpretation.¹ The Wars of the Roses were prolific in prophets, and the revolutions under the Tudors roused them once more to efforts in this way, and gave occasion to numberless imitation prophecies in Latin and English which had currency in manuscript and sometimes in print. The success of William Langland's prediction in *Piers Plowman*, that the monks would fare ill from a king, encouraged them. All sorts of queer names were given as their authors; many, especially those in Latin doggerel, were fathered on the unhappy Merlin. Their texts varied and so did the dates they foretold, as each climacteric year went by, and the doom was once more prorogued to another fated period. They became party incitements and means of political agitation, and the Government, both under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, thought it worth while to ban them by statute-law.

Now in the years succeeding Edward VI.'s death these predictions were peculiarly rife. Each religious party, Romanists and Protestants, hoped for a final revolution in their own favour, and were in doubt even when they had the advantage. It was to be miraculous.

"Alas, what fond and vaine expectation hath a long time rested in the minds not of one or two, or a few, but of great multitudes of the simpler sort in England about King Edward the sixt, as though they were sure either of his arising from death, or his returne from I know not what Ierusalem, or other strange land."²

¹ To quote one of the last and worst instances, Thomas Heywood, in his *Life of Merlin* (1641), makes from an expanded version of Geoffrey's sayings the texts to an elementary History of England.

² John Harvey, *A discursive probleme*, p. 61. This belief, of course, is a Protestant version. Cf. *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxiii. 286-90.

The most important group of prophecies in connection with this credulous belief may be called that of the *Dreadful Deadman* from its longest-lived representative. The central idea of the group was that a dead king should return to reign again and establish the true religion. Excepting the religious element, it was far older than Elizabeth's time. It is found in a ballad under Henry VIII.—“A ded man shall aryse, and that shal bee greate wondre”; it had been applied to Edward IV., and perhaps originally referred to Richard II., who was “twice-buried,”¹ once by Henry IV. and once by Henry V., and was personated, too, by an impostor; if, after all, it does not go back to more ancient Welsh legends of the return of Arthur. An intermediate application to Perkin Warbeck is also possible: these prophecies were re-shaped, re-pieced, and rearranged for each new crisis. However that may be, the *Dreadful Deadman* in its most popular form ran eventually as follows:—

“When h. e. m. p. and e., is com and gone then take hede to iourselues for thre ieares war shall neuer cease that iou will wish iourselues under the earthe. marke well that after e. is come and gone, then commeth Inglande to destruction bi seven kings, as the emperor, the frenche kinge, the scotes kinge, the danes kinge, the spannishe kinge, the romane, the kinge of Suailande: god cease it at his wille, and after that shall come a dreadfull deade man, and with him a roiall γ of the best bludd in the worlde, and he shall have the croune, and shall set Ingland in the right wai, and putt out all heresies” (Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 60).²

A more Protestant version is that of “Robert Blake”:—

“A dead man that no man saw borne nor no man shall see buried, shall be king over vi kingdoms, and he shall be generated out of the sea by the strength and nature of a dun cowe; and this Lion shall be gone where few shall find him for the space of 22 moneths, and od daies, and after 22 moneths and od daies, he shall come againe and execute iudgement in his fathers house, and that which is darke he shal make light, and shall make a way to the holy Crosse” (Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 56).

It is easier to guess at the derivation of this enigmatic rubbish than to give any precise Elizabethan meaning to it. The “sea” in “Robert Blake” may allude to Jane Seymour, Edward VI.'s mother, yet in some original there was probably a reference to Edward IV. or his brothers, who were sons of Richard, Duke of York, the heir of Mortimer, (*Mortuum mare*, i.e., “dead sea”), and Cicely Neville, whose family badge was a “dun bull.” The “seven kings” of the *Dreadful Deadman* were probably suggested

¹ “Bis sepultus.”

² This prophecy is written in Greek letters, θ being read as h and η as f. The royal γ was read either as a gamma or as an English y, in which case Y(ha) for Jesus may have drifted into the text from notions of a second Advent.

by a passage in a long fifteenth century prophecy on the disasters of England :—

“Flan : Fran : consurgent, simul Hispan : viribus urgent,
Norvas te vellent, fortes Britonesque repellent,
Sco : devastabit, sic Wallicus arma levabit,
Dani contingent,¹ Albani limina lingent ”—

which is Englished thus in Cotton MS. Vespasian D. xviii. about 1560 (see below) :—

“Flanders shall rise with Fraunce
With shelde sworde bill and launce
And fote a dulfull daunce
Confedered with alliaunce
To offer the[e] defiaunce.
And Spaine shall eke employe
Hir strengthe the[e] to destroye.
Norwaye and Mastroignye (? Muscovy)
Their power shall applie,
The Briton full of myght
To flee and put to flyght,
The Scotts for to destroye thee
The Welchmen to annoyee thee,
Loe all this Insurrection
Shall sett theire full affection
With power and sedicyon
To bring thee to distruction,
The Danes to pull and plucke thee,
The Almaynes to annuil thee.”

In any case, the *Dreadful Deadman* and its congeners were in vogue about 1570. In that year the breach with Rome was complete when Pope Pius V. issued his Bull deposing Queen Elizabeth, and the plots in favour of Mary Queen of Scots thickened daily. It was then that the Duke of Norfolk,² who hoped to marry Mary, showed his servant Higford “an old blind prophecy” :—

“In exaltatione lunæ Leo succumbet . . . et Leo cum Leone conjungetur et catuli eorum regnabunt.”

To do the Duke justice, he treated it as “a toy,” “a foolish prophecy”; but it helped to behead him. As time went on the country’s prospects were gloomier still. War with Spain grew inevitable. Poets like Spenser dilated on such depressing themes

¹ *Al.* consurgent.

² Murdin, *State Papers of Lord Burleigh*, pp. 71-2, and Hargraves, *State Trials*, p. 99. This was doubtless a version of a prophecy ascribed to “Geoffrey Eglyne,” which appears in *MS. Cotton, Vespasian E. vii.* (see below). It begins “Asinus coronatus” (Richard II.), and deals with Richard II., Henry IV., and the Percies (Luna from their badge). It already existed in some form in Henry IV.’s reign, as Adam of Usk quotes a phrase of it.

as the *Ruins of Time*. Doggerel prophecies, discovered in walls or ascribed vaguely to Merlin, were current, from which comes the patriotic and dimly reasonable summary quoted by Bacon¹ :—

“When hempo is spun
England's done.”

Hempe, of course, is the Tudor dynasty, *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary* and *Philip* of Spain, and *Elizabeth*.

While charlatans, plotters, and nervous students were pre-occupied with Merlin and his like, a school of astrologers and divines were adding to the public apprehensions by warnings of a Second Advent. The ball seems to have been set rolling by Cyprian Leovitius or Leowicz, who in 1564 warned his patron, Maximilian II. of Austria, of the direful effects of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which was to take place in 1583. He argued that the conjunction had also occurred six years before the Incarnation, and therefore the Second Coming was likely in 1588. He quoted a German rhyme foretelling disasters for 1588, and gave a Latin translation, which acquired great fame.² He seems to give the Latin as his own, but it was soon fathered on the fifteenth-century astronomer, Regiomontanus :

“Post mille expletos a partu virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos :
Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus
Ingruet, is secum tristia fata feret.
Si non hoc Anno totus malus occidet orbis :
Si non in nihilum terra fretumque ruet :
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque retrorsum
Imperia, et luctus undique grandis erit.”

His book was reprinted in London in 1573, with a slight addition or so, and its fears were enforced by a divine, Thomas Rogers, in his *Second Comming of Christ*,³ published in 1577. Later, in the year of the conjunction, 1583, Richard Harvey, brother of the celebrated Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's friend, published his *Astrological Discourse upon the . . . Conjunction of the . . . Planets, Saturne and Jupiter*. His predictions, being wrong for 1583, covered him with ridicule; yet the general foreboding of ill in 1588, which he shared, gave him influence, and Lord Howard of Effingham endeavoured to quiet the unrest by a heavy, soporific work against prophecies, replete with biblical

¹ “Of Prophecies.” The *Dreadful Deadman*, given above, has an early version of *hempe*.

² “*De coniunctionibus . . . planetarum*.”

³ Said to be a translation from the Latin of Sheltes à Geveren.

and classical arguments and loftily silent on the current predictions which caused alarm.¹

At last, when in 1588 the long-threatened Armada drew near, when men's minds were on the rack with anxiety, and the issue was still uncertain, these prophecies became more than ever a nuisance of State. The charlatans, who had groaned in 1570, joined hands with the astrologers who dreaded 1588. Their calculations were curious.

"When the number of the yeeres of our Redemption doth comprehend the Golden number of the same yeere . . . in all such yeeres so long as this agreement houldeth, and in the 19 yeere after the first equalitie . . . there shall then per Consequent fall out many woofull calamities, and horrible effects in the world. But Anno 1570 there was such an agreement betweene the yeeres of our Lord and the Golden Number . . . and this 88 is the 19 yeere from that first concordance."²

The Government seems to have authorised a counterblast to these forebodings, for another of the Harvey brothers, John, also a noted astrologer, dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Keeper, *A Discursive Probleme concerning Prophecies*, wherein he exposes them by Scripture, ridicules them *seriatim*, and, lastly, in a reassuring peroration belauds the care Queen Elizabeth had devoted to national defence, and the expense to which she had run in her preparations.

"Especially hir most excellent Maiestie, whose not onely wise, and cautelous, but also rich and mightie prouision, partly for all kind of munitions, partly for other necessaries, as well defensiuely, as offensively imployable against whatsoever forren force, or hostile malice; far passeth any like preparation, or fortification of hir most puissant, and royall ancestors: as expressly appeereth in an Act of Parliament, made Anno 27 Elizab. cap 29. So that even in such Ciuill respects, and Politique considerations (to speake thereof in generall) we are not greatly to dread any such rufull or tragicall terrors, as are here more horribly threatned than considerately denounced, or skilfully awarded: unlesse peraduenture we will needs be More afraid than hurt" (p. 129).

There is a fine official tone about it all. But more convincing than the vigorous and amusing galliard danced by Harvey's prose were events. The Armada was shattered, Elizabeth reigned secure, the idol of her subjects.

¹ *A Defensative against the Venom of Supposed Prophecies*, 1583. Howard was Elizabeth's Lord High Admiral and later Earl of Northampton.

² Harvey, *op cit.*, p. 95. $1+5+7+0=13$, the Golden Number. The calculation is to be found in Rogers' *Second Comming*. The Golden Number is the number of any year in a lunar cycle of nineteen years; it was used to determine the date of Easter and to foretell the phases of the moon. I may remark for the reader's comfort, that not only 1570 to 1576, but also 1910 to 1918, show this coincidence of the Golden Number and the result of adding up the figures of the year A.D.

Some uneasiness was occasioned by the accession of the Stewarts, but, when James I. took the style of King of Great Britain, instead of England, even *Hempe* seemed innocuously true¹. It was when the sky grew dark before the Civil War that Merlin and the *Dreadful Deadman* were again studied by alarmed seekers after truth, to whom William Lilly, astrologer and humbug, acted as a vaguely depressing guide. His interpretations varied as times changed. In the end the *Dreadful Deadman*, after skimming very near Charles I., and Oliver Cromwell, settled in 1660 on General Monk (for monkery had been dead for a hundred years), and Charles II. was the King to extirpate all heresies.

It is pretty clear to what date the inscription on the fly-leaf of *Guillermi Postilla* must be assigned. The prophecies it contains are fragments revised and patched together with reference to Queen Elizabeth and the dangers of her earlier reign. Almost all the fragments can be easily traced back in some form or another to the Wars of the Roses, at which time of course they meant something quite different. Like Geoffrey of Monmouth's inventions, the prophetic form in which they were couched led later generations to regard their vaticinations as still in the future, and the quacks who traded in them had no scruple in altering their text to suggest a near future. We may compare them with older and far less sophisticated versions with the help of two MSS. in the British Museum, Cotton, Vespasian, D xviii., and Cotton, Vespasian E vii. Of these MSS. E vii appears to have been copied in the reign of Edward IV. for a member of the Percy family, while D xviii. belongs to the first years of Queen Elizabeth. Together with the fly-leaf they show how this business of political prophecy was kept up to date.

The first two lines on the fly-leaf, which run :—

"Idus Novembris bis duobus diebus acceptis
Brittannia terra renovabitur nova trophea "

clearly allude to the accession of Queen Elizabeth; for, if we add four days to November 13 (the Ides), we obtain November 17, the Queen's Day of the time. In Cotton, Vespasian E vii., f. 95 *recto*, however, they are ascribed to Bede "*De dictis Merlini*," and form part of a prophecy beginning with the words *Cum anni cristi* and relating to 1456. There the first line runs :—

"Idus Novembris duobus diebus exceptis "

and implies a different date !

¹ It was also revised in cheerful vein for the occasion. See *The Whole Prophecie of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, 1833.

The next five lines were evidently dispersed abroad about 1570. Their concoctor possibly knew of Leovitius' lines on '88, to judge from

"Septagessimi completi post partum virginis almæ"

but :—

"Corruet Anglorum gens impia fraude suorum"

appears in E vii. f. 86 recto, in a "prophecy of Eldegar" :—

"Inter saxosum fontem montemque nodosum
Corruet anglia gens propria fraude sua"—

where some incident of the Wars of the Roses is doubtless referred to, though whether some play of words on the partisans Clifford and Montagu is intended or an obscure description of a battle, like Edward IV.'s victory at Lose-coat-field, near Stamford (Stone-ford?) is meant, must be left to specialists on the period. The fourth line of this section :—

"Ista feras, te corde teras, cœlestia quæras"

has an equally long but different history, being the close of another Roses' prophecy, said in Vespasian E vii. to have been found in 1360, from which a quotation has already been made above.¹ In E vii. the prediction obviously hints at Queen Margaret of Anjou :

"Femina morte cadet post quam terram mala tangent"

but in Vespasian D xviii., where it is copied with some variations, there are touches added which make a suggestion of Queen Mary and her Spanish marriage.

The next passage on our flyleaf—from *Qui prius* to *insidiatur*—is a version of the *Dreadful Deadman*, which in its much entangled origins offers an excellent object-lesson in the derivation of these prophecies. Harvey (*op. cit.* p. 55) gives the first two lines in English :—

"He that before was dead, and buried twise :
To receive his crowne againe shall truly arise"—

and a different arrangement and an earlier date (1555), which make the reference to Edward VI. clear, are contained in a version given in Vespasian D xviii. :—

"Ter decem viceno quinque cccccc Anno milleno, Tunc caveat omnis homo. qui prius fuerat mortuus resurget in altum. Bis sepultus erit iterum coronatus. Anglia te prodit gens tua quam quilibet odit. Scotia circumfodit, frauncia rodit, Vallicus minatur, hibernicus insidiatur : Et intrabit terram Anglorum et dominabitur eorum."

¹ In E vii. it begins *Classes diverse tendent*.

The whole passage, however, in the flyleaf is a patchwork composed of fragments which mostly appear in different prophecies of *Vespasian E vii.*, all with allusions to the Wars of the Roses. In "Another prophecy of the same Sixth King" (their favourite subject, derived from still earlier inventions), beginning *Fortes ecce reges* (f. 113, v.), we find :—

"Qui mortuus fuerat prius resurgens in altum
Et his sepultus iterumque erit coronatus"—

where Edward IV. is perhaps intended at his restoration in 1470. The flyleaf's lines :—

"draco draconem rubeus album superabit. Anglorum nomen mutabitur, tempore lapso, posteritas Bruti cum albanis sociabitur"

are derived partly from a prediction (f. 90 r.) concerning the "Sixth King," fathered on Gildas, the British historian of the time of the Saxon conquest, beginning *Cambria Carnarvan* :—

"Draco draconem rubeus album superabit,
Anglorum nomen tollet, etc."

[The red dragon (*i.e.*, Welsh) will overcome the white dragon (*i.e.*, Saxons), and will take away the name of the English.]

and partly from a similar prophecy (f. 87) beginning *Tolle caput Martis*, which has :—

"Regnabunt Britones Albane gentis amici,
Antiquum nomen insula tota feret."

[The Britons will reign, and be friends of the people of Scotland, the whole island will bear its ancient name (*i.e.*, Britain instead of England.)]

and finally from the verses of Merlin concerning Scotland, beginning *Regnum Scotorum fuit*; where we have :—

"Bruti posteritas Albanis associata
Anglica regna premet marte, labore, nece."

[The descendants of Brutus (*i.e.*, Welsh), allied with the Scots, will oppress the English realms with war, trouble, and slaughter.]

Oddly enough, an early sixteenth century annotator of *E vii.* has inserted in the margin a closely similar patch-work of the three passages, from which we may conclude that our flyleaf version was no new thing in 1570. On the other hand the change of dynasty ("non erit anglorum dux tunc de stirpe priore"), which is so apt for the succession of the Stuarts, does not appear in these particular origins.

Anglia te prodit and its fellow lines are also met with in *Vespasian E vii.* (f. 86, r.). There they are ascribed to St. Edmund of Pontigny and form part of a prophecy in favour of

Richard Duke of York, who fell at Wakefield in 1459. On the same page of the MS. comes the last fragment of the flyleaf (*Ter erit*, etc.), in a shape somewhat more precise and amusing.

"Prophetavit quidam sanctus Anacarita tempore regis Egelredi in hunc modum. Anglici, qui prodicioni ebrietati et negligencie domus dei dediti sunt, primo per Danos, deinde per Normannos, tercio per Scotos et quos vilissimos reputant erunt conterendi. Adeo tunc varium erit seculum ut varietas mencium multimoda vestium variacione designetur."

[A certain holy Anchorite in the time of King Ethelred prophesied in this wise. The English, who are given up to treason, drunkenness, and neglect of God's House, will be oppressed, first by the Danes, then by the Normans, thirdly by the Scots and peoples whom they think most vile. Then so inharmonious will be the world that the difference of men's minds will be shown by the multifarious diversity of their garments.]

The variations of fashion, which so shocked the monastic austerity of the pseudo-anchorite (himself condemned to the most monotonous and longest-lived of uniforms in his frock and cowl), must have seemed harmless matter-of-course to the Elizabethan, who would be hardened by use to the chameleon extravagances of his contemporaries, and so are naturally omitted. May we also assume the excision of the list of English vices to be evidence that the age of Shakespeare was better than the perjured fifteenth century?

We may place the date of this strange cento on the *Guillermi Postilla's* flyleaf at about 1570, when Norfolk showed Higford a similar production likewise derived from a prophecy in *Vespasian E vii*. At a later date, the year 1570 would have been altered to, say, 1603. Thus the concoctor would probably hope or fear the deposition of Elizabeth and the accession of Mary Queen of Scots, with Norfolk as her husband, to found a new dynasty which would unite the English and Scottish crowns. By a happy chance he derived from the ancient hopes of Welsh bards, that Briton would drive out Saxon at last, the idea of a change of title for the kingdom which actually came about. But the prophecy-mongers did not preach to a wholly believing world. We have seen what John Harvey thought of them. Hotspur, too, has a definite opinion of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his imitators:—

"the moldwarp¹ and the ant,
Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,
And of a dragon and a finless fish,
A clip-wing'd griffin and a moulten raven,
A couching lion and a ramping cat,
And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff
As puts me from my faith."

¹ *Rex Talpa* = Henry IV. in some prophecies.

And for Shakespeare's own opinion we may balance the Fool in *Lear* against the futile astrologer in *Cymbeline*.

The fact that the lines are but the record of folly seems to condemn the idle task of analysing their growth and meaning. Yet they illustrate the emotions of their day, and bring home to us, more vividly than sense would do, the bewildered apprehensions that were rife during those years of crisis, and the courage of Elizabeth and her councillors, who steered the ship of state through the tempest they knew and measured, while the astrologers croaked as loud as they dared, and Merlin chanted his sepulchral murmurs from the hold.

C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON.

A SYMPOSIUM ON HISTORY EXAMINATIONS

[In September, 1917, an informal gathering of ten Public School masters and five Oxford and Cambridge examiners met in informal conference at Eton to discuss methods of examining History in the School Certificate Examinations, the post-School Certificate Examinations, and History Scholarship Examinations. Their discussions, protracted over a "week-end," resulted in a set of "recommendations," which have been sent to the proper quarters. It was felt, however, that these "recommendations," put in a more general form, would be of interest to the wider public of History teachers in general, who may well subject them to useful criticism. They are therefore printed below. To each recommendation is prefixed a very brief summary of the discussion that led up to it; but it should be added that, whereas the "recommendations" have the sanction of the Conference as a whole (the University representatives, however, though they took part in the discussions, did not vote), the summaries and notes are the work of the present writers, and for them they alone are responsible. The following took part in the Conference: the Master of Balliol College, Oxford; the Warden of Wadham College, Oxford; P. E. Matheson, Fellow of New College, Oxford (part of time); G. E. Green, Lecturer at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; R. B. Mowat, Fellow of C.C.C., Oxford; C. H. Greene, Headmaster of Berkhamsted; S. M. Toyne, Headmaster of St. Peter's School, York (part of time); C. H. K. Marten, Eton; Dr. J. E. Morris, Bedford; J. O'Regan, Marlborough; C. H. C. Osborne, Gresham's School, Holt; L. Cecil Smith, St. Paul's; D. C. Somervell, Repton; R. St. C. Talboys, Wellington; and the Rev. A. T. P. Williams, second master at Winchester, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.]

I.—SCHOOL CERTIFICATE.

THE examination first coming under discussion was that for a School Certificate for boys of or about the age of sixteen. To begin with, it was generally agreed that it was a mistake to have an "outlines" period very long; indeed, the agreement was so marked that little was said on this subject.¹ A discussion on

¹ One objection to a long outlines period is that it very greatly restricts a teacher's freedom; teachers are all the better for an occasional External Examination—but it is fatal to have to be always teaching with that end in view. With a long period a master is forced, perhaps, to begin the teaching for the examination some two years before his pupils take it; and this means that he has to make the boys study it not in the way which he thinks the most effective and stimulating, but in the way which he thinks the External Examiner will consider the best—not at all the same thing. Moreover, every experienced teacher knows that in no subject more than History is it necessary

the length of periods led to the idea that British History should be divided into three periods, and the discussion then concentrated on what these periods should be. With regard to the beginning of the first period, A. said, "Let us go back to the Romans"; but B. took the line that English History previous to Alfred was a highly abstruse and controversial subject, unsuited, if not to teaching, at any rate to examination in the School Certificate stage. With regard to the end of the last period, a small minority preferred 1815 or 1832. These being overruled, X. said, "Let us go down to 1914"; but Y. took the line that recent home affairs were highly complicated and controversial, and that, as regards "the causes of the war," teachers would be hard put to it to know where "English History," the official subject of examination, began or ended. So a compromise was made on 878 and 1901 respectively. The date of the second period was put back to 1461, partly to improve the understanding of Henry VII., partly to make the second period more equal in length to the other two. The final recommendations ran as follows:—

"That there be three outlines periods of which only one be taken by candidates; and that the periods be some such periods as 878–1485, 1461–1714, 1714–1901.

"N.B.—It was presumed that boys would study the periods not chosen at some stage either preceding or following the School Certificate Examination."

The next subject of discussion was as to the character of the questions that should be set in an outlines period. C. wanted a great variety of questions; D. wanted certain aspects omitted altogether—*e.g.*, constitutional—but neither of these views found acceptance. It was eventually agreed that a paper for boys of the age under discussion should be divided in two parts, each containing a choice of questions; one should require not minute, but accurate knowledge of the main features of the History and test a boy's knowledge and clearness and conciseness in putting facts down; and the other should demand answers more of an essay type that would test, of course, a candidate's knowledge, but also his ability to give a narrative vividly and consecutively as well as his power of using his facts for argument and illustration and his general interest in the subject.

to adapt teaching to a boy's age and outlook—different aspects of the subject appeal to different ages. One will not teach in the same way a boy of sixteen as a boy of fourteen, or a boy of sixteen as a boy of eighteen—or, for that matter, a boy of eighteen in the same way as an undergraduate of nineteen or twenty; and it is not consistent with good teaching to have to deal with the subject with boys of fourteen in a way suitable for boys of sixteen, in order to prepare them for an examination which they will take at the latter age.

The discussion was then diverted to the geographical questions, the importance of which was generally recognised. Ought "sketch-maps" drawn from memory to be demanded? It was felt that the demand for such "sketch-maps" in the outline paper was so exacting as to be unreasonable. It was virtually a demand that the candidate should carry every conceivable historical map in his head. The map-draughtsman could find his reward in the special subject paper. Ought, then, outline maps to be supplied and questions asked requiring the accurate location of places, as in the Sandhurst and Woolwich Examination papers?¹ To this two objections were raised: that it would be difficult and expensive, and that filling in places in such a map made excessive demands on the candidate's accuracy. But the general sense of the Conference seemed to be that both these objections were somewhat fanciful.

The "source method" next came under discussion. There seemed to be two ways of using original authorities. On the old-fashioned plan the master simply reads extracts to the boys (or provides them with a book of extracts), the idea being to create an "atmosphere" in which the events and characters would appear alive and vivid. The other method, associated with the name of Mr. Keatinge, in whose book, *The Teaching of History*, it is explained, is to give pupils extracts as "raw material" for their study, and set "problem" questions on them. It was agreed that the School Certificate Examination could not cater for this latter method. The former method, apparently much more commonly used, can hardly be tested directly by the examination paper, but it was the opinion of examiners that those candidates who showed knowledge of sources also did the best papers. This seemed to indicate that some use of sources was not waste of time, judged even by the most utilitarian standards. And so the recommendations on the outlines periods papers finally ran as follows:—

"(i) That the paper on each of these periods be divided into two parts. That Part I. consist of three compulsory matter-of-fact questions—*e.g.*, the first being geographical, the second biographical, and the third explanatory²—and that each compulsory

¹ For instance, here is one of the questions set in the Army Examination.
"Mark on the accompanying map:—

(a) Aboukir Bay, Acre, Corunna, the Lines of Torres Vedras, Toulon, and Cape Trafalgar.

(b) Cyprus, Dunkirk, Gibraltar, Heligoland, Malta, and Minorca.

"Write a short historical note on each place mentioned in (b)."

² Good examples of explanatory questions can be found in the examination papers set in the Preliminary Examination for Elementary School Teachers'

question should contain a certain amount of option. That Part II. consist of six or more general questions, of which three must be taken.

“(ii) That the relative value of the two parts be 40 for Part I. and 60 for Part II., and that this should be stated on the paper.

“(iii) That the geographical question in Part I. should require the candidates either to locate places on a supplied outline-map, as is the practice in Civil Service Examinations, or to explain their position descriptively, but should not involve the compulsory drawing of a map.

“(iv) That though the ‘source method’ (i.e., the setting of contemporary extracts for explanation) is good for teaching, it is not suited to examination.” (See Reports recommendations on p. 224.)

The next subject before the Conference was the desirability of “special periods.” The disadvantages of such a period, as pointed out in the Board of Education’s circular No. 599, were considered, but were not held to out-balance the advantages. A “special period,” it was felt, gave an opportunity for a boy to “get below the surface,” and for a master to do “some real History teaching”; and gave both a chance, for instance, of concentrating on one big personality and studying “him or her” in good biographies.

Two possible alternatives, however, to a “special period” were suggested: “special subjects” and “special books”; but neither found general favour. A special “subject,” such as naval history, it was thought, might lack variety. Special “books” were strongly advocated by Z., who emphasised the value of getting boys to read classic works for themselves, instead of perhaps passively imbibing history lectures. He would value a “critical” question in the examination, inviting the candidates’ opinions of the books read. But it was pointed out that it is hard to set papers on special “books” that are not either obvious or tricky; and as for the “critical” question, it lends itself, more than almost any other, to shameless “cram.”

With regard to special periods, however, X. held that some special periods contained too much diversity of matter (e.g., 1793–1815), and that a paper like that set in the Oxford and Cambridge Certificate Examination of July, 1917, picking out six aspects only and demanding answers on all of them was unfair. The fact that X.’s boys considered it the worst and Y.’s boys the best

Certificate, though these questions are for older boys, e.g., “Explain briefly the following expressions:—Carthusian, Covenanter, Grenadier, House-Carl, Jingo, Lay Brother, Leveller, Orangeman, Order of the Garter.”

paper they had ever seen went far to prove this. It was suggested that specialisation should be carried much further, six or seven "subjects" within the period being specified and the candidate required to show knowledge in only two or three. An objection was made that this would lead all pupils to go for the popular subjects, such as the military, and neglect others, such as the constitutional. Discussion on the merits of the popularity, real or fictitious, of military history followed—one member, for instance, suggesting that military history was a good subject on which to hang nearly every other subject. Eventually the much more modest innovation contained in the recommendation below was adopted, namely, that a choice of questions should be allowed.

Another member of the Conference suggested that in the "special" paper at least one question should be set inviting the drawing of a parallel between some situation in the period and present-day politics—*e.g.*, between Grattan's Parliament and modern Home Rule, or Napoleon's and modern Germany's Eastern policies. It was pointed out that such a question would give offence as going outside the period set. But the examiners agreed that the candidates who showed this kind of knowledge, just like those who showed knowledge of "sources," were also those who did the best papers. (See Reports recommendations, p. 224.)

The recommendations finally ran as follows:—

"(i) That there should be a paper demanding special knowledge in addition to the outlines paper; and that this should take the form of a paper on a special period, as at present, rather than on a special subject or book.

"(ii) That a choice of questions be allowed in the special paper.

"N.B.—It was agreed that six questions were too many to be answered in a paper, say, of two hours, the Conference differing, however, as to whether four questions ought to be done out of eight or nine, or five questions out of eight or nine; there was a majority of votes for five out of eight.

"(iii) That some of the special periods as at present set in some of the School Certificate Examinations are too long.

"(iv) That a compulsory question involving geography be set, with the opportunity of drawing a map, but such map not to be compulsory.

"(v) That there be three special periods, one corresponding to each outline period, but that candidates be allowed to take a special period outside their outline period."

Reports were the next subject discussed. First it was suggested that a somewhat full report might be published annually giving the impressions of the examiners on the History work in the schools examined as a whole. Secondly, it was felt desirable that the opinions of teachers on the questions set should be considered. It is not easy, especially for university examiners, to set questions suitable for boys of sixteen; and criticisms were expressed that the questions set by such examiners were sometimes too dull and too "political," and apt to ignore subjects in which boys of that age were really interested. Co-operation between teachers and examiners would, the Conference felt, be of great value in devising a really satisfactory examination for boys of that age.

During the discussion on Reports the question of the penalisation of answers was discussed. The subjects were really two: (i) Presentation, arrangement, and style; (ii) paragraphs, punctuation, spelling, and legibility. With regard to the first group, an examiner pointed out that these were an integral part of the "merit" of an answer, and as such already made or lost marks; also that Reports have frequently commented on them in the past. With regard to the second group, it was pointed out that to penalise candidates for these faults would, in effect, raise the standard of a "pass" under the examination. The Conference expressed no definite opinion for or against the desirability of this, but limited itself to recommending that the prevalence of these faults should be officially deplored.

The recommendations finally ran as follows:—

"(i) That it would be very helpful to teachers if the examiners would issue an *annual* report giving the impressions of the awarders and examiners on the History work as a whole.

"(ii) That both in this report and in the reports of examiners on individual schools attention should be drawn to such points as (a) the use of sources; (b) analogies between past and present history; (c) the general presentation of answers, not only as regards arrangement and style, but also as regards legibility, punctuation, and paragraphs.

"(iii) That with the object of evolving a satisfactory form of History examination for candidates of or about the age of sixteen, it would be helpful if teachers exchanged views on the papers set; and these views might be communicated to the authorities responsible for the examination if they were willing to receive them."

II.—POST-CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss some details in the proposed "Advanced Courses" and Post-Certificate Examinations, but with special reference to the new regulations of the Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board for Higher Certificates. It was felt that those, who were taking up French and German languages as a special subject of study, ought to be doing some European History.¹ It was first proposed that "a paper on the appropriate period of French or German History" should be compulsory for candidates offering French or German literature. The objection to this was that in many schools the History teachers would be unable through lack of time to provide such special teaching. It might be assumed, however, that they would be teaching European History to their own History class, and the modern language candidates might be brigaded with the historians for this subject. And so the following recommendation was passed :—

"That for boys taking up French and German a European History paper with emphasis on French or German History, according to the language or languages taken, should be compulsory."²

Then the question arose as to what periods a boy taking up History as a special object of study should read.³ Should an English History outlines period, for instance, be compulsory? Candidates have already taken this in the School Certificate Examination, and, even if they have not taken that examination,

¹ Mr. H. A. L. Fisher deplors that all boys and girls who do French do not know more of French History. *Cf.* HISTORY, vol. II., No. 6.—"Boys and girls are supposed to learn French. They dip into a French grammar, they read a few fragments of French literature—perhaps, if they are lucky, they are afforded some exercises in the colloquial use of the language—but how many boys and girls who are supposed to have learnt some French in our Secondary Schools have the faintest notion of the French people, of the rôle which the French nation has played in the history of Europe, or of the general social structure of the country with whose language and literature they are presumed to have acquired some shadow of acquaintance?"

² It is worth noting that the Modern Language Association passed a similar resolution with regard to "Advanced Courses," i.e., that those taking up two modern foreign languages take up a period of European History. See also Mr. Osborne's article on "Modern Humanistic Studies" in *School World* of November, 1917.

³ Under the Oxford and Cambridge Regulations such a boy must take up one modern foreign language and may take up another as a subsidiary subject.

it may be presumed that they have been doing English History outlines ever since they first went to school, that they are fairly tired of it, and keen to get to something new. On the other hand, it was urged that boys, even if they did get a certificate, could not be said to *know* their English History. From this the discussion branched off into the importance of Industrial History. If it was desirable not to "lose sight of England" altogether, why not offer English Economic History as an alternative? This idea won general approval, and remarks of two senior members of the Conference may be quoted. One said: "Economic History is now the most important of all subjects. Just as when the war came we had to confess that we had culpably neglected modern European History, so now we are in danger of repeating the mistake with regard to modern Economic History. To turn out the young of the 'capitalist' class with all their class prejudices intact is sheer dereliction of duty." The other said: "Whether you like it or not, and whatever you may decide to-day, these economic questions will come knocking at your doors before you know where you are." The opinion of the Conference was that, while the English outlines should be a "period," the Economic paper should cover the whole subject. And the final conclusion of the Conference was that such boys ought to do either an Industrial History paper as the compulsory subject, or an English outline period in which special emphasis was laid on Industrial History.

The Conference went on to discuss the inclusion of Ancient History as an optional paper for such boys. More especially the claims of Modern European History were insisted upon, one member wanting to make European History since 1789 a compulsory subject. But there was a general feeling that the training of boys making History a special subject was still in the experimental stage; that more experience was needed before any definite rules could be laid down; and that it was therefore undesirable to curtail a teacher's freedom in his choice of periods or subjects. The following recommendations, amongst others, were eventually passed:—

"(i) That English History outlines be alternative with the outlines of Economic History as a compulsory subject, and that the English outlines paper pay special attention to Economic History; but that otherwise complete liberty be allowed in the choice of outlines and special periods, English or European.

"(ii) That a period of Ancient History be allowed as an alternative to any of the non-compulsory subjects.

"N.B.—It was felt undesirable at this experimental stage in

the teaching of boys who passed the School Certificate, to fetter, further than was indicated in (i), the teacher's discretion in his choice of periods or subjects." ¹

III.—SCHOLARSHIP EXAMINATIONS.

The Conference also considered the Scholarship Examinations at Oxford and Cambridge. First of all, it was asked that there might be a standardisation of the History periods required; or, rather, that colleges should give similar options. There was not such a bewildering variety of periods demanded by different colleges as there used to be; but the variety was still tiresome.² An Oxford authority pointed out that, as regards Oxford at any rate, these divergencies were, to the best of his knowledge, matters of accident and not of principle, and could probably be easily remedied.³

The Conference went on to discuss the position of subjects other than History in History Scholarship Examinations, and here the conclusions arrived at were similar to those of the Historical Association (see HISTORY, Vol. II., No. 5, p. 34). Thus the Conference was against the compulsory conversion of History Scholarships into Scholarships in a variety of subjects, and wished them to continue to be awarded for Historical promise. But it desired that opportunities, so far as the time-table permitted, should be given to candidates to offer other subjects as subsidiary. With Classics the connection has always been close; indeed, in certain Scholarship Examinations some members of the Conference considered it too close, and they thought that composition papers in Latin and Greek ought not to be set, or, at any rate, not made obligatory in such examinations. It was felt, however, that other subjects were taking the place of Classics in certain schools, and that for candidates from such schools the opportunities for offering these subjects as subsidiary were not sufficient. One member, for instance, criticised the character of the Modern Language papers

¹ Owing to lack of time, there was no discussion as to what history should be studied by those making classics or mathematics or science a special subject of study.

² See the Leaflet No. 3 of the Historical Association, revised September, 1917, pp. 4-7; *e.g.*, one group of Colleges at Oxford demands Mediæval History, including English, or Modern History including English, whilst another demands English History to 1485 with European History from 1485, or English History from 1485 with European History down to 1485.

³ The same subject is to be discussed by a joint Committee representing University teachers, the Headmistresses' Association, and the Historical Association, with regard to Women's Scholarships. See below, pp. 233-4.

as at present set in the History Scholarship Examinations. Another referred to the fact that in many schools Science was virtually taking the place of Classics as the staple subject of the ordinary boy's work, and that Science ought also to have its opportunity as a subsidiary subject. The general feeling, however, was one in favour of liberty; one university representative even said he was in favour of nothing being compulsory in History Scholarships except the Essay and the General paper, and that everything else, including the History papers, should be voluntary. No subsidiary subjects should necessarily be obligatory, as there was a danger that the pure historian might be crowded out altogether—even the emphasis laid on the General paper tends at present, said one member, to do this to some extent. Lastly, it was considered that similar opportunities ought to be given to candidates for scholarships in other subjects to offer History as a subsidiary subject, and a "reciprocal recommendation" to this effect was drafted.¹

Finally the recommendations with regard to Scholarships ran as follows :—

"(i) That the History Scholarships should continue as they are and be awarded for Historical promise, and should not be converted into Scholarships in a combination of subjects, such as History and Modern Languages or History and Classics; provided, none the less, that candidates for scholarships shall be free as at present to offer a combination of History with either Modern Languages or with Classics, if they desire to do so and the timetable of the examination permits.

"(ii) That, where possible, opportunities be given to candidates for History Scholarships, if they desire to do so, to offer Modern Languages, or Science, or Mathematics as a *subsidiary* subject, similar to those at present given to candidates for taking Classics.

"(iii) That, conversely, opportunities, where possible, be given to candidates in Classical, Modern Language, Science, and Mathematical Scholarships to offer History as a *subsidiary* subject.²

¹ The Council of Humanistic Studies has also been considering the possibility of subsidiary subjects in Scholarship Examinations, and it is hoped that it may be possible, in conjunction with the Board of Scientific Studies, to frame some joint resolution applicable to all Scholarship Examinations. The subject is also being considered at the forthcoming meeting of the Public School Science Masters.

² One College, certainly, at Oxford, is willing to allow complete liberty in this respect; and in the last Scholarships' Examination held there the successful candidate for a Mathematical Scholarship took papers in Physics, Modern History, and French, and was greatly helped thereby. Similarly this College not only gives Historians language papers in four languages, but it is willing to set papers in any branch of natural science.

“(iv) That there be a standardization of the History periods required in the History Scholarships Examinations.

“(v) That in view of the numbers taking the History School at Oxford and at Cambridge, and of the increasing importance of History in Secondary Schools of all grades, more History Scholarships should be offered.”

D. C. SOMERVELL

C. H. K. MARTEN

NOTES AND NEWS.

THERE is not much, perhaps, to encourage us in the military situation, but all who believe that our future welfare depends largely upon education have at least one cause for rejoicing in the decision of the Government to proceed with Mr. Fisher's Bill; and it is not the least hopeful sign that this decision was taken in response to a popular demand which could not be resisted, for we are really getting on when democracy insists upon better provision for its education. The principal difficulty in front of the Bill appears to be the opposition of local education authorities to some of its administrative clauses. They may be matters for argument, but we trust that little heed will be paid to those whose idea of "doing something for education" is "doing something for the education rate"; and we should like to point out that, if the Imperial Exchequer is to bear, as some claim, 75 per cent. of the cost of education, there is little ground for leaving its control in the hands of those who only contribute the remaining quarter.

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The Council has to deplore the loss through the war of one of its members, Professor R. F. C. Dolley, who was last seen engaged in the fighting before Lens on July 1st. Mr. Dolley, who was born in Canada and learnt no English until he was several years old, was educated at University College, London, winning the Derby University Scholarship for History in 1907 and graduating B.A. with first-class honours in 1908, and M.A. in 1911 with a very original thesis on Titus Oates' plot. Appointed Lecturer in University College, Nottingham, he did much to develop the study of History there, and was ultimately given the status of a Professor in the College. He was elected a member of the Council in 1912, and was chosen to represent the Association at various conferences before the war imposed a superior claim upon his services.

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Less premature has been the death, in his seventy-fourth year, of Dr. James Bass Mullinger, the learned historian of the University of Cambridge, with which University Dr. Mullinger had a life-long connexion as Librarian and Lecturer in St. John's

College, University Lecturer in History, and President of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. He is perhaps most widely known by his joint authorship with Samuel Rawson Gardiner of *An Introduction to English History*, which has passed through several editions; but his *magnum opus* was his three-volume *History of the University of Cambridge*, which is the only adequate history of an English University written since the days of Anthony à Wood. Apart from that, Dr. Mullinger's best work was done as a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Cambridge Modern History*, and the *Cambridge History of English Literature*.

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Even Dr. Mullinger was young compared with Pasquale Villari, who died at Florence on December 9 in his ninety-first year, and has been described as "the greatest figure in contemporary Italian prose literature." It is fifty-seven years since Villari made his fame by the publication of his *Life of Savonarola*, one of the world's great biographies, and his other outstanding book, his *Life of Machiavelli*, appeared but four years later. Villari was one of those historians who felt the present as keenly as the past, and his political activity illustrates the spirit of Italian unification as Treitschke's does the more sinister means by which Germany was united. Villari was elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies in 1867 and was appointed to the Senate in 1884, becoming its Vice-President in 1897. He set an historical precedent for Mr. Fisher's appointment by being made Minister of Education in 1891, and gave proof of the impartiality which historical studies foster by increasing the number of school hours to be devoted to mathematics at the expense of those devoted to history.

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The following statement of "some of the grounds for the protest of the Historical Association against the proposed exclusion of General Mediæval History from the Higher Civil Service Examinations" has been drawn up, signed by the President and three ex-Presidents of the Association, and forwarded to the appropriate authorities.

The Report dated June 20th, 1917, of the Treasury Committee, appointed to consider the scheme of examination for Class I. clerkships in the Civil Service, contains so much that is excellent that it is with regret that the Council of the Historical Association feels compelled to protest against the treatment accorded in it to certain portions of history, notably to the history of the Middle Ages, and hardly less to the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This treatment is, the Council ventures to think, contrary to the general principles accepted in the Report, and reactionary in its general bearing on University education.

The Report says, very wisely, that its authors desire to adapt their scheme "to the chief varieties of University education, so that candidates, while working for University honours, will at the same time be preparing to join in the competition." Moreover, they "do not wish to adapt their education to the examination; on the contrary, the examination should be adapted to the chief forms of general education." We submit that this sound policy is abandoned when a scheme of examination is drawn up which renders it hopeless for candidates who have specialised on mediæval history to compete with those who have specialised on the history of the last two centuries. The Committee's implicit extension of the term "mediæval," to include normally all history [except Greek and Roman] before the middle of the seventeenth century, makes its action even more questionable.

The recognition of mediæval history in the scheme of the Committee is substantially limited to the mediæval history of England. Even here, by drawing the dividing-line between the two periods of national history at 1660, serious students of the earlier period are handicapped, since the twelve centuries or more of this period count equally in the examination with the two centuries and a half of the more modern period. Moreover, while "British History" after 1660 is to be offered, it is "English History" before that date. So that candidates from the Universities of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales will be placed at a disadvantage.

A similar tendency to disregard the Middle Ages also appears in the proposed specialised courses in the languages, literatures, and histories of the chief European nations. These proposals are avowedly made as an educational experiment, and are in no wise based upon any existing academic courses for honours. But on the linguistic side of these suggested courses we note that the mediæval origins of modern languages, nay, our own language and literature before Chaucer, are to be omitted, though these are expressly recognised in most Universities as part of an honours course.

The most regrettable part of the Committee's Report is the deliberate exclusion of the study of general European History before 1494. It is absolutely contrary to the practice of all Universities which have organised courses of historical study. The essence of University education in history is the free choice of periods, and it is well recognised that there are always powerful reasons in operation which confine the study of the earlier periods to a minority of students. But only teachers of history can fully realise the extent to which the Committee's recommendations, if carried out, will prevent the study of mediæval history in the future, and will penalise those Universities in which it is seriously pursued. It will compel teachers to advise all pupils who contemplate the possibility of a Civil Service career to limit themselves to recent history. It must in the long run tend towards the recasting of academic curricula on the lines of the Report. In effect, though doubtless not in intention, the Committee is calling upon the Universities to readjust their historical courses in order to meet the special requirements of a Government examination.

Similar considerations of securing "sufficient attention to modern conditions," which have suggested the penalising of mediæval lore, would, applied logically, have extended to the history of Greece and Rome as well as to that of the Middle Ages. Fortunately, the Committee still upholds the study of ancient history, by reason of its importance in classical education. It might also have recognised that ancient and mediæval history stand for practical purposes upon much the same footing. Great as has been the influence of the ancient world in the making of modern civilisation, the roots of the present lie even more intimately in the Middle Ages than in antiquity. Nearly all that the ancients have still to teach us comes to us through the Middle Ages. All the great institutions of the modern world are mediæval in their origin and impulse, and can only be understood in the light of study of the Middle Ages. Our Parliaments, our administrative system, our monarchy, our religion, our language and literature, our national ideals were all moulded in the Middle Ages. Time was when it was believed that the Middle Ages were "the Dark Ages," and that all that mattered to us moderns was Greek and Roman civilisation, transmitted in a sort of ark across the floods of barbarism and released at the Renaissance. It is because of the virtual

acceptance in the Committee's Report of this antiquated view, that the Council of the Historical Association feels compelled to describe the proposals as regards mediæval history as "reactionary," and to call upon those interested in historical education to protest against their adoption.

The Council is sure that the Committee had no wish to fetter by administrative action the freedom of the Universities to work at their own curricula; but it cannot help fearing that its action may tend in this direction.

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The following report on "The Study of History in Day Continuation Schools" has been adopted by the Council and forwarded to various education authorities.

The objects of the study of history in Day Continuation Schools should be to arouse the interest of the pupils in the past, and through the past to explain the many-sided life of the present; to widen their horizon and to stimulate their imagination; and to fit them to discharge their responsibilities by taking an active and intelligent part in the world in which they live. The history taught should not only deal with matters of government, but should illuminate the whole life and human surroundings of the student. Treated in a broad and generous spirit, it should form, in close connection with literature and geography, the best humanistic course for these schools.

With a view to the accomplishment of these objects we make the following suggestions:—

1. Care should be taken to select, as far as possible, such teachers as are also students of history and have a real interest in the subject.

2. An ample supply of books, maps, and illustrations should be provided for each school, these being as indispensable to the study of history as laboratory apparatus is to that of science.

3. Local history should be kept in continuous and vital connection with the whole history work.

4. Social and economic conditions, which affect and explain the development of the community, should be given their due place in the teaching.

5. In the later stages some attempt should be made to explain the machinery of modern government by tracing in outline its historic development.

6. At some stage, if not in all, attempts should be made to show the pupils the effect of general history upon the development of their own community and of the British Commonwealth as a whole.

7. Throughout the work the training afforded by history as a means of self-expression, both spoken and written, should be fully utilised.

8. Since the outlook and interests of the pupils vary at different ages, the selection and treatment of the subject-matter should be adapted accordingly.

Finally it must always be borne in mind that even the best teachers, in the short time at their disposal, can convey only a few facts to the minds of their pupils; the best the teachers can do is to interest them in the past and make them want to read about it, and then to put the right books into the hands of the right pupils, for it is the much they acquire from their own reading which is so essentially important.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Cambridge.

SIR,

We have read with much interest the article by Miss Howard on history teaching in girls' secondary day schools, and also the letter from Miss Street, which appeared in the same number of *HISTORY* (July, 1917). Perhaps you will allow us to make certain observations on the main problem which confronts teachers of history in both

schools and universities, the problem of how to make education an organic whole, by securing the maximum amount of co-operation between its different branches. It was partly with this purpose in view that an informal conference was held this term at Cambridge between the heads and lecturers of the women's colleges and representatives of the Headmistresses' Association. A particularly useful discussion took place at the history sub-section of this conference, and many of the points which we wish to emphasise here were elucidated then.

There seem to be two main lines of complaint by schools against entrance scholarship examinations to the women's colleges: (1) that the standard required is too high (see Miss Burstall's criticism, quoted in Miss Howard's article); and (2) that the overlapping in periods set for different examinations "makes it," in Miss Howard's words, "difficult for a girl to compete for more than one scholarship, or for girls who are competing for different scholarships to work together." On the first point we noticed that there were no complaints from the very representative collection of headmistresses whom we had the privilege of meeting. It is not, indeed, practicable to lower the standard of entrance scholarships. It is fixed partly by competition (and here as examiners we are helpless), but chiefly by the stern facts that our students must read for an honours degree, and that at the end of two years Part I. of the Historical Tripos has to be taken. On the second point the conference was unanimous, and steps have already been taken, in collaboration with the Historical Association, which we hope may lead to reform; here it is in our power to co-operate with the schools, and we are most anxious to do so. May we add a word or two as to what we should like the schools to do for us? We want to emphasise two points.

(1) We want from scholarship candidates not a large number of facts, not cramming, not a great deal of class teaching. We want ability to use books, to think and to write essays. The history mistress quoted by Miss Howard exactly expresses our view: "I am sure girls can be too much *taught*. What they want is hours in a library of good books." It is not, however, exactly wide reading which we desire; if a girl has read a few good books, and if, above all, she has learnt how to consult books and to make notes of her reading, she is better prepared than if she has been taught a great deal of detail, or has done a great deal of unsystematic reading. It is less having read than knowing how to read, which is important. An extremely intelligent first-year student a short time ago explained that she had no idea one took notes from books as one read. Often students waste quite half their first year in learning how to do independent work, and it is quite common for a girl to complain, "It is quite different from any sort of work I ever did before." Surely there ought not to be this gap, this difference in kind, between the sixth-form work of a future university student and her first-term's work at college? It surely might be avoided if the schools generally recognised that it is quality rather than quantity for which we ask.

(2) At the same time, it is desirable, if not essential, that for her own sake a girl should have covered a certain amount of ground before she comes up to the university. At Cambridge students for the Historical Tripos read in their first year English economic history, English constitutional history (from 1485), and *either*

ancient or mediæval European history; and they usually find the work very heavy. If our hoped-for reforms in the matter of overlapping periods come into force, it may happen that a girl will enter college having taken English history and a period of modern European history for her scholarship examination in March; and in no case will she have taken both ancient and mediæval history periods. If in addition to what she has read she could acquire during the summer term and holidays some knowledge of the bare outline of ancient or mediæval history, she would begin her first-year's work with an immense advantage; and this applies even more strongly to slower or less gifted girls who do not attempt the scholarship examination. A student will find her first-year's work at college very much easier and more enjoyable if she comes up having read during the months after her scholarship or entrance examination such books as Zimmern's *Greek History for Young Readers*, the relevant parts of Breasted's *Ancient Times*, or Emerton's *Mediæval Europe*, with some of the home University series (e.g., Gilbert Murray's *Euripides and his Age*, Warde Fowler's *Rome*, Davis's *Mediæval Europe*) or Marvin's *The Living Past* to give colour. We understand that the summer term is sometimes partly occupied with working for the previous examination in June, but perhaps the rest of the term and some spare time in the holidays could be devoted to acquiring the necessary knowledge. It would, of course, be unnecessary for the work to be done up to the standard of scholarship work. What is needed is a bare outline.

We learned a great deal from our conference with those engaged in solving the problem of history teaching in schools, and were happy to find how much in agreement we were upon essentials. May we add that we should welcome gladly any opinions and suggestions upon the points raised in this letter?

E. E. POWER (Girton College),

C. B. FIRTH (Newnham College).

The County School, Beckenham.

SIR,

I trust that the article on "The Teaching of History in Preparatory Schools," which appeared in the October number, will be followed up by a further one on the teaching of history in secondary day schools. There is a tendency in the minds of some to make the term "school" connote the preparatory and the public schools and no others. It is well, therefore, to point out that there are secondary day schools where it has long since been realised that "children understand and appreciate books when read aloud which they could not deal with themselves" (p. 149); where teachers who "are content to give the boys a text-book and tell them to learn so much while they read the paper or write letters" (p. 148) are unknown; and where headmasters who are "ready to hand over the history to a games master whom they do not consider capable of dealing with anything else" (p. 152) are unthinkable.

The mass of teachers in these schools are men and women who have some claim to call themselves specialists. Their work is aimed, for the most part, at a historical training which makes for good citizenship rather than for examination successes, since 90 per cent. of their pupils leave before reaching the Matriculation stage, and a university scholarship standard is the exception rather than the rule.

This big body of teachers would certainly welcome a discussion on the methods and text-books suitable for use in the type of school which considers the study of history as an essential part of the general scheme for a sound education, and not solely as a means to becoming "remarkably successful in winning scholarships."

W. TOM WILLIAMS.

Junior House, Bradfield College.

SIR,

It seems to me that the first and foremost object of the Association should be to bring pressure to bear on the public schools to persuade them that their present methods of setting history papers in their scholarship examinations are entirely wrong. I am thinking chiefly of the great schools. Take, for instance, the papers set at Winchester this year and last year. The candidates were, of course, aged twelve to fourteen, and they were given twelve questions covering the whole range of English history to do in three-quarters of an hour! I know from experience that the best boys could not write more than three or four sheets of foolscap in that time. What were they expected to do? Each of the questions was large enough to exact a full essay from a boy who knew his history. Was he to take one or two questions and answer them fully, or write absurd little notes on all twelve questions? The candidates were not even given a choice of questions, or told that full marks would be awarded for, say, three questions well done. History papers should test literary style as well as knowledge of facts. No boy who attempted all twelve questions could show any style or grasp of cause and effect.

L. L. C. EVANS.

43 Ashtead Road, Clapton Common, E. 5.

SIR,

An Association called the Schools Personal Service Association came into existence soon after the outbreak of the war. Branches with large and increasing membership have been formed in Hornsey, Tottenham, Edmonton north, and in the metropolitan area, and others are in process of formation. Its members are composed largely of teachers in elementary and secondary schools, members of local education authorities, care committee members, lecturers in training colleges, attendance officers, and others directly interested in the educational welfare of school children.

Through its influence and activities it seeks to communicate the ideals of active goodwill and mutual service. The spread of such ideals would, it holds, lead towards that clear and universal understanding of human needs and aspirations which must precede a right adjustment of social relations. Two of its aims run as follows:—

1. It seeks to educate the boys and girls in our schools in such a way as will lead to the betterment of social relations and conditions, and so to contribute to the solution of social problems.
2. It seeks to develop in young people clear conceptions of social rights and duties.

Members of the Tottenham branch, in attempting to work out the implications of such aims and ideals, believe that no higher service can be rendered to children than through better teaching of the subjects in the school curriculum. They think that social problems are, fundamentally, problems of education, and that a

genuine concern for the educational welfare of the children with whom they are in daily contact will inspire to higher endeavour.

Realising the need for improvement in the teaching of history—"the worst taught subject in the curriculum"—a resolution was passed calling on members who are teachers to give thoughtful consideration to improved practice in history teaching. For that purpose history study circles have been formed and are now holding monthly meetings.

Whilst realising the greatness of their opportunity, teachers, for the most part without definite historical training, are keenly alive to the difficulties that history teaching presents, especially for children who leave school at the early age of fourteen or under. Accepting the position of the Historical Association that general history, rather than isolated aspects, should be taught, they ask what can be apprehended by children under fourteen of political and constitutional development?

Believing that the historic sense will be developed, not through the imparting of verbal information, but through the exercise of the pupils' self-activity, they are faced with the lack of suitable books and illustrations. Only those who are in daily contact with children of restricted home environment can appreciate the language difficulty.

The history study circles welcome the appearance of such features as "Historical Revisions" in the current issue of *HISTORY*, and hope that a further extension of helpful articles and notes is in contemplation for the guidance of those who have not had the advantage of wide historical training.

E. E. MONK

(Hon. Sec., Schools Personal Service Association,
Tottenham Branch).

[Miss Monk also sends us the second annual report of the Schools Personal Service Association, and a leaflet explaining its aims and methods.—Ed.]

St. Paul's School, West Kensington.

SIR,

May I use *HISTORY* to ask you or any of your readers for information on the following points?

1. At what date in the reign of Edward III. did the Commons first sit apart from the Lords? I cannot find the exact date in any text-book, and, after all, it is an occasion more worth remembering than the wrongly-called "Model" Parliament of 1295.

2. Is there any record of the barons and knights who fought at Lewes in 1264?

3. How was it that, after the arrangements made between France and Spain in 1762 and between England, France, and Spain at Paris, 1763, we find France in possession of West Louisiana in 1803, and Spain again in possession of part of the coast of East Florida? When and how were the arrangements upset by which West Louisiana went to Spain (1762) and both Floridas—in addition to East Louisiana—to England (1763)?

4. What is the exact difference in the constitutional position of the House of Orange *before* the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century and after the restoration of William (afterwards William III. of England)?

L. CECIL SMITH.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

[Under this title it is proposed to give in each number of *HISTORY* two or three notes on historical subjects which modern research has shown to be most widely misunderstood, with a view to bringing the teaching of History in schools and elsewhere more closely into touch with historical scholarship.]

III.—ROME'S FOREIGN POLICY AND TRADE INTERESTS.

EVERY age must, obviously, write the history of the past in its own way: our age has been passionately interested in economic questions, and thus in our historical writing rhetoric has given place to statistics, and the pages of a history text-book often resemble the serried paragraphs of a Whitaker's Almanac, rejoicing in a positive debauch of figures, in estimates of a country's area, of its population, its imports and exports, of the amount of its revenues and outgoings—figures, figures all the way—until at length the doubt arises whether we have not overrated the force of this economic motive in human concerns, whether our master key is not really forcing the lock; and the history of Rome may provide us with a case in point.

We had come to realise from Eduard Meyer's brilliant essay¹ how closely parallel to the modern economic development is that of the ancient world: we no longer think of Western Europe as passing in a continuous process from the household economy of Rome, through the town economy of the Middle Ages, to the modern system of capitalism and widespread credit: we know that the economic development of the Mediterranean lands had reached its own capitalistic age before the onrush of the barbarians broke up the ordered life of the West and threw it back into conditions far more primitive, in which it started the economic process afresh, while the Eastern Empire maintained the older basis of a money economy.² History is not continuous: it is rather a succession of world-periods, each marking a new beginning.³ Ancient history is not necessarily primitive.

Thus, acutely conscious of the modernity of the ancient world, we have sought to explain the foreign policy of the early Roman Republic as conditioned by a conflict of trade interests: Rome's empire-building to many modern writers has appeared as primarily a commercial expansion, its object the defeat or destruction of trade rivals. This may be said to be now the orthodox belief: the force of constant repetition has produced the illusory sense of an assured

¹ Eduard Meyer: *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums*, in *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 79-168. Halle, 1910. Cf. O. Neurath: *Antike Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1909.

² L. M. Hartmann: *Ein Kapitel vom spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Staate*, Berlin, 1913.

³ v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: *Reden und Vorträge: Weltperioden*, pp. 120-134.

conviction which no longer needs to present its credentials, because it fears no challenge.

But that challenge has come—from America,¹ and the historian can no longer rest in dogmatic comfort until that challenge has been fairly met. Feeling, as I do, that orthodoxy may be forced at least into a restatement of its faith, I gladly take the opportunity offered me by the Editor of HISTORY to summarise a few of the arguments which may be urged against the current view.

One of the earliest instances to which historians point as evidencing this influence of commercial interests is the Roman attempt to settle in the island of Sardinia, which must apparently be dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C. But it should be remembered that this was the century of the great wars with Etruria; now it was Etruria which, in concert with the Carthaginians, had driven the Greeks from Corsica, while it is by no means certain that Sardinian Olbia was not at the outset a Greek settlement.² The Etruscans had successfully laid claim to an exclusive right to these islands. The attempted foundation of a Roman colony in Sardinia and of a Roman naval station in Corsica was thus in all probability connected with the land advance against Etruria: both were dictated by military considerations. Indeed, Roman colonisation, unlike that of the Greeks, was from the first down to the time of the Gracchi essentially military in character.³

Then it is argued that the existence of the series of treaties regulating Roman rights of trade with Carthage is evidence of the extent of Rome's sea-borne commerce. But the fact that these treaties uniformly favour Carthage, and that they are progressively one-sided in their operation, does not suggest this: they are rather to be regarded as applications of the Carthaginian doctrine of the *mare clausum* intended by the great trading State to meet future contingencies, and accepted by Rome surely precisely because she was so little interested in foreign trade, just as Rome had entered at some time in the fourth century into a treaty with Tarentum by which she promised not to sail into the Tarentine Gulf. In short, the fourth-century treaty with Carthage "should be used as a Punic, not as a Roman, document, even as Penn's treaty with the Indians may be used as evidence for William Penn's theories of human rights, but not for those of the Indians."⁴

The First Punic War has been regarded as undertaken by Rome primarily to secure Sicily as a field for commercial exploitation by Rome⁵; but this view is difficult to maintain in face of the fact that

¹ Tenney Frank: *Classical Journal*, V. (1909-1910), "Commercialism and Roman Territorial Expansion," pp. 99-110; *American Historical Review*, XVIII. (1913), "Mercantilism and Rome's Foreign Policy, pp. 233-252; *Roman Imperialism*, New York, 1914.

² Cf. E. Pais: *Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica*, pp. 541-567. Torino, 1908.

³ Cf. the citizen coast colonies founded in the third century to protect the shores of Italy from maritime raids. See *Cic. de Leg. Agr.*, ii, 27, 73, quoted by A. H. J. Greenidge: *A History of Rome*, etc., I., p. 4, n. 1. London, 1904. It does not seem to me true of Rome to say that "der innerste Kern der Kolonisationsversuche das Handelsinteresse war." Åke Eliaeson: *Beiträge zur Geschichte Sardiniens und Corsicas im ersten punischen Kriege*, p. 9. Dissertation. Uppsala, 1906.

⁴ Tenney Frank: *American Historical Review*, XVIII., p. 235.

⁵ For Rome's foreign policy at this time, cf. Tenney Frank: *Roman Imperialism*, c. vi.

Rome at the close of the war left the fertile east of the island in the hands of Hiero of Syracuse, while, though Regulus demanded the cession of Sardinia,¹ this was not the view of the home government: the peace terms which concluded the war did not contain the cession of Sardinia—that *μεγίστη νῆσος καὶ εὐδαιμονία πρώτη* (Paus., IV. 23, 5)—nor of Corsica with its forests of timber: these were only acquired by Rome as an afterthought, and here again the operations of the Carthaginians, conducted from these islands as a base in 262, 259, and 258, in themselves supply an adequate reason for the annexation.

Indeed, Rome was not favourably situated for any development of transmarine commerce. It was under the pressure of necessity that she created her war-fleets in the First Punic War, and excavation is proving that the earliest remains at Ostia, the port at the Tiber's mouth, only date from the same period—the third century B.C. Ostia remained but a small village throughout the Republic; not till 42 A.D. was the sand-bar in front of the Tiber's mouth dredged and jetties built, so that laden sea-faring vessels could anchor in still water. The most serviceable port of Rome was still Puteoli, 150 miles away. While the early Etruscan tombs are store-chambers of Oriental and Egyptian wares, those of Rome of the same period show no such traces of extensive trading, and this evidence agrees with the fact that none of the technical naval terms employed by the Romans except those relating to the simplest parts of a small craft are of Latin extraction. They have all been borrowed from the Doric Greek, and were picked up from the vocabulary of Sicilian merchants.²

But it may be objected that it is in the second century B.C. that commercial interests are most clearly at work in moulding Rome's foreign policy. Let us then take the Third Punic War as a crucial instance of the perfidy of the merchant aristocracy. Carthage fell, we are told, because Rome desired to control the trade of Africa. And yet after its fall no Roman harbour was provided in Africa, and Utica, a free city, inherited the commerce of Carthage. Is not the Third Punic War rather to be explained as due to Rome's fear that the great Numidian statesman Massinissa would absorb Carthage and found a rival kingdom in northern Africa? "The crime of 146 B.C. is only the more horrible when it is realised that Carthage was the victim of Rome's jealousy of Massinissa"³

Corinth also was destroyed in the same year, and Delos doubtless profited by its destruction; but inscriptions have shown us that Delos was already filled with Greek, Syrian, Egyptian,⁴ and South Italian merchants, and these enjoyed the privileges of the port as much as did the Romans. Tenney Frank's review of the Delian records appears to prove that names of Roman merchants are extremely rare until after Asia had become a Roman possession in 132 B.C., when Delos, in consequence, could be used as a half-way house between Rome and the East. When we remember the fate of the prosperous Italian town of Fregellae, whose very loyalty to Rome it was which drove her to demand Roman citizenship at the sword's

¹ *Cass. Dio*, frag. 43, I., p. 160 (Boissevain).

² From Tenney Frank: *American Historical Review*, XVIII., p. 235.

³ Ulrich Kahrstedt: Vol. III. of Otto Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, p. 617. Berlin, 1913.

⁴ Pierre Roussel: *Les Cultes égyptiens à Delos du 3me au 1er Siècle avant Jésus Christ*. Nancy, 1916.

point; when we recall the fact that that destruction took place only twenty years after the fall of Corinth, may we not rather conclude that the ruin of the Isthmus city was but another example of that policy of the "awful warning" which was now the Roman oligarchy's substitute for statesmanship?¹

One further point: Rome had conquered an empire, but just as she failed in Macedonia to protect her new subjects from barbarian forays, so she failed to perform the work of those maritime Hellenistic rulers whose territory she had absorbed. The seas were not policed, and piracy in the Mediterranean was unchecked. That Rome could, had she wished, have cleared the seas Pompey effectually proved, but even after the time of the Gracchi, when the equestrian order of moneyed men had grown conscious of its own power and of its solidarity of interest, the very coasts of Italy were the prey of the corsairs. If sea-borne commerce had in reality dominated Rome's foreign policy to the extent which modern writers have suggested, would this have been tolerated? The Roman may have been slow to move, but his was an essentially practical genius. Surely the inference must be that piracy was not suppressed because there was no large body of influential men whose interests it directly affected.

No, the new wealth which poured into Rome from the second century onwards was invested in luxuries, in slaves and buildings, in land, in money-lending, and in banking, while sea-borne commerce was left to the citizens of the Greek towns of Southern Italy and the Ægean and to the Syrians—seamen all: the Roman remained a landsman to the end of the chapter.²

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

IV.—THE MEANING OF PROTECTORATE.

I. IN a speech of July 21st, 1917, the Prime Minister said, "Belgium must be a free people, and not a Protectorate," implying, what is actually the case, that a Protectorate is a country and People, whose freedom is restricted in one way or another and to one extent or another.

II. In the British Empire the difference between a Crown Colony and a Protectorate is that the soil of a Crown Colony is British soil, and the inhabitants of a Crown Colony are British subjects, whereas the soil of a Protectorate is not British soil, and its inhabitants are not British subjects. Thus the Straits Settlements are a Crown Colony, the soil is British soil, and the inhabitants, white or coloured, other than immigrant aliens, are British subjects. But in the adjoining Protected Malay States the soil is not British soil, and the permanent inhabitants are not British subjects, but the subjects of the Sultans of the respective States.

III. The above is, strictly speaking, both the law and the fact of the case, but the Protectorates in the British Empire differ very greatly in kind and in the actual degree of control which is exercised by the British Government. Thus in Borneo the State of North

¹ A. H. J. Greenidge, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

² For a much more detailed and elaborate study of the argument the reader should consult Tenney Frank's paper in the *American Historical Review*, XVIII.

Borneo and the State of Sarawak are Protectorates only in the sense of being under British protection, no more and no less. In other words, the British Government guarantees their security against foreign enemies, and in turn controls their foreign relations, but it interferes in no way whatever with their internal administration, which is wholly in the hands of a chartered company in the one case, the British North Borneo Company, and of a private Englishman, Rajah Brooke, in the other. On the other hand, in the Protected Malay States the administration is entirely controlled by the British Residents, who are nominally the advisers of the Sultans; and the so-called East Africa Protectorate is to all intents and purposes a Crown Colony.

IV. The term High Commissioner has very generally been used with regard to Protectorates to denote the highest authority on or near the spot. Thus, while the Ionian Islands were under Great Britain, the British Governor was called High Commissioner, as the islands had not been annexed by Great Britain, but were placed under the protection of Great Britain. Similarly, before the war the Governor of Cyprus was called High Commissioner, the island not having been annexed, but only occupied and administered by Great Britain.¹

V. British Protectorates very commonly adjoin or are neighbouring to British Colonies, and the Governors of the Colonies are commonly High Commissioners of the neighbouring Protectorates. Thus the Governor of the Straits Settlements is High Commissioner for the Malay Protectorates; the Governor General of the Union of South Africa is High Commissioner for the South African Protectorates; the Governor of Fiji is High Commissioner for the Protectorates of the Western Pacific.

V. On the West Coast of Africa—owing to the fact of the Slave Trade, which made the original European possessions on the coast of the nature of forts and factories, the British possessions till quite modern times were far more Protectorate than Colony (*Hist. Geog. of the British Colonies*, Vol. II., West Africa, pp. 312–13); and at the present day, though much annexation has taken place, there is a very great deal of Protectorate, as, *e.g.*, at the Gambia (p. 269); and in some cases the Legislature of the Colony is empowered to legislate for the Protectorate, and the Protectorate and Colony are more or less administered together (pp. 275–6).

VII. The scramble for Africa, from about 1884–1891 more especially, brought into prominence a very rudimentary form of Protectorate, called “Sphere of Influence,” meaning that within given limits a certain European Power would not be interfered with by such other European Powers as agreed to recognise it. In connexion with these Spheres of Influence and with the African Protectorates in their earlier stages the Foreign Jurisdiction Act played a great part.

VIII. When British subjects went abroad in the Middle Ages and formed groups or communities in foreign countries, they were not uncommonly given permission by the rulers of the countries to make their own rules and laws within their own circle, and they were

¹ For the Ionian Islands, see Lewis, *Government of Dependencies*, 1891 Ed., p. 159, note, and contrast Adam Smith, Part III. “No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it, and how small soever the revenue which it afforded might be in proportion to the expense which it occasioned.”

For High Commissioner, see *Lord Durham's Report*, 1912 Ed., Vol. II. Text, pp. 7–8 note.

empowered by their own King to do so. This was specially the case later on with the great chartered companies in non-Christian countries, as, *e.g.*, with the Levant company in Turkey. In the nineteenth century the British Government began to take upon itself the charge of ensuring law and order among British subjects in these semi-civilised foreign countries, and it did so by passing the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1843, which started with the recital that "by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance, and other lawful means her Majesty hath power and jurisdiction within divers countries and places out of her Majesty's Dominions." It was an enactment to get over the difficulty of British subjects who were outside British rule and British jurisdiction, and yet not in whole or part inside the jurisdiction of the country in which they were living.

IX. The Foreign Jurisdiction Act was re-enacted in 1890, and it was laid down that "where a foreign country is not subject to any Government from whom her Majesty the Queen might obtain jurisdiction in the manner recited by this Act, her Majesty shall by virtue of this act have jurisdiction over her Majesty's subjects for the time being residing in or resorting to that country." This was machinery for keeping order among British subjects in purely barbarous countries. But you cannot keep order among them without keeping order in the countries themselves and among the natives. Hence it in fact provided the authority for governing the countries, although they were not British soil. (See a very interesting note by Mr. Albert Gray, K.C., C.B., President of the Hakluyt Society, in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Hakluyt Society's Publications, 1893, p. xliii.)

C. P. LUCAS.

REVIEWS.

Slavery in Germanic Society during the Middle Ages. By AGNES MATHILDE WERGELAND. University of Chicago Press. 1916. 4s. 6d. net.

THIS study by the late Professor of History in the University of Wyoming is published in the United Kingdom by the Cambridge University Press. It is a scholarly and useful little work, consisting of papers originally contributed to the *Journal of Political Economy*, and shows a wide acquaintance with Scandinavian and other Germanic laws. Historians have chiefly concerned themselves with the more enthralling subject of serfdom, and it is convenient to have a detached study of the kindred institution of slavery. The second chapter of this book shows the man, enslaved through conquest, purchase, or crime, upon a downward course, becoming more and more a thing. A study of Germanic law shows that he was regarded as an article of property, that he had no personal rights, that his existence was vested in that of his master, and that apart from his relation to his master he had no place in society. Then follows a chapter showing the upward course, the gradual amelioration of slavery, partly through the arbitrary power of kings, who could free any slave, and whose own slaves had to be held in higher esteem when he began (as was the custom of the Merovings) to use them as officials and agents; partly through the power and influence of the Church. Gradually certain rights of the slave became recognised; he became no longer a thing, but a person, however reduced and insignificant a person; above all, his right to his *peculium* or *orka*, land or income from work, was recognised, and was, in Miss Wergeland's opinion, the real secret of the ultimate amelioration of his state. The last chapter of the book summarises the agencies, philanthropic, economic, and political, which brought about the liberation of the slave.

The essay is throughout *bien documenté*, with many quotations from original sources. Whoever was responsible for drawing up the list of authorities at the beginning might, however, have done so in a more scholarly manner, for so good a scholar as Miss Wergeland would certainly not have allowed it to go out in such a slovenly and amateurish form. Primary and secondary authorities are jumbled together, with no attempt to distinguish between them; the date of the edition used is never given, and even the name of the editor is constantly omitted; "Grágás" standing alone is not a sufficient reference for a bibliography of sources.

EILEEN E. POWER.

Outlines of Mediæval History. By C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d. net.

"A SKETCH," writes Mr. Previté-Orton in his preface, "must of necessity be sketchy," and certainly it is a bold venture to compress

into 550 pages the story of West and Nearer East for eleven hundred years. But we feel that the author is most to be congratulated on the un-sketchiness of his book, in the sense that the proportion and interconnection of events are admirably kept throughout. There is nothing disjointed in the general effect, though the necessary care for brevity has had much more influence on his style; many sentences need reading twice over, because they labour to compress into one line a bulk of matter which the author, writing at his ease, would probably have spread over two or three. This signifies comparatively little to the more advanced student; but it detracts from the value of the history as a general school-book; the reader can scarcely embark upon it without some previous knowledge of the subject. As a second text-book, helping the student to clear and co-ordinate his ideas, and to take a really broad view of mediæval development, it seems far superior to any former effort to cover the same ground in so small a compass.

Mediæval history is still so chaotic in parts, owing to the general neglect of original documents in some of its most important fields, and to the docility with which even distinguished historians have often copied from each other, that we may venture, without any disrespect to Mr. Previté-Orton, to indicate a few points for reconsideration in those later editions to which his book can scarcely fail to attain.

It seems scarcely correct to speak of St. Augustine as having imitated Eusebius of Vercelli in his quasi-monastic disposition of the cathedral clergy; the evidence seems to show that it was a natural idea developed independently. Again, we cannot really speak of the Benedictine rule as "the parent of all its rivals" (p. 120); this would be misleading even if we only applied it to the numerous rules of Canons Regular, while it altogether ignores the fact that the Franciscan rule was in most points a conscious reaction against Benedictinism. Nor is it correct to say that St. Augustine was inimical to the theory (maintained later on by Gregory the Great) that "the Emperor was divinely called to rule, the State had its sanctity" (p. 24: cf. a similar implication on p. 117). In his *De Civitate Dei* (lib. v., cc. 19 and 21) Augustine clearly teaches that even the evil ruler is divinely appointed and draws his authority from God; and (as Mr. A. J. Carlyle points out) Gregory's doctrine is here merely a development of Augustine's (*Med. Polit. Theory*, i., 169). Mr. Previté-Orton would seem here to confuse Augustine's real tenets with the later one-sided development of them which meets us (e.g.) in the theories of Gregory VII. The identification of "Spirituals" and Fraticelli, again (p. 432), has long been exploded; and it is misleading to write that "perhaps the majority, if not the most influential, were ready for the legal evasions and compromises" within the Franciscan Order. We have definite evidence beyond all "perhaps" that the overwhelming majority, even among the officials, were ready for such compromises; nor could we otherwise account for the actual course of events. Michael of Cesena (p. 433) was deposed after, not before, he had fled to the Emperor.

A thread of far more important misconceptions, if we may venture to say so, seems to run through his story of the Hundred Years' War, though it must be owned that the real significance of the contrast between England and France is missed even in Prof. Oman's *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, and that we have still to

go to Frenchmen like Coville or Luce for the truth. It can scarcely be said that Edward III. was "the best general of the day," even on the English side; but he did understand how to develop his grandfather's military policy. Crécy was to a great extent the victory of a conscript over a voluntary army system. Our "all-important archers" were far from being so predominantly Welsh as Mr. Previté-Orton implies; their presence in all our armies, like their absence from those of the French, was due, not to chance, but to deep political and social differences between the two nations; in short, it may be said that our victories all through the Hundred Years' War were due mainly to national organisation and discipline pitted against amateurism and indiscipline. And he misses even the significance of those military reforms which helped Charles VII. to drive us finally out of France, though this is clearly emphasised (*e.g.*) in Lodge's *Close of the Middle Ages*. The *Ordonnance* of 1439 resulted in riveting upon France a system of arbitrary taxation and mercenary soldiers hand in hand; so that, while the Tudors never dared to set up a real standing army among us, their French contemporaries were already laying the foundations of seventeenth-century absolutism.

It only remains to notice three printers' errors, which will doubtless disappear from the next edition: *coenobitium* on p. 118 should be *coenobium*; for *codex Justinianus* (p. 64) we must read *Justinianeus*; *Languedoil* (p. 375 and *passim*) falsifies the real meaning of the two last syllables. The book should certainly recommend itself strongly to all teachers whose pupils are beyond the initial stage, and to such pupils Mr. Previté-Orton would render a great additional service by adding a brief bibliography to each chapter.

G. G. COULTON.

Studies in English Franciscan History: Being the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1916. By A. G. LITTLE, M.A. Longmans. 1917. 8s. 6d.

MR. LITTLE has added greatly by his Ford lectures to the indebtedness towards him of mediævalists, and especially of students of the Franciscan Order in England. While reading this volume the present reviewer was reminded of a talk which he had with the learned Bodley's Librarian, who, on being told that he had come to look for a certain Franciscan MS. believed to be hitherto unexamined, replied, "What is the use of coming here to look for unexamined Franciscan MSS.? Mr. Little has already been here!" The first two chapters in particular, dealing respectively with the vow of poverty and the failure of mendicancy, abound in a wealth of detail and incident relating to the Franciscans in England from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, which shows that the Ford lecturer has ransacked the public records of every kind, and that he must have found some peculiarly efficient way of preserving and finally classifying a multitude of references. One of the most interesting features of the chapter on the vow of poverty is the portion devoted to the instances in which the Franciscans were ahead of the public opinion of their time, when they refused a gift of grey woollen cloth from the King because he had extorted it from the merchants and withheld the price; when they, according to the accusation of Matthew Paris, liberated from prison and death the Jews accused

of the murder of the crucified boy at Lincoln; and when they honestly refused to receive "pittance" for their maintenance twice over, both from the Exchequer and from the magistrates.

In his chapter on popular preaching, one phrase, "the importance attached to *the worship* of the Virgin" (!), betrays the rather definitely Protestant attitude of the lecturer; but despite this attitude, the chapter is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the methods and matter of the early Franciscan preachers, who made so deep a mark on the religious life of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

When Mr. Little comes in his last lecture to the Franciscan school at Oxford, he is on his most familiar and his favourite ground, which he has rendered his own preserve by his work on the "Grey Friars in Oxford." His many Franciscan friends will not be surprised to find a good deal of space devoted to Roger Bacon—and quite properly so. Mr. Little is the modern Circe—everything which his pen touches turns sooner or later to Bacon. But he does succeed in giving us ever fresh views of Bacon. Who would have expected to find in Roger Bacon the following advice on the way to keep young: "Listen to beautiful music, look at beautiful things, hold stimulating conversations with sympathetic friends, *wear your best clothes, and talk to pretty girls*"? Or, again, who realised before how acute a critic Bacon was of medical education? For in his *Errors of Medical Men* "he enumerates the defects of their education" and complains that "they are ignorant of chemistry and botany, which are essential to any rational understanding of drugs." One wonders whether Roger Bacon would say the same to-day. But one of the most interesting of Mr. Little's quotations from Bacon (*Opus Majus*, pars iii., cap. xiii.) is that describing the "Teutonic Knights":—

"The Saracens and pagans in many parts of the world are becoming quite impossible to convert; and especially beyond the sea, and in Prussia and the lands bordering on Germany, because the brethren of the German House ruin all hopes of converting them owing to the wars which they are always stirring up, and because of their lust of domination. There is no doubt that all the heathen nations beyond Germany would long ago have been converted but for the brutality of the brethren of the German House. . . . But they of the German House will not allow it, because they want to subjugate them and reduce them to slavery, and by subtle persuasions they have for many years deceived the Roman Church."

A generation suffering under the lust of domination of the modern Teutonic Knights will find something sympathetic in Roger Bacon's experiences of them.

WALTER W. SETON.

Our Sea Power, its Story and its Meaning. By H. W. HOUSEHOLD, with Foreword by ADMIRAL THE LORD BERESFORD, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. Macmillan and Co. 1917. 1s. 6d.

This book is difficult to classify. It is largely biographical, nearly one-third being devoted to a personal history of Nelson. It contains more than one disquisition on general history, chap. iii. dealing with the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards, chap. v. with the rise of the Dutch Republic. Then the title offers silent homage to the shade of Mahan, whose methods are imitated in a sea panorama of ancient history. And finally there is the recruiting touch: "the

sailor is always useful wherever he is, and is called a handy man. People always want him when he leaves the sea, and he can always get good employment and good pay " (p. 134).

Lord Beresford's remarks, however, in the "Foreword" leave no doubt that the little treatise is primarily designed for the use of children in and out of our elementary schools, and for this reason the book must be welcomed as an attempt to supply a widely felt want. Its author has been successful in compressing a quantity of material into a very little space. And yet it is open to question whether the book would not have been more instant in its appeal if he had confined himself to one aspect only of a many-sided subject.

The political philosophy of sea power is not a branch of study that can make any real appeal to infants and young children, and, however important it may be to impress upon the rising generation that "it is upon the Navy under the good providence of God that the safety, honour, and welfare of this kingdom depend," the work will be better done by stimulating admiration for our great seaworthies and arousing interest in notable sea fights rather than by piling on little shoulders an accumulation of evidence to prove and support the dictum of Themistocles that he who is master of the sea is master of the situation.

Mr. Household gives an entire page to the battle of Thermopylæ, and does not even mention the battle of the Saints. He pictures a typical sea fight between Romans and Carthaginians, and omits all reference to "The Glorious First of June." He has something to say about Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, but not a word about Benbow, Boscawen, and Hood. He offers a fine tribute to Jack Cornwell, who seems in peril of sharing Casabianca's fate from a surfeit of attention, and leaves himself no room for such splendid fighting examples as Rodney, Howe, and Sir Richard Grenville.

The book is lavishly illustrated with pictures and maps. Some are well chosen, some otherwise. Nothing could be better than Baston's portrait of the *Royal George*, and Cooke's of the *Victory*, both contemporaneous; but Sir Benjamin West's costume tableau of La Hogue is only less ridiculous than Loutherbourog's cartoon of the battle of Gravelines, with Howard's fleet going into action at half pistol shot under fore and main top-gallants. Of the maps, the least satisfactory is that of Trafalgar. So many recent histories have borrowed Mahan's unfortunate design that it is quite a change to see a French version preferred! Such, however, is the diagram on p. 171. The original is in the possession of the Admiralty, and is inscribed "Certifié Véritable le Capitne. de Vaisseau officier de la légion d'honneur Commandt. de Bucentaure J. J. Magendie." In other words, it was prepared by Villeneuve's flag-captain; it was first reproduced in *The Naval Chronicle* for December, 1805, vol. xiv.. p. 496. Trafalgar is the greatest battle that England has won. It seems regrettable that we cannot have a British-made map of it, especially after the Trafalgar-tactics Commissioners have issued a definitive version [Blue Book, Cd. 7120].

Mr. Household is very critical of the "Fighting Instructions," and says that they were "copied from France, and France had borrowed them from Spain, who had learnt her manœuvres in the Mediterranean" (p. 88). The reference apparently is to *L'Art des Armées Navales* of Paul Hoste, but this work was not published until 1697; and in 1665 James Duke of York was codifying our own "In-

structions," the earliest body of which is contained in Harleian MSS. 309, fol. 42. This document, it is true, is undated, but from internal evidence cannot be later than November, 1531.

Mr. Household attributes the "half-begotten" fights of the inglorious period between 1739 and the revelation of Hawke, not to the administrative abuses of the Walpolean epoch, but to the use of the "Line Ahead," forgetting that it was in this formation that many of the latest and greatest triumphs were won. He seems to think that the length of the line would prohibit proper fleet manipulation after a battle had once been engaged. But many examples might be adduced to prove the contrary. Signals, based upon "fighting instructions" instead of upon a signal book, were liable sometimes to misunderstanding, sometimes to misinterpretation. But the messages themselves could be transmitted by the "Repeating Frigates" which were stationed on the disengaged side of the line for that very purpose.

When adhering strictly to more simple narrative, Mr. Household is not always quite reliable. It is not correct to say (p. 38) that Elizabeth delayed a declaration of war against Spain because she required time to build up her fleet. When compared with those of her father, her programmes of construction were exiguous. Henry VIII. added to the Royal fleet no less than fifty-nine ships over 100 tons. Elizabeth inherited from her sister twenty-two vessels of this class, and left to her successor no more than twenty-nine, losing two only in a reign of forty-five years. Again, until his convention was signed with Hawkins, Don Martine Enriquez made no attempt by force of arms to enter San Juan de Ulloa (p. 41). Mr. Household says that the First Dutch War saw no decisive encounter, and yet at Scheveningen the Dutch lost over 6,000 mariners, between twenty and thirty ships, and their peerless Admiral Martin Harpertz (not Van) Tromp. If this was not decisive, why were the States General so eager for peace and so lavish with their indemnities? (p. 67).

Mr. Household recommends his readers to study Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*, adding to his appreciation of "Simple Simon" the following words: "It is not all history, but it tells, better than any history, how those splendid seamen were trained for their work, and with what skill and gallantry they did it." This, on the whole, is pleasanter reading for the Kipling-lover than for the historian. The student with a slender purse would find more suitable pabulum and less expensive in *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, *Sir R. Hawkins's Voyage to the South Sea*, *Raleigh's Last Fight of the "Revenge"* and *Discovery of Guiana*, *Anson's Taking of the Galleon*, and *Nelson's Nile Dispatches*, all edited (at 7d. or 8d.) for Blackie's "Annotated English Texts," all intensely interesting, and all original documents.

It is high time that some of our great sea fights received the same sympathetic treatment that was meted out in old pre-war days to such romantic episodes as Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. But this consummation does not seem to be brought appreciably nearer by Mr. Household's treatment of the Armada (p. 50). "Then followed the famous week of fighting in the Channel, the story of which is told in every history book."

GEOFFREY CALLENDER.

History of India. By the late CAPTAIN L. J. TROTTER. Revised edition brought up to 1911 by W. H. HUTTON, B.D. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

THIS is a new edition of a history of India originally published in 1874, revised and brought up to date by its author in 1899, and supplemented by two chapters, which deal with the period between that date and 1911..

According to the author's original preface, the book aims at no more than to give an outline of Indian history such as may "serve the interest of that large class of readers which lacks time, means, or will for the study of larger works on the same theme"; and it attains its object, if the interest of such readers is satisfied with a lively recital of the chief events which occurred in the course of the establishment of British rule, preceded by a short account of the conquest and government of the country by the Muhammadans, and under the Mogul Emperors, with some preliminary somewhat sketchy chapters on ancient India.

A book which pretends to no more does not call for any close or serious examination. It should be accurate as far as it goes, and it does appear to be accurate, so it is all the more surprising to find the Regent of Indore, Tulsī Bāi, who was beheaded by the army of the State before the battle of Mehidpūr, described as a wise stateswoman, and famous among Indian rulers. Grant Duff describes her as of profligate habits, and of a most vindictive disposition, totally unfit for high station or the exercise of the power with which she was vested. It would surely seem that Tulsī Bāi has been confused with the famous Ahilya Bai of an earlier date, whose name was for long a household word.

One might ask also, Why is the eastern part of the Punjāb, which once went under the name of Sirhind, once and again referred to as "Sind," and thus confused with the province of Sind, in the Indus valley? And again, why is Govind Singh, the Sikh leader, always referred to as Gofind Singh? The name also of Todar Mall, the Finance Minister of Akbar, is also in no fewer than six places printed Todī Mall. Marks have been freely put over vowels to mark the sound, but it is not surprising that they should be frequently misplaced. These are blemishes which should not have been allowed to disfigure a new edition.

The last chapters, the work of another hand, are skilfully put together, so as to form a natural continuation. They complete the story, and will serve to recommend the work.

J. W. NEILL.

SHORT NOTICES.

Mr. Eugène Hasluck's *An Introduction to the History of England* (A. and C. Black, 277 pp., 2s. 6d.) might be of considerable use to a teacher or to a student for purposes of revision, but it is questionable whether a text-book with so many ready-made generalisations accompanied by such numbers of bare facts is suitable for school use. The author claims that "no fact of cardinal importance has been omitted"—the complaint of the reader might well be that so many facts of complete insignificance have been included. The first essentials in any attempt to delineate the broad outlines of English history in a volume of 260 pages are proportion and perspective, and these conditions are not altogether fulfilled in Mr. Hasluck's book. The Renaissance is dismissed in a few lines, while the Wars of the Roses occupy nearly three pages, no fewer than sixteen battles being mentioned in this connection, and in the Peninsular War thirteen generals and thirteen battles are enumerated. The mention of events at Byland Abbey, Myton, Edgecote, Langport, Torrington, and Cheriton in an introduction to English history could hardly be justified. There are obvious slips in "very much different" (p. 35), "sixteenth" for "seventeenth century" (p. 147), while Harold of Wessex could hardly be called "a man of poor descent," seeing that his mother, the wife of Earl Godwin, was herself of the Danish Royal stock. But in spite of these defects the book as a whole is ably planned, and is interesting and instructive in its method of dealing with so vast a subject in so small a compass.

M. H. S.

With the series of *Cambridge Travel Books*, edited by P. F. Alexander, the University Press is rendering a real service to the student and teacher of Imperial history by making accessible the more important of the original narratives of the explorers of all nations who have opened up the world across the ocean to plantation and settlement. The volume of the series here noticed deals with *The Discovery of America, 1492-1594* (pp. 212, Cambridge, 1917, 3s. net), and gives long extracts from Columbus's journal and his reports to Ferdinand and Isabella concerning his first three voyages, together with narratives of Cartier's second voyage to Canada, Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, and the voyage of Amadas and Barlow to Virginia. None of these can be said to be inaccessible since the publication of Hakluyt in the Everyman series, but the modernising of the spelling and the provision of maps and illustrations makes their republication of service to the teachers of history. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes of the series will reproduce matter that is not quite so familiar.

A. P. N.

Miss Edith M. Portal has, in her paper reprinted from the Proceedings of the British Academy (*The Academ Roial of King James I.*, Oxford University Press, 1s. 6d.), given an interesting

account of a little-known episode in English literary history, the abortive attempt to found, during the reign of James I., an "Academ Roial or College and Senate of Honor," which may be regarded as something on the lines of the British Academy itself. The scheme appears to have received the sympathy and support of King James, which is not at all surprising. It is certainly more surprising to find that the proposal concerning it was made in Parliament by the Marquess of Buckingham, who is not generally associated by historical students with literary interests. It is rather significant to find that the members are to include not only the "essentials," who are the able and famous men—the real Academicians—but also the "auxiliaries," who are selected lords, and *some from the new plantations!* Some who have heard of the *cause célèbre* recently agitating a great modern learned society will be interested to notice that even in the seventeenth century an "Academ Roial" in framing its constitution had to have regard to "selected lords and some from the new plantations." A study of the mixed multitude who were to be the foundation members makes one wonder on what principle the selection was made then—a wonder which is sometimes felt in connection with more modern "Academs Roialix."

W. W. S.

Mr. Gilbert's *Story of the Indian Mutiny* (Harrap and Co., 5s. net) is told in a picturesque and dramatic style likely to prove fascinating to youthful readers. The value of the book would have been increased if a more intelligent account of the events leading up to the Sepoy Mutiny had been attempted than the explanation given in the shape of imaginary conversations in the Sandford-and-Merton manner; but it is a weakness of the author to invent for his own purposes conversations where these are not historically recorded. It is written in such a popular style that it is hardly worth criticising in detail such loose phrases as "the gods of both the Hindus and Mohammedans." However, the attractiveness of this illustrated and well-printed volume lies in the thrilling stories selected, which give an excellent idea of the tragedy and heroism of the great mutiny.

M. H. S.

The Development of the British Empire, by M. Prothero (pp. 91, London, Macmillan, 1917, 1s.), is an ambitious but not very successful attempt to condense into less than eighty loosely printed pages the story of the British Empire. The title does not fairly represent the contents, for no attention is paid to the lines of outward development of the Empire from the centre, and the author gives us merely a list of well-known facts which are far more interestingly put together in Sir Charles Lucas's little book on *The British Empire* issued at 2s. by the same publishers. Mr. Prothero devotes almost a quarter of his space to the support of certain political views concerning the future government of the Empire, and this adds to the difficulty of recommending his pamphlet for use in schools.

A. P. N.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date. The prices given are net.]

SHELLS as evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture. By J. W. Jackson. xxviii+216 pp. Manchester Univ. Press. 6s. (p. 501.)

ENCYCLOPÆDIA of Religion and Ethics. Ed. J. Hastings. Vol. IX., Mundas-Phrygians. T. and T. Clark. 32s. (p. 554.)

THE LAND of the Two Rivers (Mesopotamia). By Edwyn Bevan. Arnold. 2s. 6d. (p. 523.)

PLATO'S BIOGRAPHY of SOCRATES. By A. E. Taylor. Proc. British Academy. 2s. 6d. (p. 540.)

FROM PERICLES to Philip. By T. R. Glover. xi+405 pp. Methuen. 8s. 6d. (p. 512.)

ÆNEAS at the Site of Rome. By W. Warde Fowler. ix+129 pp. Blackwell. 4s. 6d. (p. 500.)

GAIVS VERRES: an historical study. By F. H. Cowles. 207 pp. Cornell Univ. Press.

HORACE and his Age: a study in historical background. By J. P. D'Alton. 291 pp. Longmans. 6s. (p. 484.)

CHURCH AND STATE in England to the death of Queen Anne. By H. M. Gwatkin. Longmans. 15s. (p. 633.)

A SHORT HISTORY of England. By G. K. Chesterton. 241 pp. Chatto and Windus. 5s. (p. 564.)

FRANCE. By W. H. Hudson. (Great Nations Series.) xxiv+586 pp. Harrap. 10s. 6d. (p. 616.)

HUNGARY. By A. B. Yolland. (The Nations' Histories.) xii+366 pp. Jack. 3s. 6d. (p. 547.)

A HISTORY of POLAND. By F. E. Whitton. 303 pp. Constable. 8s. 6d. (p. 511.)

POLAND and the Polish Nation. By Drogoslaw. Trans. Marie Busch, pref. P. Alden. viii+106 pp. St. Catherine Press. 1s.

SERBIA. By L. F. Waring. 256 pp. (Home Univ. Library.) Williams and Norgate. 1s. 3d. (p. 590.)

TORT, CRIME, AND POLICE in Mediæval Britain. By J. W. Jeudwine. xix+292 pp. Williams and Norgate. 6s.

THE ABBEY of St. Alban. By L. F. R. Williams. xiii+251 pp. Longmans. 7s. 6d. (p. 582.)

MEDIÆVAL TOWN PLANNING. By T. F. Tout. 35 pp., 11 plans. Manchester Univ. Press. 1s. 6d.

ESTATE BOOK of Henry de Bray, c. 1289-1340. Ed. Dorothy Willis. (Camden 3rd Ser., Vol. XXVII.) xxxix+159 pp. Royal Hist. Soc. (p. 564.)

DE BELLO, de Represaliis, et de Duello. By Giovanni da Legnano. Ed. by T. E. Holland. (Classics of International Law Series.) xxxviii+458 pp. Washington: Carnegie Institution. (p. 482.)

THE TURKISH EMPIRE. By Lord Eversley. 392 pp. Fisher Unwin. 12s. 6d. (p. 471.)

CARDINAL XIMENES. By J. P. R. Lyall. x+119 pp. Grafton. 10s. 6d. (p. 536.)

THE COMPLAINT of PEACE. A reprint of the trans. from the Latin of Erasmus published 1802, ed. A. Grieve. Headley. 2s. 6d. (p. 448.)

POLITICAL PORTRAITS. By C. Whibley. 327 pp. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. (p. 594.) Wolsey, Shakespeare, Clarendon, Burnet, Newcastle,

Frederick the Great, C. J. Fox, Alexander I. of Russia, Talleyrand, Metternich, Napoleon, Melbourne, Sir J. Graham, "The Corn Laws, a Group," the late Duke of Devonshire.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER. By Edith A. Stewart. Letters trans. D. Macdonald. 356 pp. Bibliography. Headley. 12s. 6d. (p. 525.)

CAL. OF STATE PAPERS relating to English affairs preserved at Rome. Vol. I., 1558-1571. Ed. J. M. Rigg. lxiv+527 pp. H.M. Stationery Office. 15s.

LUDUS LITERARIUS, or the Grammar Schoole (1612). By J. Brinsley. Ed. E. T. Campagnac. Liverpool Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. (p. 648; *Educ. Suppl.*, p. 431.)

THREE CENTURIES of Treaties of Peace. By Sir W. G. Phillimore. xvi+227 pp. Murray. 7s. 6d. (p. 591.)

A MISJUDGED MONARCH (Charles II.). By H. M. Imbert-Terry. x+389 pp. Heinemann. 15s. (p. 515.)

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY of New England. By J. W. Platner and others. v+356 pp. Harvard Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. (p. 486.)

FREEDOM AFTER EJECTION: a Review of Nonconformity, 1690-92. Ed. A. Gordon. vii+396 pp. Manchester Univ. Press. 15s. n. (p. 472; *Educ. Suppl.*, p. 379.)

LETTERS on The Spirit of Patriotism and on The Idea of a Patriot King. By Viscount Bolingbroke. Intro. A. Hassall. xxxii+141 pp. Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d. (p. 510.)

THE MONARCHY in Politics. (Geo. III. to Victoria). By J. A. Farrer. ix+342 pp. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. (p. 548.)

WILKES and the City. By W. P. Treloar. xxvi+299 pp. Murray. 12s. (p. 503.)

THE FIFTH REPORT from the Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1812. Ed. with introduction (334 pp.), by W. K. Firminger. Vol. I. 691 pp. Calcutta: R. Cambray and Co. (p. 490.)

THE SYLHET DISTRICT RECORDS. Vol. III., 1786-1788. Ed. W. K. Firminger. 239 pp. Shillong: Secretariat Printing Office. 4s.

ADMIRAL SIR C. NAPIER. By H. N. Williams. viii+412 pp. Hutchinson. 16s. (p. 576.)

UN DIPLOMATE d'il y a cent ans (Frédéric de Gentz). Par A. R. de Cléry. Payot. 4f. (p. 550.)

THREE PEACE CONGRESSES of the 19th century. By C. D. Hazen, W. R.

Thayer, and R. H. Lord. Claimants to Constantinople. By A. C. Coolidge. v+93 pp. Harvard Univ. Press. 3s. 6d.

MAIN CURRENTS of European History, 1815-1915. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw. xv+367 pp. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 407.)

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT of Modern Europe. By F. A. Ogg. xvi+657 pp. The Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d.

TREITSCHKE'S HISTORY of Germany in the 19th cent. Trans. E. and C. Paul. Intro. W. H. Dawson. Vol. III. xiii+664 pp. Jarrold. 12s. 6d. (p. 447.)

GERMANY: vol. II., 1852-1871. By Sir A. W. Ward. Cambridge Univ. Press. 12s. (p. 631.)

ANGLO-AMERICAN ISTHMIAN Diplomacy, 1815-1915. By Mary W. Williams. xii+356 pp. American Hist. Assoc. (Milford). 6s. 6d.

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HISTORY

APRIL, 1918.

TROUBLED TIMES IN RUSSIAN HISTORY.¹

THERE are cases when the duties of the public man and of the social student appear to be in conflict. The first may be devoted to the cause of his country and eager to vindicate her claims and dignity, while the conscientious student may be obliged to record symptoms of serious trouble and dangerous disease. And yet there is a higher point of view which unites both tendencies. If the patriot wants not only to plead, but to help, he must turn for advice to dispassionate study; if the student wishes not only to solve problems, but to apply his knowledge to a useful purpose, he must try to come into touch with practical men seeking their way in the twilight. Even so, a doctor, however affected he may be by the sight of suffering and danger, will for this very reason strive to probe the wounds of the patient, to diagnose the disease with unswerving firmness.

I should like to approach in this spirit the painful problem of the Russian situation. The tremendous social upheaval produced by the Revolution has let loose all kinds of destructive forces, and we have had the misfortune to witness the collapse of military power, the disruption of political organisation, the excesses of anarchical self-will, the outburst of savage brutality. It is indeed a grave case of social disease, and the educated people who want to counteract it effectively call for careful and perspicacious diagnosis.

Now, what means are available for a diagnosis of that kind? No doubt a thorough knowledge of present conditions and of mental currents is required, and every party group striving for leadership has formed its own views on the subject and is making propaganda for them. But there is another line of advance which has hardly received sufficient attention, namely inquiries into the behaviour of the patient in the past, into his inherited defects and qualities, his experiences and ailments. No modern physician omits to take

¹ A Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Association on 11th January, 1918.

stock of such antecedents, and in many cases both diagnosis and treatment are chiefly dependent upon them.

The vast storehouse of history comes to its right in the case of a social inquiry of this kind. Nations, like individuals, do not live in disconnected moments: even when consciousness marks great contrasts of strength and weakness, of elation and depression, the powerful threads of memory and of subconscious continuity connect various generations and establish a personal identity with which both students and statesmen ought to reckon. The facts in question may not enable us to make confident predictions, because in social matters we are able, at best, to recognise tendencies, but not to estimate their exact strength and, consequently, the resulting effect. But, even so, the historical clues are precious and may contribute to enlighten us as to the state of affairs and as to prospects of development.

It is not without significance that the most illuminating parallels to the present Russian crisis should be presented by events which happened three hundred years ago. Of course, some analogies may be drawn from the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, from the Paris Commune of 1871 and from the German and Austrian catastrophes of 1848 and 1849. But the most striking similarities are disclosed by the "troubled times" which came over Russia after the death of John the Terrible (Ivan IV.) in 1584, and lasted through some fifteen years until the restoration of national unity under Michael Romanoff. This seems a very distant past to fall back upon, but remember that in England itself the traditions of Puritanism and of squirearchy are not dead, and, as for Russia, the inner life of the masses is a slowly-moving process, and many of its present features still recall facts of the 17th century.

The first point to be noticed is the direct connection of the great troubles with the political efforts of the preceding epoch. In John the Terrible's reign the Moscow State achieved brilliant results at the price of overstraining its strength—material and moral. John not only conquered the Tartar tribes on the Volga, but pushed on to the Baltic against the Swedes and conducted a fierce struggle with varying results against the forces of Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary. At home he crushed the power of the Boyar aristocracy and the remnants of Republican liberty in Novgorod and Pskov. He ruled with an iron rod in the fashion which has brought him the appellation of the Terrible, and leaned for support on privileged personal retainers, the Oprichniks, men who did not respect law, right, or morals, and recognised the will

of the Tsar as their only authority. The country was squeezed into the unbending frame of an organisation on military lines, of which the mainstays were the officer-class of the settled gentry and the half servile class of farmers and labourers burdened with taxes and services in kind. Already, in Ivan IV.'s time, signs were not wanting that the people were developing anything but friendly feelings towards their taskmaster—the Moscow State. One of Ivan's best generals, Prince Kurbsky, fled from the wrath of the Tsar to Lithuania and, in correspondence with his former sovereign, stated with bitterness the grievances of the upper class against the tyrant. From the estates of the gentry the peasants fled towards the no-man's land of the marches, and formed colonies of Cossacks—roving warriors who raided Muscovite territory as well as that of the King of Poland or of the Crimean Khan.

A shrewd English observer, Dr. Giles Fletcher, who went on a mission to Russia in 1588, predicted the coming upheaval. He says in his *Russe Commonwealth*, published in 1591 and suppressed by order of Queen Elizabeth's Government :—

This liberty of the one part to spoil and kill the other, without any help of magistrates or laws, enriched that side and the Emperor's treasure and wrought that withall which he intended by this practice—to take out of the way such of the nobilities as himself misliked ; whereof were slayne within one week to the number of 300 in the city of Mosko. This tyrannical practice of making a general schisme and publicke division among the subjects of his whole realme proceeded from an extreme doubt and desperate feare which he had conceived of most of his nobilitie and gentlemen of his realms. And this wicked policy and tyrannous practice hath so troubled the country, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred ever since that it will not be quenched till it burne again into a civil flame.

Altogether, it can be taken as certain that the despotic rule of Muscovite Tsars, while accumulating territory and providing for external obedience, was at the same time undermining society by spreading demoralisation and hatred. The "Troubled times" cannot be explained without taking into account the political education received by the people in the period of territorial expansion. The lawless elements of the Russian people about the year 1600 had been reared and instructed in the course of the previous centuries.

The history of the troubles follows a characteristic sequence, one might almost say a system, although the regularity of the arrangement was produced not by intentional plan, but by natural evolution. The political fabric of Moscow was destroyed for a time. Dynastical descent was cut short by the death of the feeble-minded Feodor and the murder of Dimitry. The crown of the Tsars passed to members of the Boyar aristocracy—to Boris Godunoff and to Vassili Shuysky, and even to adventurers like the first pseudo Demetrius, a runaway monk, the second pseudo Demetrius, appropriately styled by the people the Tushino thief, or the Cossack pseudo Peter. Eventually, the crown fell into the hands of the hereditary enemies, the Poles, Prince Ladislas being elected by an assembly in Moscow, while King Sigismund himself made a bid for it by force of arms and diplomacy. For several years national unity was destroyed. A Polish detachment garrisoned Moscow while another army besieged the Troitza convent in the Yaroslav road. The "thief" camped in Tushino, a few miles from Moscow. Bands of Cossacks and Poles harried the country in all directions; the Poles took Smolensk after a long siege, the Swedes occupied Novgorod. All this ruin and desolation was the direct outcome of dissensions and struggles among the Russians themselves. Each class came forward with its own claims and pretensions without regard for the interests of the whole. The Boyars, the leading families of the land, were foremost in treachery and selfishness. It is fairly established that the first pretender was let loose by a group of conspiring Boyars in order to thwart Boris Godunoff. Among the influential families who joined him during his short reign in Moscow were the Romanoffs, who wished to get precedence in this way over more ancient families. The initiative in the election of Ladislas was taken by a powerful coalition of Boyars, actuated by the hope that under a foreign prince real government would be wielded by them. They framed a convention with the Polish prince in which they tried to secure political rights by a diplomatic and military union with Poland.

No wonder that other classes proved equally greedy in the assertion of their selfish aims. The small gentry, the officers, were represented by men like the brothers Liapunoff, squires of the province of Riazan, reputed for the daring and the stubbornness of its population, which had often had to bear the brunt of Tartar invasions. The arrays of the gentry took sides alternately with the Muscovite Tsars and with their opponents.

The most terrible scourge was the Cossacks. They formed the

bulk of forces which moved with Bolotnikoff on Kaluga and Tula against Tsar Vassili Shuysky, and afterwards supported the thief of Tushino in co-operation with bands of Polish adventurers. Their marauding expeditions through the country laid waste whole tracts of land not only in the west and south, but even in the north. And yet these brigands had to be reckoned with, and their chiefs, Prince Trubetzkoy and Zarutsky, carried on negotiations, concluded treaties with the other military forces, and played a conspicuous part in the operations around Moscow. Altogether, it is difficult to understand how any people and any country could survive this period of anarchy and violence.

When the first pretender perished in a Moscow rising Prince Shachovskoy, commander in Putivl, resolved to start another pretender against Tsar Vassili Shuysky and sent to Sambor, in Poland, in the hope of persuading a runaway Muscovite adventurer to assume the part of Demetrius. The man in question did not dare to stand himself, but suggested another tramp, a certain Bolotnikoff, who had had a lively career. He was a runaway serf of Prince Telatevsky, had been captured by the Tartars and sold into slavery to the Turks. For several years he rowed on Turkish galleys in the Mediterranean, but succeeded on one of their expeditions in escaping to Venice. From Italy he made his way over the Hapsburg lands to Poland. The Poles equipped him for a roving expedition over the Muscovite border. He made his camp a centre for fugitive serfs and Cossacks, gathered crowds of men from the discontented population, and moved on Kaluga. He defeated the armies sent to stop him and advanced to Kolomenskoe, an estate in the immediate vicinity of Moscow. He had provided himself with a pretender, who claimed to be a grandson of John the Terrible through the latter's son Feodor. Bolotnikoff summoned the Moscow people to surrender in a characteristic appeal. A contemporary writer says :—

“They order the serfs of the Boyars to kill their masters, they promise them the wives and estates of the Boyars; these tramps and nameless thieves are being incited to slay the merchants and to rob their goods; leadership, offices, and titles are to be the prizes for them.”

The attack on Moscow failed because the army of squires realised the danger which menaced all propertied classes, broke away from these strange confederates, and went over to the side of the Tsar. This proved fatal to Bolotnikoff's enterprise. He retreated to Tula, and prepared to stand a siege. As a character-

istic little trait, it may be mentioned that Bolotnikoff's adversaries entered into a formal contract with a German of the name of Fiedler to poison the demagogue. The German did not succeed in fulfilling his part of the engagement, but the game of this particular gang was up. In 1607 they were reduced to surrender and Bolotnikoff was drowned.

The worst times of the Thirty Years' War, of the Wars of the Roses, of the devastation of France in the Hundred Years' War were surpassed during that darkest period of Russian history. All the more striking is the recovery and the victory of light. All through the troubled times heroic deeds relieved the gloom of treachery and misery—such deeds as the defence of Smolensk by Shein against the Polish army of King Sigismund; the siege lasted a year and a half, the population was reduced from 80,000 to 8,000 and, when at last the Poles broke in through a breach in the walls, part of the defenders fought a last fight in a church and finally set fire to the powder magazine. The commander, Shein, was made prisoner with a handful of retainers, but the Poles were not chivalrous enough to recognise his gallantry; and, exasperated by his long resistance, subjected him to torture. The defenders were more fortunate in another famous siege—that of the Troitza convent, in which the monks, with a small detachment of soldiers and the armed inhabitants, succeeded in foiling all the efforts of Sapieha's host. A heroic personality like that of the youthful Prince Skopin Shuysky, the nephew of Tsar Vassili, who cleared the North from the Poles and the marauding bands and saved Moscow from the Tushino pretender, attracted the love and hope of the entire people. A legend grew up in the lifetime of this youth, who died suddenly at the age of 24. Such are some of the redeeming personal touches, but the real greatness of the nation was revealed at the worst times when Moscow and Novgorod and Smolensk had fallen; a powerful revival of national consciousness set in, with a growing repulsion against the impudent foreigners, a growing sense of religious duty, a yearning after a resurrection of faith and country.

Two leading features characterise this movement—its religious impulse and the gradual joining up of provinces and regions to achieve national unity. As to the first, it may be said that in the war of liberation the clergy played a leading part; that class came to its senses before all other classes of society. Witness the following scene: In the interregnum which began after the overthrow of Vassili Shuysky all eyes were directed towards the Moscow patriarch, Hermogenes, and he proved worthy of his

office. He sent epistles to the towns and counties around, exhorting them to collect their forces and to march on Moscow against the foreigners. When the Poles obtained a temporary sway in the capital they sent one of their Russian adherents, Michael Soltikoff, to demand of the patriarch that he should retract his epistles and exhort the people to submit. Standing in front of Soltikoff's armed ruffians, the patriarch said :—

“I will write if you, traitors, and your Lithuanian soldiers quit Moscow. If not, I give my blessing to all to die for the orthodox faith. I see it put to shame, I see God's churches ruined, I hear the Latin chants in the Kremlin—and I cannot bear it.”

The authority of the man was so great that his enemies did not dare to kill him, he was thrown into prison, but continued to incite his countrymen to resistance by all means in his power.

The other sign of the time was the spontaneous process of re-organisation in the different provincial centres. They were like the scattered limbs of a great body trying to attract each other and to gather to their former self. The abbot of the Solovets monastery in the far north, for example, describes the movement in the following words :—

“With us in Solovets and in the whole country by the White Sea we hold one view : we do not want a foreigner to be Tsar of Moscow, let the Tsar be chosen from amongst the Muscovite Boyars.”

The people of Smolensk, of Yaroslav, of Perm vied with each other in their efforts to help Moscow, as the national centre. On reception of the Smolensk epistle, the citizens of Moscow sent it on to other towns with a touching covering letter :—

“Our brothers are writing to you what we ought to do in order that we all, orthodox Christians, should not perish at the hand of the enemies of Christendom—the Poles. For the sake of God, the Judge of the living and of the dead, do not disregard our tears and sobs, join us against the common foe. Remember one thing : only that tree is sound which springs from a firm root. Should the root fail, what is there to support the branches? Here in Moscow is the icon of the Holy Mother of God, ever interceding for the Christian people, an icon painted by St. Lucas the Evangelist. With us the holy patriarch Hermogenes—he is standing upright, like a shepherd, he is giving his soul for the Christian faith

without wavering, and all follow him though they may not hold themselves quite so firmly."

The results are known. Twice great hosts were gathered from all parts of the bleeding land. The first time they marched right up to Moscow, but the enterprise was wrecked by class antagonism. The militant squires arrayed around the Riazan contingent could not agree with the roving element of the Cossacks, who killed the gifted leader of the Riazan men, Prokop Liapunoff. This was a sad set-back for the national cause, but a second wave of patriotic enthusiasm carried another great host triumphantly under the leadership of Minin from Nijny Novgorod and of Prince Pojarsky right to Moscow. The election of a national Tsar was at length achieved. The chosen sovereign, Michael Romanoff, was not a conspicuous personality in any way. His election was due to the reputation of his father, Philaret, who had been treacherously interned by Sigismund in Poland. But this very insignificance of the first Romanoff is a striking feature of the epoch. The reconstruction of the State was not the work of genius or of dictatorial power, but of a slowly maturing process of association. The sovereignty of the Tsar was not the motive, but the outcome of it. Indeed, all the principal turning points of the development are marked by constitutional settlements. Four documents of this kind are especially prominent: the agreement between the Boyars and Vassili Shuysky, the convention with Ladislas of Poland, the resolutions of the national army before Moscow on June 30, 1611, and the instrument of government accepted by Tsar Michael after his election. It is not my purpose to dwell on the details of these interesting documents, but I should like to state that the principal points consisted of a kind of *habeas corpus* clause, of guarantees of the rights of the orthodox church and of the requirement that the Tsars should act by the advice of the Sobor, the general assembly of the land. It is true that the electoral system in this Russian Parliament, as foreign observers call it, was rather vague, and that it consisted, like the États Généraux of France, of representatives of the organised services of the State—nobility, gentry, clergy, and townsmen. But for practical purposes it was an efficient and influential body which, in the period of troubles, acted as a civil as well as a military administration. Anyhow, it is not without interest to discover that the Russian national movement, though certainly monarchical, was also essentially constitutional. The turn towards absolutism depended on later encroachments of a half-German bureaucracy.

When we review the course of these events as a whole we can hardly fail to be struck by the many points of contact and analogy between this critical period and our own time. The recoil of a people overstrained by continual wars and exactions of every kind against Imperialistic aims and methods, even when the latter were thoroughly justified, the frenzy of selfishness which paralysed the people and rendered it a prey to political degradation of the worst kind, the hatred between social classes and groups, the part played by provincial and municipal autonomies in the process of reconstruction, the revelation of a latent feeling of national consciousness—all these features seem common in various degrees to both ages. There are also very noticeable and instructive differences. The leading *rôle* of the clergy which has left so profound a mark on the 17th century revival is all but absent nowadays. The long subserviency of the priests to the yoke of bureaucracy has lowered their standing in the eyes of the people and destroyed their influence in political life. At the same time the incitement to expropriation appears in a particularly dangerous form when combined with the teaching of popular socialism. Such contrasts and limitations cannot be gainsaid. And yet the fundamental similarity of historical tendencies seems to stretch even to these divergent lines of thought and conduct. After all, there are signs that a religious revival is asserting itself in a significant manner. It appears, even on the testimony of persons prejudiced against religion, that the churches are more crowded with ardent worshippers than they have been for a long time, and those who have studied Russian psychology would not be surprised if the fiendish bestiality of the mobs should produce a violent revulsion of repentance and mysticism. And as for the expropriation craze, its allurements are bound to be short-lived; political science teaches us that a government cannot trample with impunity on order, credit, and education; the Calibans, who have made a bonfire of the painfully-accumulated gains of centuries, will have to settle the reckoning some day. Let us hope that our generation may live to see a moral resurrection similar to that which saved the nation 300 years ago. It is not only Shuysky, Bolotnikoff, and the "Thief of Tushino" that represented Russia during the "Troubled times," but also men of the stamp of Hermogenes, Shein and Minin. And I think our own age can point not only to exhibitions of weakness and folly, but also to splendid examples of courage, tenacity of purpose and self-sacrifice. Russia is not dead, and the great trials through which she is passing are a necessary stage in the political education of her people. PAUL VINOGRADOFF.

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

I. BY J. W. HEADLAM.¹

10th January, 1918.

DEAR POLLARD,

I very much regret to find that an important official engagement will render it impossible for me to be present, as I hoped to be, at the discussion on history teaching next Saturday. I particularly regret that I shall not be able to hear M. Mantoux's paper; the Association is to be congratulated on having secured the assistance of one so well qualified by his abilities and his special knowledge to contribute to the discussion.

I should like to take the opportunity of expressing my own views as to the nature of the problem with which those practically concerned in the teaching of history and the organisation of the historical course in school will have to deal. It is one of the results of the war, and, I think all members of the Association will agree, one of the beneficent results, that it has inevitably awakened a new interest in those matters which have always been in the minds of professed historians. The attention of the nation has been called to the urgent importance of a better understanding of those great matters concerning the internal life and the external relations of the State in the past, the present, and the future, which are the proper subject of history teaching. There must be a thorough revision and reconsideration of our attitude towards the principles on which both the internal and the external problems have been treated. Perhaps, for the first time, it has become clear to all thinking men that those who are to take their part as responsible members of the community must be properly equipped to give their opinion on these matters. The Historical Association will, I am sure, agree with me that the best training in dealing with the problem of the present is the study of similar problems

¹ A letter read at the Annual Meeting of the Association on 12th January, 1918.

in the past, and that we must learn not only from the successes but also from the failures of ourselves and of our predecessors.

This throws a great responsibility upon those who are entrusted with the duty of teaching history in schools. It is clearly a requisite that they should be equipped for this task not merely by a sufficient knowledge of past events, knowledge which might be stigmatised as merely antiquarian, but also by trained thought.

But perhaps the greatest difficulty which will confront us in the future is the determination as to what should be included in the course of instruction at the different stages. One result of recent events is that strong pressure is being brought upon us to give increased time to many aspects of historical work which have been perhaps unduly neglected. From one side we are, for instance, being urged to give more attention to the part played by the Navy in the defence of the realm and the Empire; the implied criticism is, I am sure, a just one; naval affairs have not occupied the position which the importance of the Navy in British history might seem to demand. But in the same way the history of past wars has acquired a new interest. From other sides it is being represented that more attention should be paid to the history of foreign relations in the past, and the complexities of international alliances which were the despair of pupils and teachers alike, have gained a new reality and importance.

In particular, it will certainly be necessary that the history of Europe in the nineteenth century should be treated with a knowledge and thoroughness which has hitherto been wanting. But we are also told, and justly told, that we cannot afford to neglect the systematic study of the development of the British Empire. Others remind us, and remind us justly, that our pupils are allowed to leave school practically ignorant of the history of the development of the United States of America since the War of Independence. We hear with pleasure, and with a keen appreciation of the feeling by which it is inspired, that there is a movement in America itself for a revision of the teaching given in the schools as to the principles and character of England. It would, I am sure, be the wish of members of the Association that we should respond to this movement by bringing to the minds of our pupils the great principles which we all feel belong in common to Great Britain and to the United States. But, while these new subjects are being pressed upon us, we cannot afford to neglect a study of the development of social conditions and, above all, we must always keep in our minds the history of England as a whole and

the English nation from the early times, the development of the British Constitution and the character of British Nationality.

I have indicated only a few of the aspects of historical teaching. Everyone who has practical experience will at once raise the inevitable objection that we cannot do all this. History is in fact for most pupils a by-study; it gets a scanty two hours a week and it is difficult to see how this time can be increased. We must have strict economy in the use of our time, and this seems to imply a thorough revision both of the methods of teaching and of the subjects taught. How is this possible? What improvements can be made? This is the matter on which we wish for advice from those who are engaged in the actual work in the schools.

For the older pupils, I hope for much from the new scheme of advanced courses which is now being started. We may, it is to be expected, soon look forward to a state of things in which in a large number of schools there are well-organised forms in which boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and eighteen are able to concentrate their attention on the languages, literature, and history of the modern European nations. The subject of study is a very wide one; a small portion of it only can, in fact, be covered; there is ample scope for choice in the topics to which chief attention shall be devoted and the regulations of the Board give great freedom to the schools. It is on the teachers themselves that the working out of the details must depend; practical experience can alone show what is suitable and what is not suitable for school work.

But one thing is clear, that while in some schools and for some pupils the study of language and literature will predominate over that of history, in none of them can history be entirely neglected, and for those who desire it, an opportunity which we have hitherto not had will be given for working out a systematic course of mediaeval and modern history. I am sure that historians themselves will be the first to welcome the principle that the political history of the nations should not be divorced from the history of their thought as expressed in literature, and that both should be approached in the case of at least one or more of the other nations by a thorough study of the language.

It is to be hoped that one result of the establishment of these advanced courses will be to send up an increased supply of pupils well qualified to begin honours work at the university, and well qualified not only in the elements of history work, but thoroughly trained in the accurate use of language. This will eventually have the result that it will be possible for the universities to

supply to the schools men who, while they are well-trained historians, will not be historical specialists alone, but will be able take a wide and just view of the position of history in education.

Yours very truly,
J. W. HEADLAM.

II. BY PROFESSOR PAUL MANTOUX.¹

SINCE the beginning of the war I have neither taught history nor been able to keep in touch with what is being done in schools either French or English. Therefore, though changes may already have taken place in the teaching of history, I am not in a position to draw conclusions from them. I can only place before you my own speculations, apologising at the outset if they are largely generalities.

I.

Before the war, sometimes, there were days when, feeling discouraged or sceptical, I put to myself the searching question: "What is the good of studying or teaching history?"—Then, perhaps, the bitter saying of our poet Malherbe would occur to me: "A poet is no more use to the State than a good bowler." Should we not devote our attention to our own times, and to such practical means as can help to build up the future? Such a question admits, of course, of more than one answer, the weightiest being, no doubt, Auguste Comte's grave sentence: "Mankind is made of more dead than living men." But, after the war, the question can no longer disturb us. We have learnt but too well the use of history. Even now, I am told by those who have taught history since the war, that their students and younger pupils are taking a much keener interest than before in historical studies.

What Germany did and is doing can have been no surprise to those who knew something of the history of Prussia and of the German Empire. How many mistakes, and possibly disasters, might we not have avoided if our statesmen and our public had known more of the intricate history of the Balkan States and races? I do not maintain that history is a universal remedy. Far from it. But, to move in the world without grave accidents, it is essential to understand as far as possible how this world is made, to be aware of the obstacles, and of solid bodies moving in an opposite direction. I am struck by the uncertain knowledge of

¹ A Paper read at the Annual Meeting on 12th January, 1918.

history leading statesmen have generally shown. And this cannot but cause misinterpretations, false steps, sometimes even serious mistakes.

Moreover, it no longer suffices that a few princes or ministers should have a knowledge of history. Not only is each private life deeply affected by such general events as we now witness, but, according to the true principles of democratic government, each of us has, or ought to have, a share in power and responsibility, however remote it may be. When Bossuet was entrusted with the task of equipping for kingship the son of Louis XIV., he wrote for his charge the "*Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*." Every child born in a free country is now, after a fashion, Louis XIV.'s son. What is to become of the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, of the principle of democratic control, of a League of Nations, unless all men know something of the fabric of this world, the intricate texture of which lies more and more in their hands?

The first consequence of this war, as far as education is concerned, is this: the child must be brought up, not only as a gentleman, or as a scholar, or an athlete, but as the responsible member of a free, self-governing community. One of the highest aims of education must be citizenship. And there can be no citizenship without knowledge of history.

II.

Let us follow this principle to its consequences. In the first place, what are the matters that should be taught? The word history covers a world of different things. From the point of view we adopt, which of these should be chiefly insisted upon?

In my opinion, what the citizen requires can be clearly defined under two heads: first, he should know the world in which he lives and has to act; therefore he must be taught contemporary and recent history, and all that is needed fully to understand it. If the knowledge of some remote parts of history is to be sacrificed to attain that end, let it go by the board. Secondly, the citizen should be enabled to partake of the higher civilisation of his time and country, and he could not do this without some knowledge of the great facts which have concurred to build up that very civilisation. Our first care, therefore, should be to provide that the young man or woman, after his or her school years, will understand the modern world. To this end a close study of the last hundred and fifty years appears to us an obvious necessity. This is just what is neglected in most schools, French as well as

English. In my school days, in France, boys of seventeen, in the Philosophy Form, were supposed to study the history of France from 1789 to 1871; as a matter of fact, they never went very much beyond 1848. Most Frenchmen of forty would stare at you if you asked them what they knew of the first thirty years of the Third Republic; as a rule, they know very little, apart from what they remember of their own experiences, of conversations heard, of newspapers or cartoons glanced at. The constitutional history of the Third Republic is, to most of them, a blank. Yet, what is more important, especially from a practical point of view? Things were already better at the time when I was teaching in French lycées. We tried to impart some knowledge of the conditions in France and Europe up to 1900 or so—not an easy task in the time allotted for our lectures.

There are, undoubtedly, two great difficulties in the way: first, the impossibility of procuring scientific works on the history of the most recent period; secondly, the difficulty of discussing such recent history before young people when their own parents' opinions are involved in the party controversies or religious differences of the times. As to the first point, let us content ourselves with aiming at less than perfection; let us try to have a good staff of masters who have learnt what real history is by studying more remote periods—who understand documentary evidence, and will give their pupils, if not eternal truths, at least a clear and dispassionate statement of the best ascertained facts. And as to the second point, if the master knows what history means, he may have, and even show, his opinion, but he will never try to conceal or distort any facts; an invariable principle being, that he must do his best never to allow a lesson of history to be transformed into a political debate. I am convinced that this can be done—I know it is being done in the higher forms of French schools.

Our second requirement is that the future citizen be acquainted with the history of civilisation. This must include everything that enables us to understand the making of our modern world: Greek culture and Roman imperialism, the history of the Mediæval Church, the Reformation and the Renaissance, the growth and constitutions of modern States, the discovery and colonisation of new continents, the great political and economic revolutions. But children might, without any objection, spend less time on Alfred the Great, or even Charlemagne, not to mention a great many other worthies, however entitled they may be to the careful studies of specialists, just as the Egyptian dynasties or the religious evolution of ancient India. All matters belonging

to the more remote parts of history should be dealt with in the same spirit as, and in connection with, the study of literature. Reciprocally, it would be advisable to permeate the study of literature with history, the object always being that the student should understand and appreciate to the utmost the world in which he lives.

III.

We have said that historical education, if its aim is the making of the citizen, must be permeated with a spirit of citizenship. What does this mean? Should historical facts become mere texts for the teaching of patriotism, should they be used as illustrations to a sort of continuous preaching of the patriotic faith? I do not think that this would be the best way of obtaining the desired result; in France, at least, it certainly would not. In German secondary schools history became the slave of Jingoism, teaching the supernatural mission of the German people and of the Prussian State. We must have no such system, not because it is too patriotic, but because it is unworthy and, according to our views, really anti-patriotic. Shall we, on the other hand, insist on a decided moral tendency, making history "*la morale en action*"—a collection of heroic deeds and great achievements doing honour to our country and to the human race? In my opinion, our first duty is to put our pupils and students, especially after the first few school years, before the facts. They are not always satisfactory: whatever faith we may have in the future of mankind, it is not true that the right cause has always conquered, that innocence, virtue, and genius have always been vindicated, that fools and knaves who had the upper hand have always been defeated and punished. It is not even true that we can be proud indiscriminately of all that has happened in our own country, much as we may love and admire it. A conventional presentation of unreal morality in history can only be false, hypocritical, and loathsome.

The children should be taught to believe in truth, to face the facts of history such as an honest, unbiassed historian can make them out. In that way they will know the history of their country as we know the life of those we love best: with their ups and downs, their faults and their praiseworthy deeds. Nothing can, better than truth, help them to grasp the real greatness, the inner meaning of the tradition which it becomes their duty to continue, or which they may want to reform, when they shape, in their turn, the history of the future. At the same time, it is indispensable that the teaching of history should not be too

narrowly national in its scope. It is indispensable to know what surrounds the comparatively small world of our own institutions and traditions. Here, for instance, it is necessary to know something, not only of the British Empire at large, but also of the surrounding nations. Students should try to understand their characteristic features, to see them, as it were, in full size and with their distinctive colours. Much more foreign history should be taught than is now the case. We should be helped by textbooks partly borrowed, partly adapted, from those used in the several countries. In France, my generation knew much more foreign history than did our fathers, and we have taught much more than we ourselves learnt at school. That teaching should be linked with a firm knowledge of geography, which is also very important in the formation of the modern citizen. This war, this world war, must convince us of the fact that no nation can live apart from the rest, or ignore the interdependence which has been so strikingly illustrated by the great military, political, and economic events of the present time.

IV.

What are the lessons of this war as to the subjects in the whole of history upon which special stress should be laid? Before the war, a certain school of pedagogues held that the best way of promoting peace was to suppress the history of wars. For instance, in France, they decided, in 1902, upon a historical programme in which the reigns of Louis XIV. and Napoleon were only reached at the end of the school year, when, if a little time had been lost on other subjects, they would have to be more or less curtailed. In my opinion, this was a very short-sighted policy, that worked even against its own purpose. I agree that it would be meaningless and absurd to devote much time to the description of battles, discussing whether the 31st regiment or the 43rd came first round such and such a wood at 3.45 p.m. : this is of no interest whatever except in a Staff college—and even there it may be doubted if it is. But to ignore the wars of the past does not dispose of the fact that there have been wars, or, as has unfortunately been shown since 1902, that there can be others. Let us not imitate the ostrich, hiding his head behind a stone, but let us look danger straight in the face. We will avoid any conventional idealisation of war, showing it as it is—a hideous thing indeed, justified only when we must wage it in defence of what we value most in this world. Much the same thing might be said of diplomatic history, which

had been similarly curtailed. Though we may disagree with the methods and principles of past diplomatists, we must be acquainted with them if we wish to avoid dangers that may still arise out of them. War and treaties are not the whole of history, but they cannot be ignored.

Then an important part of our teaching is the history of political institutions and their working. That branch was never neglected in this country, as will be witnessed by many fine books; but it should assert itself more in the schools. Economics and social history have rightly acquired more and more importance with the progress of social democracy. But it should not make us forget intellectual and religious history—the study of the great movements that lead the nations and mankind to their higher ends. We must show how many-sided is the life of modern societies; indeed, the war has made us more aware of their wonderful complexity. As for the angle from which facts should be viewed, I do not believe in any theory based upon the assumption of one leading cause. Marx's "Historical Materialism" seems to me a mistake; man is not led solely by his interest, which, as a rule, he does not know properly, but by passions, the highest as well as the basest of his nature.

The key to the whole question lies in choosing the subjects so that our teaching of history may help in building up democracy. This war opens a new and unbounded era of democratic developments. Let us help young men to understand the forces behind rising democracy and to be ready to take their part in its growth and direction.

V.

There is one last point of which I should like to say a word. After the war will there be room for disinterested studies, and how far should they influence a teaching that acknowledges such practical objects as we have defined? In fact, the problems of the secondary teaching of history and of the higher, disinterested university teaching are intimately connected. I lay down the principle that we must have in schools a strong teaching of history with a political, or rather a patriotic and democratic end in view. This cannot be, unless you train your future teachers in the methods of pure scientific research. There only they will learn the methods of history itself, made up of patience, of critical sense, of the desire to reach the truth, and nothing but the truth. There only they will acquire the habit of connecting

the facts together and explaining them in the light of each other. On the other hand, there can and will be no satisfactory teaching of history in the universities, however competent the professors may be, until you bring there students who have already been prepared by a strong historical instruction in the schools. Otherwise the university will mostly have to teach what should have been taught before as a basis. Both improvements should be undertaken at the same time and, if they can be achieved, we shall owe to the war, in this respect, an important step forward.

As for practical means, I can only hint at them in such a brief sketch as this. There is a new French system which seems to me to have much to recommend it; the whole historical programme is gone through twice in the course of studies: in the lower forms, a comparatively concrete aspect is preserved, with the help of picturesque anecdotes, personal details, etc.; in the higher forms, a more philosophical and scientific view is sought. The pupils hear first of men, then of such things as economic development and the history of ideas. We need not be arrested by the objection that we shall lack time for that twofold review of history; the time will suffice for all that is essential, and it rests with us to have the courage to suppress that which is not truly important, so as to bring into better relief all the capital facts and principles.

All those who fight in this war are fighting in order that war may not break out again. In the framing of a new world, which may be threatened by new dangers, the greatest importance will attach to whatever conduces to the formation and enlightenment of public opinion in our great democracies.

PAUL MANTOUX.

III.—DISCUSSION AT THE ANNUAL MEETING.

MISS NOAKES, history mistress at St. Paul's Girls' School, said that perhaps she owed her audience an apology, inasmuch as she had formulated no theory as to how the teaching of history might have, or should have, been affected by the war, nor had she even made up her mind as to what must be the effect of the war upon the future teaching of the subject, though she was convinced that the effect must be very considerable; much that had been taught as essential would have to be "scrapped," and much that was now very imperfectly taught, such as imperial and American history, to say nothing of a more intelligent and sympathetic interpretation of European history, would have to be included; but she was confining herself to a bare statement of the way in which from practical experience she had found her own teaching in a large secondary girls' school had been affected.

The teacher of history has had a much easier and yet an infinitely more difficult task before her during these last three years—easier in the letter, more difficult in the spirit.

It has been easier, inasmuch as the subject was now absolutely living. History to-day interests not only the majority of the school, but also those girls who are naturally more drawn to other school subjects; that is to say that every member of the community has come to see that history is no longer a "form subject"—a mere story of the past—but the living interpreter of the present. For the first time, even the younger girls appreciate the working of cause and effect, they see the close interaction of the parts upon the whole, and realise the continuity of the present with the past in their efforts to find an answer to the question, "When did the war begin?"

Their lively interest in following the course of the war in many countries and continents and in watching the careers of friends from overseas on various fronts has led them to desire knowledge as never before, not only of the smaller nationalities of Europe, but in a more intelligent way of the growth and political condition of the Overseas Dominions. Nothing evokes greater interest than a discussion as to how the ties that bind the Empire may be strengthened in the future.

The practical teacher has found, too, that various technicalities that previously had to be explained at some length are now readily grasped. For instance, there is no need to explain the reasonableness and necessity of an Alien or Traitorous Correspondence Act to young persons living under the Defence of the Realm Act, nor to elaborate the difference between a "paper" and "effective" blockade. Never before, too, has the supreme importance and silent power of the Navy been brought home as now. The perennial disappointment at the paucity of naval engagements has been removed.

But the difficulty of teaching history to young people is peculiarly great at the present moment, through the efforts of the teacher to foster, animate, and intensify the true spirit of patriotism, so magnificently displayed, while at the same time exorcising that false, unreflecting patriotism that can only think in terms of territorial expansion, and that is being fed by ignorant and boastful talk at the present time in some quarters; and this difficulty is linked up with the thought of internationalism.

How is the teacher to approach this subject? It has been said that internationalism can only be taught through action: that an exchange of letters, of teachers, of pupils with an occasional school journey are the only effectual means by which the young of one country can enter into the spirit of another, and so engender mutual goodwill and understanding. These means of securing the end being not longer available, nothing can be done. But these are the very moments in which something must be done. The teaching of European history—even a whole year's course on the latest period—is not the panacea. It is almost pathetic to see what hopes are based upon the inclusion of a late period of European history in the history syllabus.

How is the teacher to share the abhorrence of her pupils at the present "frightfulness" and yet so prepare their minds for the future as to enable them to look forward to that new world when the men of one nation will look upon "the things of others" with sympathetic insight? The teacher, whatever may be her own

feelings upon the present, must have her eyes set upon the future. But the matter is one of supreme difficulty. One thing at least is certain: that, above all things and at all costs, the whole truth (as we see it) must be taught; the faults and failures of our own past must be frankly brought to light, and both sides be fairly stated in all matters of international disagreement. It is only by showing that mistakes have been made in the past that hopes can be entertained of sounder decisions in the future; it is only by teaching the truth (as far as we know it) that the ignorance, whence spring passions and prejudices, can be dispersed.

MR. S. M. TOYNE, headmaster of St. Peter's School, York, said that the effects of the war on history teaching had been so varied and many-sided that in order to clarify his own thoughts and render them more intelligible to the audience he made the obvious though somewhat rough-and-ready division into (i) the effect on the teacher, and (ii) the effect on the taught.

In the case of the former the task was complicated by the fact that the war broke out when the great movement to improve history teaching and methods was gathering weight, and we must be extremely careful not to give the war more than its due. The way to reform was being paved by a violent stream of criticism of everything "that was." The history teacher, who had reason to consider himself an expert, condemned the form master who taught history because he was obliged to do so; he condemned his headmaster, who allowed him two meagre periods a week; condemned the examination papers, which were overloaded with facts; condemned the Board of Education inspectors, who thought that source books were the only road to salvation. Things have changed, and the only people at whom they could rail were the gentlemen who insisted on writing to the Press and censured history teaching on the assumption that it was the same now as it was when education made them what they are.

He was, however, sufficiently optimistic to believe that history was being viewed in its right perspective, though he regretted that the Sandhurst papers, which now have attained such an improved standard in style and scope, should in future carry 300 fewer marks. Most of the faults enumerated above have been or are being remedied. The victims of the source book fever have passed through the more acute stages, and (he spoke feelingly as a convalescent) most realised that they were personally better for the attack, but that it was more advantageous to take it in small doses, on the analogy of smallpox and vaccination. Next, the difference in examination papers now and ten years ago was immeasurable; but this improvement could not be put to the credit of the war.

But the favoured place now held by history in the majority of schools must be largely placed on its credit side. Everybody—headmaster and history teacher alike—must have realised the enormous responsibility which had been laid on their shoulders. Ever before their eyes must be the example of the diabolical success of a perverted form of education in Germany. All the history was there taught with one end, regardless of truth. Facts suppressed, facts misinterpreted, had had much to do with the war aims and methods of the Central Powers.

In England our unpreparedness must be attributed largely to the

historical ignorance of the majority of our population and—to speak with all sincerity and solemnity—the ignorance of the teaching profession of the psychology of nations. That war with Germany was bound to come in 1914, or soon afterwards, was probably patent to each serious student of the development of European nations. Yet, owing to the comparatively insignificant position of history, the voice of the history teacher was like that of an owl in the desert. The public would not have listened—they were being taught that science and conversational French were more profitable than the more difficult study of mankind; but now the history student was being heeded by the older and the younger generation alike, and it was the war that had roused the history teacher to a sense of his power and responsibility.

Has the knowledge of this responsibility altered the attitude of the teacher towards his work? It is extremely difficult to speak with any certainty on this point. Frankly, he would have been somewhat diffident in declaring that it was possible to teach certain epochs without a distinct bias. Since the outbreak of the Sinn Fein movement he had realised more fully and more truly the extreme difficulties of the English. The later developments and the open hostility to English reforms and even to reforms which owed their inception to England must have led history teachers to appreciate in a truer light the opposition with which any of the earlier reformers were met. At the same time, it must make us all feel how great was the tragedy, when the Union was accomplished in name only, and how great was the opportunity to give so little more to make the Union real and permanent.

We learned also how careful we should be in selecting our text-book. In a very recent publication in America¹ it is asserted, after a close study of the ninety-three text-books in use in their public schools, that not ten gave a true account of the divided feelings of England on the great question of the American War of Independence. The author attributed the prejudice, with which England was for so long regarded in America, mainly to this fact. He gathered that this defect was being eradicated.

Could history teachers fail to inspire their classes with the sense of the power of history? Could they fail to inspire them with the sense of obligation to sift out real truth? He could not help feeling that they must themselves have gained something of that almost spiritual force which lay behind the work of any great teacher.

Equipped with all these advantages, the teacher who was also a citizen and member of a great Empire was bound to be planting in the hearts of his pupils the seeds of patriotism and imperialism. Before the war, teachers were inclined to treat British history merely as a school subject. It was more than that. It should lay the foundation of the outlook upon national life, and, if rightly laid, it was no idle dream to see a new generation with far nobler and higher aims than the present. If, when wrongly taught, as in Germany, it could have had such an admittedly evil effect, they could rest assured that there was a glorious heritage in store for their children if it could be rightly taught. They had gained in their sense of proportion. They had begun to see the facts that had really influenced the moulding of the nation's history, the national character, and the national greatness. They had begun to realise that certain

¹ By Carl Altschul; a review of it appears in our next Number.

victories were due to certain factors; that they were not always due to the indisputable fact that one Englishman was more than a match for seven foreigners. They had found it easier to show the importance of preparation, the value of resources, and—greatest of all—the meaning of time. In naval history—a much-neglected side of history—this has been peculiarly noticeable. The boy used dimly to picture Nelson having a smashing victory every year; he can now understand the many duties of the Navy and the weary months—nay, years—of waiting before the end. He trusted that that sense of proportion had come to stay, and he looked forward to the time when the Wars of the Roses might be written somewhat after the following style: "These were their causes and these their results. If anyone wishes to read about them, see Appendix B with map."

Now the effect of the war on the boy's history was a most interesting study—his historical insight had gained imagination, width, and depth. But the strange thing was that these three characteristics had not displayed themselves so much in the love of military history (after the Christmas of 1914) as in the other only too-neglected aspects of history. His imagination had been fired by such events as the capture of Baghdad (for who could avoid a lecture or two on its history?), and the war with the Turks has made the eternal Eastern question alive and vital. Who had not blown the dust off his Gibbon, and had not all the elder pupils begun to realise that the Turks had played an important though discreditable part in the history of Europe and the world? While their imagination had thus been fired, their interests had widened, and English history had become international.

So much for the imagination and the width; but how about the depth? This was the most curious effect of all, because it was the most unexpected. Boys had become vastly interested in the social, agricultural, economic, and even educational history of England. Specialists had been keen on these aspects before, and small boys keen on the English village, but never before had matters agricultural and social—must less educational—excited so much intelligent interest. Probably this greater depth was partly due to the ease with which the past could be linked with the present, and the urgent problems of the present could be made to apply to the boys themselves. They saw and felt history, and many, unconsciously perhaps, not only were infected with the idea that they had responsibilities as citizens, but were themselves actually making history. It was impossible for them to see their brothers fighting abroad—themselves training to follow in their footsteps and themselves gardening, harvesting, and helping in all manner of ways—without their sense of history being stimulated.

Two other aspects must be briefly noticed—interest in constitutional and colonial history had waned. In the former it had disappeared altogether—even John Wilkes, whose audacious humour was always a ready help on a hot summer's day, failed to whet the appetite. The boy's idea of the colonies lived in the present and the future, and it was only when in a very self-satisfied mood that he felt that a successful lesson could be given on the part of the colonies—lurid and romantic as it was. The reason for this was, he imagined, that imperialism was a very new-born babe, and that the growth of our Empire (excepting perhaps India) was not due to any definite policy. Possibly enough stress had not been laid on the past.

This was the one possibly dangerous effect of the war on history teaching. They might forget the past in the present. With that danger-signal, however, they might sum up the chief results of the war on the teaching of history as wholly good: a public awakened to its importance; a teaching profession awakened to its possibilities and its responsibilities; and pupils awakened to its living interests and to the lessons to be drawn from the past for the present and the future.

MR. T. W. PHILLIPS, of the Board of Education, referred to Mr. Headlam's letter and pointed out how important it was for teachers to realise their responsibility for determining what changes were desirable in the treatment of history as a school subject. Everyone felt that the experience of the past three years had had the effect of putting a new value on every section of historical teaching. Much that had formerly been considered of moment was now felt to be of but secondary value; much that had hardly found a place in the scheme was now recognised as of paramount importance. Not the least important question was whether a place should be found for the nineteenth century in the school course. In the past the course seldom went beyond 1815, and the writers of school text-books had followed suit, devoting a quite inadequate proportion of space to the rest of the century. The time devoted to history in schools was already packed to the full, and it would be impossible to add a treatment of the nineteenth century without making radical changes in the rest of the course. What was practicable, what should be omitted, what reduced, and what retained only teachers could say, and it was to be hoped that they would face with courage their responsibility for giving guidance on such points.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE insistent counsels of war-economy have determined the Association to abstain from issuing a separate report of its Annual Meeting. Subscribers to HISTORY will not, however, suffer thereby, and the papers and proceedings are duly published and recorded in this number. We only regret that no verbatim report enables us to reproduce the vivid and interesting account of the Russia of 1917, with which Professor Pares delighted his audience in answer to questions addressed to him after he had read Sir Paul Vinogradoff's paper.

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With regard to its private business, the Association was fortunate in being able to re-elect its first President, Professor Firth, for a further term of office. The resignation of Dr. Morris, who had been its Treasurer since the birth of the Association, was accepted with grateful regret; Dr. Morris was elected a Vice-President, and Miss Baylay was appointed Treasurer in his stead. The following were also elected members of the Council:—Mr. Geoffrey Callender, of the Royal Naval College, Osborne; Miss Cam, history tutor at the Royal Holloway College; Miss E. Jeffries Davis; Miss C. B. Firth, director of studies in history at Newnham College; Miss J. Noakes, of St. Paul's Girls' School; and Mr. F. C. Snowball, headmaster of Hele School, Exeter.

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Some members of the Association have felt and expressed a natural reluctance to avail themselves of the opportunity, announced in our last number, of compounding their subscriptions to HISTORY on the ground that War Bonds had a prior claim on their savings. The Council has removed the ground of this objection by undertaking to invest in War Bonds all life-subscriptions paid this year; and members have thus the opportunity of serving at once the cause of their country and that of history by becoming life-subscribers to this journal.

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In this connection we would once more remind members of the Association that, with a view to making the subscriptions to

HISTORY and to the Association concurrent, this number of HISTORY is included in their subscriptions for 1917-18, and that subscriptions to HISTORY for 1918-19 will be due with their subscriptions to the Association on or before July 1 next. Copies of the July number will only be sent to those who have so paid their two subscriptions. Members who have not done so may have to wait until October for their July numbers, inasmuch as it is impossible to guarantee attention to communications during the summer holidays.

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The following letter from Lord Bryce will be of interest to all our readers, and we hope it is not too late for the Civil Service Commission to heed the weighty support Lord Bryce gives to the action of the Historical Association.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Jan. 10, 1918.

MY DEAR MRS. GREEN,

I HAVE just read the protest which the Historical Association has addressed to the Civil Service authorities regarding the omission of European medieval history from the list of prescribed subjects, and wish to express hearty concurrence with the views it contains, and the thanks which all students of history will, I think, be ready to render to you and the Committee for the action you have taken. I trust it may prove successful. I address you as President, and am glad the matter is in your hands.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

BRYCE.

* * * * *

The following report, drafted by a joint-committee representing the Historical Association, the Headmistresses' Association, and the Colleges for Women, has been adopted by the Council :—

This committee, consisting of representatives of the Historical Association, the Headmistresses' Association, and the Women's Colleges which give scholarships in History, recognises that the diversity of syllabuses in College Scholarship Examinations in History, by making it impossible for a girl to work for two examinations at the same time without overcrowding, and for girls competing for different scholarships to work together, is a hindrance both to the schools and to the candidates. To remedy these grave disadvantages it is desirable that there should be greater uniformity in syllabuses and greater elasticity in the periods set. We therefore recommend that the various colleges should be asked to bring their syllabuses into line as far as is compatible with the requirements of the different universities, and to leave as much elasticity

as possible, by avoiding short periods and setting a wide period, in which the whole can be treated in outline, or a portion in greater detail.

By a wide period we intend the whole of medieval or of modern history, the selection of the portion to be studied (if it be not desired to cover the whole in outline) being left to the school, within limits fixed by the colleges. This would necessitate setting a large number of questions (20-25) of which the candidate should not be expected to answer more than four or five, selected from any part of the paper. The questions should give scope for both the methods of study indicated above.

We are agreed on the importance of a general paper and of a translation paper, including Latin and at least one modern language.

We are also agreed that some questions on social and economic history should be included in the paper on English History.

In general we consider that the most useful scholarship examination in history would be on the following lines :—

1. The history of England and of the British Empire.
2. A period of European History (*e.g.* Medieval European History to 1494 or Modern European History from 1494 to the present time treated as indicated above.)
3. A general paper.
4. An English essay.
5. A translation paper.

In the light of our unanimous agreement as to the type of examination most suitable for the purpose, we do not consider it desirable that college scholarships in history should be awarded on any external examination which does not conform to this model.

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As an interesting addendum to this report we may quote the following passage from *The Times* Educational Supplement for March 7 :—

The executive council of the Headmistresses' Association, encouraged by a report of the work accomplished by the History Periods Committee of the Historical Association in securing co-operation amongst authorities in efforts towards a simplification of the number and length of periods to be studied for scholarship examinations, is contemplating a like action with regard to other subjects.

* * * * *

The Committee desired also, as a corollary to the Report, to point out to the Council of the Historical Association that the scholarship examinations of the women's colleges form only a part of the difficulties of the schools, and that the question of the smallness and diversity of periods set by various local examination boards and syndicates is even more pressing. The Committee suggested that the Historical Association might be able to inaugurate a reform in this direction by somewhat similar means, and to urge that some action should be taken.

* * * * *

Few educational matters are of greater interest to teachers of history in secondary schools at the present time than the position

their subject is to hold in the new "Advanced Courses of Study." The Board of Education has laid down general lines—classical, modern, and scientific—upon which subjects are to be grouped; but within those lines there is a certain degree of latitude, and schools are week by week submitting to the Board, and obtaining its approval of, various combinations. It was suggested at the Council meeting on March 23 that HISTORY might become a valuable means for exchanging experience and ideas upon the question. How far has the Board sanctioned schemes with history as a principal subject? What other subjects or languages are best grouped with it? Will it gain by being introduced not only into the modern, but also into the classical and even scientific groups, or will it lose by being generally regarded as a subject subsidiary to many others but superior to none, and thus, so to speak, be "damned with faint praise" and relegated to a universal third place? What would history teachers say to an "advanced course" consisting of geography, physics, and history, with geography as principal subject, physics an expansive second, and history a shrinking third; or does not history gain by any recognition, however grudging, in such a group? Above all, what is to be our attitude in face of the fact that these advanced courses in schools do not correspond in many cases with the university courses to which they should be the normal approach? What, for instance, is to happen to the student who takes an advanced modern course at school and then finds his or her way to a university degree in the Faculty of Arts barred by compulsory Latin or Greek, or both? If Latin is indispensable to an honours degree in history, must not teachers reckon with that fact in arranging their modern courses in schools? There are other problems to be considered, but we have probably asked enough questions to embarrass our correspondence columns in the future.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,

On p. 247 of the January number, Dr. W. W. Seton finds fault with Mr. A. G. Little for using the phrase, "*worship* of the Virgin," and implies that this is a Protestant blunder. But the phrase is quite correct from the most orthodox Catholic point of view, as Dr. Seton may assure himself by referring (e.g.) to the "Catholic Dictionary," s.v. *Cultus*.

G. G. COULTON.

SIR,

The list of books which might be read with advantage by students during the long vacation preceding their University course for History Honours, given by Miss Firth and Miss Power at the end of their interesting letter in your January number (p. 235), was probably an afterthought, not meant to be taken seriously; may I indicate what, in my opinion, are the general principles on which advice as to such reading should be based, illustrating them by examples of books I should personally recommend?

Honours courses vary greatly, but all may be assumed to include at least two of the three sections—ancient, mediæval, and modern history. It is obvious that an outline knowledge not only of the two to be studied but of all three is most desirable as an introduction. Where I differ from the Cambridge tutors is in holding that that outline need not be, and should not be, "bare"—it should resemble rather an artist's sketch, the more interesting for the elimination of non-essentials, than a skeleton; and that it is best completed at this stage by filling up the parts omitted at school by the reading *straight through*, as one reads a novel, of a series of real books: not the "relevant parts" of text-books—*biblia abiblia*—or books "for young readers"—at nineteen nothing is so repellent as condescension! For example, Prof. Myres' *Dawn of History*¹; Mr. Hogarth's *Ancient East*¹ or Mr. Bevan's *Land of the Two Rivers*; Professor Bury's *History of Greece* (if only in the "beginners'" version); Dr. Warde Fowler's *Rome*¹; and, for the facts of mediæval and modern history, either parts ii. and iii. of Professor Grant's *History of Europe* or the three volumes of Prof. Sanford Terry's *Short History of Europe*; for their political atmosphere, Mr. H. W. C. Davis's *Mediæval Europe*¹ and Prof. Pollard's *Factors in Modern History*.

Several such books will doubtless have been read during the school course; thus the completion of the preliminary sketch should

¹ Home Univ. Library.

not take long, and would leave, I hope, plenty of leisure to be spent on better things. For the long vacation in question should be essentially a time of freedom, of absolute enjoyment of the chosen subject of study, untrammelled by the requirements of examinations: one prison-house has been left behind, the shades of another have not yet begun to close. If I were asked what I should best like to hear that my ideal student had been doing during that vacation, I should say, "sitting in a punt, or under an apple-tree (summer apples!) reading through Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* and Lord Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*." And every student should use the opportunity for becoming acquainted with the works of some of the great historians, with a part of the drama of human destiny, the varied experience of mankind, as seen through their eyes. The necessarily laborious studies of the next two years will be faced with far more zest if their use and meaning has been thus suggested beforehand. And a measure of such insight need not take long to win. Much can be gained by reading certain essays and addresses; some of Lord Acton's *Lectures* (especially the inaugural); Stubbs' *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*; the less technical of Maitland's *Collected Papers*; and, perhaps most suggestive of all, the few pages of Lord Morley's *Notes on Politics and History*.

E. JEFFRIES DAVIS.

SIR,

With regard to Mr. L. Cecil Smith's second question (HISTORY, II., 237), I do not know if it is any interest to him to know that several lists exist of the Durham knights who fought at Lewes in 1264. One record, giving the names of eighty-three knights and their homes in the bishopric, has been printed by the Hist. MSS. Commission (*Report on Various Collections*, Vol. II., pp. 86-8). Two other lists are in Hutchinson's *History of Durham* (Vol. II., p. 267), and another in the Surtees Society's *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*. All of them differ in many points, although two of them are said to be copies, one made in the eighteenth century (MSS. Var.), of the same "antient record found in Lord Conyer's studie."

CEDRIC H. C. GETTINGS.

[There is probably no "record," in the strict sense, giving the names of the barons and knights who fought at Lewes in 1264, but lists may be found in several chronicles of the period, detailed references to which are easily accessible in such well-known works as Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Sir J. H. Ramsay's *Dawn of the Constitution*, and M. Ch. Bémont's *Simon de Montfort*. Three of these, two printed in the Rolls series (Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp. 26-8, and *Annales Monastici*, III., 232), and the third by M. Bémont (*op. cit.*, pp. 373 seqq.) together furnish a considerable number of names; on the question as to how far they can be trusted, see M. Bémont's Introduction, pp. ix-xv. There are also many references to individuals who fought at Lewes in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry III., vols. v. and vi (see indexes, *s.v.* "Lewes, battle of"). With regard to Mr. Smith's first question, we have received from Mr. J. C. Ethell, of Hele's School, Exeter, an answer carefully compiled from Stubbs, Hallam, Medley, and other books; but these authorities are so unsatisfactory on the point, and the whole question has been so completely misconceived, that an attempt

is made to elucidate it in one of our current "Historical Revisions." The answer to Mr. Smith's third question may be found in the articles on Florida and Louisiana in the 11th edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." The answer to the fourth may be gathered from the article on "Holland" in the same encyclopædia, from Sir A. W. Ward's article on William III. in the "Dictionary of National Biography," or from chap. vii. in vol. v. of the "Cambridge Modern History." We cannot undertake to reprint information from such accessible and familiar sources.—ED.]

SIR,

It does not require the experience of many thousand examination scripts to realise the exaggerated views which are held about the power wielded by Oliver Cromwell, for the "man in the street" attributes to him the breakage of everything that has been ruined in England by Thomas Cromwell, by the Reformers of Edward VI.'s time, by Cavaliers, Roundheads, Monmouth's men, and even by old Father Time himself.

But it is with regard to the Navigation Act of 1651 that I wish to write. This is usually attributed—and not only by examinees—to Cromwell himself—"Cromwell's Navigation Act," they call it.

Now Cromwell was fully employed in military duties as the General of the Commonwealth from March 30th, 1649, when he accepted the command of the Army for Ireland, until September 3rd, 1651, when he won his last victory in the field at Worcester, and he did not take his seat in the Council (the Third) until September 13th. By that time the policy which was embodied in the Navigation Act had been elaborated by the Council, doubtless under the influence of the Navy group, and the Bill was introduced into Parliament on August 5th, though it was not pushed through the House until the position of the Government had been rendered more stable by the victory at Worcester. Then it was passed into law on October 9th, 1651. So this first attempt to legislate for all the colonies at once, and to make England the centre of a World Empire, cannot be attributed to Cromwell. This does not, of course, imply that he was slow to bring the difficulties which followed to a satisfactory conclusion, nor that he was without influence in the subsequent Councils. After his return to civil life his influence was obviously very great. In September he was invited to choose a residence near Westminster so as to be able to give the members of the Council the benefit of his advice, and he was returned at the head of the poll in the election of the new (4th) Council in November. But students generally forget that Cromwell did not become Protector until December, 1653, and that the Instrument of Government gave him only a limited authority, for he was liable to be checked by the Council if he could not persuade them to fall in with his proposals.

In short, Oliver was a great man, but he was not a dictator.

WALTER J. HARTE.

[We have received other correspondence impugning school-book views of Oliver Cromwell; but it is suggested that, before seeking public expression of their opinions on such points, correspondents should at least make themselves acquainted with the works of S. R. Gardiner and Prof. Firth.—ED.]

SIR,

Is it possible to find a reliable estimate as to what proportion of the people of England favoured Puritan views in the time of Charles I.?

Green (Everyman's edition, p. 477) asserts that nine-tenths of the English people were Puritan in sympathy. This seems preposterous. Not one-tenth of the clergy signed the Millenary Petition, and in the Long Parliament itself, drawn from the very classes which formed the strongest support of Puritanism, the anti-episcopal party seems to have been in a bare majority, if that.

L. RILEY.

[No estimate can be anything more than a matter of opinion. There was no census in the seventeenth century; even now there is no census of "sympathies," except such as is provided by a general election, and it would be difficult to estimate what proportion of the people of England are puritan in their sympathies. The value of Green's estimate also depends upon what he meant by "Puritan." —ED.]

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Report of the Commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts, 1889. 2 vols. Miss E. Jeffries Davis, University College, W.C.1.

FOR SALE.

A Compleat History of the Rebellion, from its first Rise in 1745, to . . . April, 1746. By Mr. James Ray, of Whitehaven, York: 1749. Binding damaged. Miss E. Jeffries Davis, University College, W.C.1.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

V.—THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AND THEIR SEPARATION.

THE query, propounded by a correspondent in our last number, as to the exact date in the reign of Edward III. at which the Commons first sat apart from the Lords, is as incapable of a categorical answer as the trite question when he ceased beating his wife addressed to a model husband; and the reason is the same. Both questions make assumptions which are fundamentally false. The case of the two Houses of Parliament, however, involves a good deal of explanation, and the evidence upon which this note is based would occupy several whole numbers of HISTORY. I can give some references to it, but for a fuller account I can only ask readers to wait for the publication of a volume on Parliament which I completed three years ago but have not yet published because of the war. Meanwhile I offer the following summary of my conclusions on the point under consideration.

We must first of all get an idea of what Parliament was before we can talk of its separation into two Houses. In the thirteenth century the word might be applied to any kind of parley; there is on the records mention of a *parliamentum* between Alexander, King of Scots, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1243¹; and the chroniclers use the word as vaguely as they do *consilium*. In the somewhat miscellaneous documents printed in the first volume of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, the word has, however, come to mean in the eyes of the clerks a solemn session of the King in Council held in each of the four legal terms of the year. These sessions of the Council, held primarily for the settlement of judicial doubts and for the enunciation of legal principles, were expanded by Edward I. for financial and political purposes; and to the expanded sessions he summoned by special writs such magnates as he chose, and by general writs representatives of the lower clergy, lesser barons, citizens, and burgesses. Gradually but very slowly the name *parliamentum* came to be restricted to these expanded sessions of the Council, though well into the fourteenth century the Council can still be said to be *in pleno parlamento* without the presence of any specially summoned magnates or elected representatives at all; and a session of the King in Council remains to-day the core and essence of every session of Parliament.

Now these expanded sessions were held in a single chamber, and there all the solemn business was transacted, just as to-day the Houses meet in a single chamber, mis-called the House of Lords, to hear the King's Speech or to assist when the King enacts a Bill presented for his assent. The judges sat on the four woollsacks which faced one another and formed a sort of inner ring, or rather square. Outside that square, on the right of the King, sat on benches the spiritual peers, bishops, abbots, and an occasional prior; on the King's left sat the temporal peers. Opposite the King stood the elected representatives of the shires, cities, and boroughs, and possibly the clerical proctors, though we have no

¹ Bain, *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, i., Nos. 1647, 1651-2, 1658.

verbal description or pictorial representation of a parliamentary session before the lower clergy had abandoned their places in Parliament. To this composite gathering, held *in camera magni concilii vocata "le Parlement Chambre"*¹ or in some other chamber in the Palace, the King by the mouth of his Chancellor or some other member of his Council addressed his demand for money or advice and supported it with such details of public affairs as he chose to give.

A big and a mixed audience can, however, listen easily enough, but it finds it difficult to give a reasoned and intelligible answer; and before satisfactory answers could be given to the King's Speech, the mixed audience had to resolve itself into what we should call committees for deliberation. The separation naturally took place along the lines of the "estates," and each of these apparently went apart—at first possibly only to different corners of Westminster Hall—to consider what answer they should give. Now we know what ultimately happened to the lower clergy; apparently, before the end of Edward II.'s reign, they ceased to obey their summons to Parliament and voted their grants in their respective Convocations of Canterbury and York. We also know that before the middle of the fourteenth century, the knights, citizens, and burgesses took to withdrawing for their domestic deliberations to the Refectory and afterwards the Chapter House of the Abbey across the way. This "Commons' house" was not, it must always be remembered, in Parliament at all; the proceedings of the Commons therein are technically no part of the proceedings of Parliament; they are not matters of record, and are not entered on the "Rolls of Parliament." It is only when the Commons, with the Speaker at their head, return into the Parliament chamber in the Palace that their words become a part of the proceedings of Parliament. It is the Speaker and he alone of the Commons who can speak "in Parliament." That is why he is called the Speaker; the rest of the Commons can only speak in their private conciliabule in the Chapter House of the Abbey. And it would have saved an immense amount of confusion in constitutional history if it had been remembered that there was all the difference in the world between the privileges which the Speaker claimed for himself "in Parliament" and the privileges which he afterwards² claimed for his humbler colleagues in their meeting house outside. The obscurity in the origins of the rules and practices of the House of Commons is due to the fact that they were developed, before there were any Journals of the House of Commons, in the comparative privacy of the Chapter House, and were therefore not recorded in the "Rolls of Parliament." Not until, in Edward VI.'s reign, the Commons were brought across from the Chapter House into St. Stephen's Chapel in the Palace could the mistake arise that proceedings in the Chapter House were proceedings "in Parliament."

What, however, happened to the other factors in the composite assembly to which the King's Speech was addressed? The Council naturally remained where it was and had always been. The specially summoned magnates, by some obscure process, attached themselves to the Council; after all they claimed to be hereditary or *ex officio* councillors of the Crown, and asserted for these parliamentary purposes their position in the Council. They were all termed "lords"—

¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, vi., 232 a.

² In 1542 for the first time, it is believed. *Lords' Journals*, i., 167.

which meant very little in the Middle Ages¹—and eventually, though not until 1544,² we find applied to this mixed body of hereditary magnates, non-hereditary prelates, and nominated councillors the modern name of the "House" of Lords. It was copied from the much older title of "House of Commons" or "Commons' House," and obscured the historical fact that the Lords are the King's Great Council in Parliament and their House the Parliament Chamber.

Now, here we see all the "estates" meeting together in a single chamber for certain purposes from the first, and also from the first separating into an indefinite number of groups for other purposes. The two "Houses" are not made by separation from one another so much as by the amalgamation of one set of groups or estates in the great Council Chamber of Parliament, and another set of groups or estates in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey. It is the transference of this second assembly to St. Stephen's Chapel, in the Palace where Parliament sat, and the growing importance of its domestic deliberations, which led men to think of its proceedings as being parliamentary and to speak of two Houses of Parliament.

Probably it was well that the early life of the House of Commons was passed in the comparative freedom of the Abbey precincts and not as part of a King's high court in his palace; and the really important period in its history was when in an obscurity, unilluminated by any *Rolls* kept by King's clerks or *Journals* of its own, it was developing a sense of corporate solidarity and political independence. The sanctuary rights of Westminster Abbey were never put to better use than when they protected the deliberations of an infant House of Commons. There came a time when the House itself forgot a history unrecorded in the *Rolls* and *Journals*, and claimed to be and to have always been an essential, if not the essential, part of Parliament. But the disputes between the first two Stuarts and their Parliaments are unintelligible without a knowledge of mediæval parliamentary history which historians of the seventeenth century have seldom had. Such are the questions whether the House of Commons was a court of record, what control the Crown had over its *Journals*, whether its privileges were matters of royal grace or parliamentary right, who could determine the issue of writs for election and the disputes arising therefrom; and such again is the whole controversy between the two Houses as to which of them inherited the powers of jurisdiction and finance originally possessed by their common parent the King's High Court of Parliament. But when we come to the task of revising accepted notions of parliamentary history down to the end of the Tudor period there is no end to the myths that have to be exposed and the misconceptions that have to be set right.

The first requisite is a minute and careful study of the six volumes of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Palgrave's *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Comm., 1827-34), Cole's *Documents* (Rec. Comm., 1844), and the first volumes of the *Lords' and Commons' Journals* respectively. Maitland's *Memoranda de Parlamento* (Rolls Series) contains the only satisfactory study extant of parliamentary sources for the reign of Edward I., but there is a great deal that is original, sound, and suggestive in the earlier part of C. H. McIlwain's *High Court of Parliament*.

A. F. POLLARD.

¹ It was, for instance, inferior to "magister" or "Mr.," and was commonly applied to those priests who had not attained the higher distinction of a master's degree.

² Parry, *Parliaments and Councils*, p. xlii.

VI.—WARREN HASTINGS.

MACAULAY'S famous essay appears to be still accepted in some school histories as authoritative for the public acts and character of Warren Hastings, and is the source from which students of Indian history and educated foreigners often derive their earliest impressions. The story is written with such consummate literary skill, in so dramatic a manner, with such confidence in every assertion, with such indignation at wrongdoing, and with such sympathy with all that is good and honourable, with such apparent fairness and anxiety to withhold censure where possible, and with such appreciation of Hastings's achievements, that it is not surprising that it should once have been received as giving the final judgment on the first Governor-General, and that it should be so hard, even in the light of fuller knowledge, to displace and modify it. Yet it is certain that on many points Macaulay was unjust because he was mistaken, and that on others his prejudices and his love of sharp contrasts in character-drawing led him astray. He charges Hastings with having committed great crimes in the course of his administration and with being unscrupulous and unprincipled, while yet he rendered great services. His gravest offences, he says, are against neighbouring States; yet those as narrated have not damaged the reputation of Hastings so severely as other allegations against him of conduct which Macaulay holds to be less blameworthy.

The matters in which Hastings's conduct is arraigned in the essay are mainly: (1) The measures taken when putting an end to the double Government set up by Clive. (2) The Rohilla War. (3) The trial of Nuncomar. (4) The appointment of Sir Elijah Impey to be Chief Judge of the Company's Courts. (5) The punishment of the Raja of Benares. (6) The treatment of the Begams of Oudh.

(1) At the time of Hastings's appointment to Bengal the system of double Government, under which the revenue was collected and paid over to the Company by the Nawab's officers, by whom also the entire administration was conducted, but always at the bidding of the Company's servants, had produced nothing but inconvenience, confusion, and disorder; the revenue had fallen off, every kind of extortion was practised by native agents; the Company's servants did not concern themselves with the administration of justice or the protection of the people.

With a view to protecting their own interests the Court of Directors determined "to stand forth as Dewan"—that is, to take charge of the revenue administration; and Hastings soon realised that it would be necessary to assume the entire Government.

The dropping of the fiction of Government by the Nawab, and the assumption of direct rule by the Company, involved the abolition of the offices of the Naib or Deputy Nazim at Murshidabad and Patna with their allowances; and, further, the change in the position of the Nawab himself justified the payment to him of a smaller portion of the revenue originally assigned to him as head of the Government. A reduction by one-half was made, which is attributed to Hastings's determination to relieve the finances of the Company by fair means or foul. In truth, however, he was only carrying out the orders of the Court of Directors that such reduction should be made, and the change of circumstances fully justified the measures taken.

Similarly, in withholding from the Emperor the tribute of twenty-

six lacs of rupees promised to him on the grant of the Dewani, not merely on the plea that he was a tool in the hands of others, but because he had joined the Marathas, Hastings was only giving effect to the recommendations of the Court of Directors, who, as early as 1768, had written "that if the Emperor flings himself into the hands of the Marathas or any other power, we are disengaged from him, and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacs we now pay him."

It is unquestionable that a payment of the tribute to the Emperor would have been simply a payment to those into whose power he had thrown himself. The districts of Korah and Allahabad, which had been made over to the homeless Emperor in 1765, in order to settle him within the range of the Company's protection and provide for his support, were resumed for the same reason that the tribute was withheld. The Emperor had formally ceded these districts to the Marathas; they lay close to the Company's border and to Oudh, and to allow the Marathas to obtain possession of them would have been to incur a most serious danger. The districts had been conquered from the Vizier of Oudh, and as the Directors desired no extension of territory, Hastings conceived it to be in every way advantageous to restore them to him for a money payment. By ceding them to the Vizier, he said, we strengthen our alliance with him, we make him more dependent upon us, "as he is more exposed to the hostility of the Marathas; we render a junction between him and them, which has been sometimes apprehended, morally impossible, since their pretensions to Korah will be a constant source of animosity between them; we free ourselves from the expense and all the dangers of a remote property or a remote connection; we adhere literally to the limited system laid down by the Court of Directors; we are no longer under the necessity of exhausting the wealth of our own provinces in the pay and disbursements of our brigade employed at a distance from them, but by fixing the sum to be paid by the Vizier for their services at their whole expense, and by removing every possible cause for their passing but at his requisition and for his defence, we provide effectually for the protection of our frontier and reduce the expenses of our army even in employing it."

To say that these districts were "torn from the Mogul," and that the object was simply to obtain money for the company, is a misrepresentation of the facts. The Court of Directors had forbidden any extension of territory; to permit the Marathas to occupy these districts would have seriously endangered the security of the Company's provinces; to have occupied them for the Emperor would have been tantamount to an extension of territory to be defended for the benefit of another.

(2) The Rohilla War was not necessarily or directly connected with the transfer of Korah and Allahabad; but at the meeting with the Vizier at Benares, when that arrangement was made, the Vizier sounded Hastings on the subject of expelling the Afghan rulers of Rohilkhand. Subsequently, the Vizier made definite proposals by letter, which were accepted, somewhat reluctantly, by the Council at Calcutta, and a brigade of the Company's troops was lent to the Vizier to drive out the Rohillas. So much is undisputed. The questions remain, Why did the Vizier apply to Hastings? What made Hastings consent? And what was the result or consequence of the war?

Rohilkhand lay on the northern frontier of Oudh between the Himalayas and the Upper Ganges. It was parcelled out among a confederacy of Afghan chiefs, the descendants of a military adventurer who had some forty years before possessed himself of the district in the confusion of the times. The population consisted of Hindus. Macaulay describes the Rohillas as honourably distinguished by courage in war and by skill in the arts of peace, and as able to protect their little territory from anarchy, while agriculture and commerce flourished. The description is just only so far as regards their courage. Afghans are undoubtedly a virile race, but the name Afghan is more generally associated with turbulence, craft, cunning, fickleness, and treachery; and though these Rohillas were brave warriors, there is little evidence, if indeed any, that they shone in the arts of peace. They certainly were unable to protect their territory from invasion, and there were dissensions among themselves which helped their final ruin.

The head of the Confederacy had applied to the Vizier and to the English for assistance against the Marathas, and in 1772 a treaty was made between him and the Vizier, signed in presence of the general commanding the Company's troops, by which the Rohillas engaged to pay forty lacs of rupees to the Vizier for his assistance. The Marathas retired before the combined forces, but the money was never paid, and the Vizier, who was always apprehensive of a combination of the Rohillas and Marathas against him, asserted that there had been negotiations between them. It was in consequence of this that the Vizier made his proposals. Hastings recorded an elaborate minute explaining his reasons for acceding to them. Put shortly, the Rohillas were both too weak and too untrustworthy to rely on as a defence against the Marathas who were threatening Oudh; they were quite capable of joining the Marathas against the Vizier, and there was reason to believe that there had been parleyings with them; their territory gave access to that of the Vizier, which in the interests of the Company must be safeguarded; and the Vizier, the ally of the Company, would obtain by the acquisition of their territory, a complete compact State shut in effectually from foreign invasions by the Ganges, while he would remain accessible to the Company's forces either for hostilities or protection. "It would," Hastings recorded, "give him wealth of which we should partake, and give him security without any dangerous increase of power." In addition, there would be the benefit to the Company of the large sum the Vizier was ready to pay, and one-third of the army would be paid for and kept up in discipline and in the practice of war. It will be seen, then, that Hastings's consent rested largely on the grounds of political expediency.

The Rohillas were defeated in a battle on April 23rd, losing their chief and a number of men; the remnants of the defeated army fled towards the mountains, and the Vizier possessed himself of the country. There was no more fighting. In August, by an arrangement with the Vizier, the leader of these Rohillas and his followers were allowed to migrate across the Ganges.

Macaulay, in his account, followed Mill, who gave a lurid colouring to the whole episode. Of all the writers who have gone into this matter and consulted the original authorities and examined the evidence taken at an inquiry made at the time, Lyall, who, while allowing Hastings to have been swayed by political motives, yet con-

demns his conduct, appears to take the soberest view. He says: "Macaulay's splendid and glittering phrases have thrown a false air of romance over the real origin and character of the Rohilla chiefships, which merely represented the fortuitous partition of an imperial province among military adventurers. In their origin, political constitution, and their relations to the bulk of the people, they may be likened to the mamelukes of Egypt, who also were a military confederacy under a chief of their own, paying a nominal allegiance to the Sultan for a province which they had seized. And they were in reality suppressed for reasons not unlike those which led to the political destruction of Poland, because their constitution was weak and turbulent, and because, therefore, they could not be trusted to hold an important position on the frontier of more powerful States. The allegations that the country was ravaged far and wide, and that the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan was cruelly treated by the Vizier, were investigated at the time and were proved by evidence to be unfounded or very greatly exaggerated. The change of Government did not disturb the cultivation of the lands, and although the families of the Rohilla chiefs were confined and sent away into Oudh, they were treated with no other severity. The alleged depopulation of the country reduces itself, on close examination, to the banishment of about twenty thousand Rohilla Afghans found in arms, out of a population of nearly a million, including some seven hundred thousand Hindus."

According to Macaulay, the matter involved was "the fate of a brave people." That is an exaggeration. But if Hastings was wrong, and if only self-preservation from absolutely and immediately impending danger would have justified the making war on a neighbour, the scale of operations must be considered. In the course of a review of his stewardship Hastings wrote: "I have ever deemed it even more unsafe than dishonourable to sue for peace, and more consistent with the love of peace to be the aggressor in certain cases than to see preparations of intended hostility and to wait for their maturity and for their open effect to repel it."

(3) Although Macaulay states it to be his deliberate opinion that Nuncomar was unjustly put to death by Chief Justice Impey at the instigation of Hastings, he yet does not reckon this among Hastings's crimes. It is almost certain, however, that most people who accept Macaulay's view of the case hold this to be the greatest stain on the character of Hastings. The charge is one for which there ought to be evidence. There is absolutely none, not one tittle.

Nuncomar was not brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury, but was tried by a jury before all the four judges of the Supreme Court. All the judges took part in the trial, in the sentence, and in the subsequent proceedings. The responsibility rests upon all alike. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, in his *Nuncomar and Impey*, has carefully examined all the circumstances of the case and shown conclusively that Nuncomar had a perfectly fair trial. It is also shown that steps for bringing Nuncomar before a criminal court on a charge of forgery were being taken long before Nuncomar brought his accusations against Hastings. No suspicion seems to have been entertained at the time of the trial that there was any connection between the charge of forgery and the accusations against Hastings; and Hastings subsequently declared upon oath in court that he had neither directly nor indirectly countenanced or forwarded the prosecu-

tion against Nuncomar. There is nothing in the character of Hastings, as evinced in his other acts, or of Impey, to whom Macaulay is throughout monstrously unjust, to show that they were capable of entering into so atrocious a conspiracy. Impey's enemies signally failed in their attempt to impeach him on account of his conduct in this trial and on other grounds; and Pitt declared the accusation of a conspiracy between Impey and Hastings for the purpose of destroying Nuncomar to be destitute of any shadow of solid proof.

(4) For the appointment of Sir E. Impey to be a salaried judge in the Company's service removable at pleasure, and to superintend all the Company's civil courts, Macaulay holds Hastings to be deserving of no blame. The acceptance of the appointment by Impey was, according to him, the receipt of a bribe to refrain from doing what he knew or pretended to be his duty. But no amount of rhetoric will make it innocent on the part of Hastings to have given what it was corrupt of Impey to have received.

Difficulties had arisen between the Supreme Court at Calcutta and the Governor-General and Council as to the limits of the jurisdiction of the Court. The causes were the obscurity of the Regulating Act and the claim set up by the judges that it was for them to decide upon the limits of their jurisdiction. Moreover, the procedure of the Supreme Court was wholly unsuited to the circumstances of Bengal, and great hardship was inflicted thereby on individuals. Macaulay, following Mill, has, however, considerably exaggerated the dismay among the general population, and has generalised freely from isolated and exceptional cases. What the Government felt most as causing the greatest disorganisation was the interference of the judges with the officers entrusted with the collection of the revenue and the administration of civil justice in the interior, whose proceedings the judges called in question, and whom they made amenable to actions in their Court for any irregularity or illegality they might have committed in their discharge of their official duties.

The Provincial Councils established in 1773 held both Revenue and Civil Courts, and an appeal from their decisions lay to the Sudder Dewani Adawlut, or Chief Court of Appeal at Calcutta, in which the Governor-General and Council were appointed to preside—which their executive and administrative duties seldom allowed them to do. There was, consequently, little or no supervision over the proceedings of the Councils. In 1780 Hastings remodelled the system and separated the fiscal from the civil jurisdiction, leaving the former with the Provincial Councils, and entrusting the latter to the Civil Courts, which he established in each district with an appeal to the Sudder Dewani Adawlut; and he then offered the post of Chief Judge of this Court to Sir Elijah Impey. The result was highly advantageous. The judges of the new courts were young and without experience. Impey was able to instruct and supervise them. He drew up a code of rules for their guidance, which for many years regulated their proceedings and was the basis of subsequent legislation. Although Impey was not permitted to hold the appointment long, but was recalled to answer for his conduct, the measure was successful both as terminating the deadlock that had arisen and improving the working of the Courts; it was a wise measure in itself, and merely anticipated by many years a reform which was eventually carried out.

(5) In the matter of the Raja of Benares, Macaulay's view is that Hastings, being in extreme want of money to carry on the war with the Marathas and Hyder Ali, determined to plunder Cheyte Singh, and for that end to fasten a quarrel upon him. On the side of Hastings the contention was that Cheyte Singh, who had held his lands from the Vizier of Oudh on a mere Zemindari grant when they were ceded to the Company, and was secured in his enjoyment of them at a fixed annual revenue, was yet liable to furnish extraordinary aids on extraordinary occasions. This right had been enforced more than once by the Vizier, and on one occasion to an extent exceeding what was subsequently demanded by Hastings.

In 1775 Hastings therefore demanded a contribution of five lacs. This was paid. Next year the demand was renewed and again met, but only after much delay. For the third year Hastings, hearing rumours that the Raja was counting on the Company's embarrassments with the Marathas and in the Carnatic, called upon him to furnish a body of cavalry, which the Commander-in-Chief considered necessary to make ready for the protection of the province against the Marathas; the Raja sent none, and Hastings became convinced that Cheyte Singh was disaffected and looking for an opportunity of throwing off his dependence. He therefore considered that, as the Raja's wealth was great and the Company's exigencies pressing, he was justified in exacting from him, as a measure of policy, a large pecuniary mulct for their relief.

The question is this: Was Cheyte Singh an independent prince or a mere Zemindar or feudatory? and, further, Was Hastings right in regarding the conduct of the Raja as contumacious and deserving of punishment? It is beside the question whether Hastings on his visit to Benares acted rashly.

According to Sir A. Lyall, who was at one time Lieut.-Governor of the province which includes Benares, and must have been well acquainted with the history of the family, which still exists, "The grandfather of Cheyte Singh was a small landholder, who acquired some wealth and local influence during the troubled period of the Mogul Empire's dissolution, and who obtained the title of Raja for his son, Balwant Singh. When the Vizier of Oudh took possession of the country Raja Balwant Singh held under him the lucrative office of farmer and collector of the revenue in Benares and Ghazipore, and when these districts were about to be transferred by the Vizier to the English, the Raja wrote offering to hold them from the Calcutta Government on the same terms." The tenure on which the Raja of Benares held his estate, and the authority exercised by him over the people, differed in no essential particular from those of any considerable landholder who rose to rank and power in the provinces which gradually fell away from the Imperial Government in the eighteenth century.

There can be little doubt that both custom and precedent sanctioned extraordinary aids being demanded from Cheyte Singh. Was Hastings right in believing that the Raja was contumacious and disaffected? He formed his opinion on Cheyte Singh's excuses in reply to communications addressed to him. These were considered by Hastings unsatisfactory in substance and offensive in style. Hastings's conduct may have been impolitic and imprudent; it occasioned an insurrection for which he was not prepared. But he was throughout fully persuaded that the demands he made were in

themselves just. If so, his action cannot be characterised as a crime merely because it had unforeseen and unfortunate results.

(6) It was with the main object of visiting Oudh and arranging with the Vizier, Asafuddowla, for reforms in his Government that Hastings had taken Benares on his way. When he was in safety at Chunar there came to him there the Vizier, and then the Vizier's affairs were fully discussed. Hastings had for years past remonstrated with him on his extravagance and conduct generally, and it was plain that no reform was possible until some measure was adopted for paying off his debts and cutting down his expenditure. Large sums were due to the Company, and while Hastings pressed for payment he was at the same time willing to reduce the cost of the military force maintained in Oudh, while the Vizier was to effect economies and reform his administration. A treaty or engagement was made, of which the most important points were (i) that the Company's force in Oudh should be reduced, that the Nawab should (ii) separate his public from his private expenses, limiting the latter; (iii) reform his army; and (iv) entrust the public treasury to a minister under the inspection of the Resident; while (v) as great distress had arisen to the Nawab's Government from the military power and dominion assumed by the Jagirdars, the Nawab should be permitted to resume such as he might find necessary, with a reserve that all those, for the amount of whose jagirs the Company were guarantees, should in case of resumption of their lands be paid the amount of their net collections through the Resident in ready money. The resumption of jagirs was to be general, and not confined, as the Vizier wished, to the Begams, though they were the chief holders, and were in possession of a great part of Oudh. The right to resume jagirs by an Indian sovereign was incontestable, and in this case the holders were to be fully indemnified. For these resumptions no justification or defence of Hastings's conduct would be needed; but there was the further point that the Vizier declared his intention of reclaiming the treasures left by his father, the greater part of which the Begams had wrongfully and forcibly withheld from him, and Hastings reports that he encouraged the Vizier because he thought it "equally unjust and impolitic to allow the Begams to retain the means, of which they had made so pernicious a use by exciting disturbances in the country and a revolt against the Nawab, their sovereign."

This treasure was left by Vizier Shujaauddowla and detained by his widow and mother. Neither by law nor right had they any claim to it. Asafuddowla had in vain tried to get them to deliver it to him. For a small portion he had to give them jagirs of a greater value. Through the exertions of the Resident in 1775 he obtained a further supplement on the condition that the Calcutta Government should guarantee the Begams against further demands and secure the continuance of their jagirs for life. Macaulay speaks of Asafuddowla extorting considerable sums from his mother, and of her appealing to the English. It was just the other way round. Asafuddowla was a weak, irresolute man, who was in mortal terror of his mother, and she on her part is reported to have said to the Resident on one occasion that she would throw the whole treasure into the river rather than allow her son to share it; and on another, that if the Resident would only stand on one side quietly she would drive the Nawab, her son, with his ministers and troops into the river.

If the Begams had now been exciting disturbances and raising a

revolt or assisting or encouraging Cheyte Singh, would Hastings be still bound by the guarantee? Surely not. And the question then is, Had he reason to believe that the Begams had been acting in that way? He says that when he consented to the resumption of the jagirs, he was convinced from intelligence which had reached him of the Begams' disaffection. "It was not my opinion only, but it was the general rumour of the country, that she and her ministers aided and supported Cheyte Singh in his rebellion."

It is not disputed that disturbances occurred in Oudh and that the Begams did set the Nawab at defiance; nor that the Begams were believed to have sympathised with and encouraged Cheyte Singh. Hastings believed the general report, and therefore it is not reasonable to blame him for his countenance and support of the Vizier's proposals. It was impossible to carry out what was planned except by force. The Begams showed an intention to resist, therefore a military force accompanied by the Vizier proceeded to Fyzabad, where the Begams' troops were overawed and disbanded.

For the Vizier to obtain delivery of the treasure was not so simple a matter, and as this part of the arrangement was pressed on him as necessary to the success of the whole plan, he was obliged to use means of coercion. The Begams were confined in their palace, and their communication with the outside world was curtailed, but no indignity was offered them.

Greater severity was applied to the two eunuchs, the confidential servants of the Begams: the "two ancient men" whom Macaulay describes with such pathos, but who were really, as another writer with greater knowledge says, "not infirm, effeminate guardians of the harem, but the chief advisers and agents of the Begams, men of great wealth and influence in the palace and in command of their armed forces." These men were arrested and for a time they wore irons on their legs, but during the greater part of their arrest they were allowed to live in a spacious house belonging to one of them, with their servants about them, under no restriction as regards food or visitors. It would certainly appear that corporal punishment may have been inflicted on some occasion, but there is no reason to think that that was done with Hastings's knowledge or approval. He himself was at Calcutta. All that can be, with any degree of fairness, said against him is that he ought to have known that measures of coercion which English sentiment and sense of humane conduct would not approve might be resorted to. Ought he on that account to have forgone the only means that he saw to recover a sum of money due and necessary for carrying on a war which threatened the existence of the British dominion in India?

(7) Compared with the amplitude with which Hastings's "crimes" are narrated, comparatively little space is devoted by Macaulay to the war with the Marathas and with Hyder Ali, although he remarks that it is not too much to say that if Hastings had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America. The war with the Marathas was not of Hastings's making. It arose from the ambition of the Bombay Government, acting as they thought according to the wishes of the Court of Directors; but, once engaged in, and the probability of an outbreak of hostilities with France foreseen, Hastings exerted himself to carry it through successfully. He was frustrated in this by the sudden irruption into the Carnatic

of Hyder Ali, provoked thereto by the rashness and folly of the Madras Government, and it was not without difficulty that he detached the Nizam of Hyderabad from an alliance with the Marathas and Hyder. The energy with which he met the crisis and the ultimate success of his measures are fully allowed, although perhaps the greatness of the danger escaped is not fully shown.

The danger, it is said, lay in our European enemies forming an alliance with some native power and furnishing that power with troops, arms, and ammunition to assail us on the land side, while an attack on Bengal by sea was little to be apprehended. But, in fact, engaged as we were, with our revolted American Colonies, France, Spain, and Holland at war with us, our fleet no longer superior to the fleets of our enemies combined: if not Bengal, yet Madras, was open to an attack by sea. British and French fleets met and fought on five occasions, and our fleets, at the best, held their own, while the French succeeded in taking Trincomalee, which we had captured, and in landing a large body of French troops, commanded by Bussy, at Cuddalore, in support of Hyder Ali. These confronted our army, then under the command of an incompetent general after the retirement and death of the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, and the timely arrival of news that peace had been made with France may have saved us from what would have been a disastrous defeat. A peace had before this been negotiated with the Marathas, and the Madras Government now made terms with Tippoo Sultan, who had succeeded his father, Hyder Ali.

(8) Another aspect of the career of Hastings to which Macaulay pays little attention is the great work he accomplished in reforming the internal administration of Bengal. Under the system established by Clive after the grant of the Dewani, Bengal was under a double Government, nominally that of the Nawab, really that of the Company and its servants. The Company's concern was mainly the revenue which was still left to be collected by the Nawab and his subordinate agents from the Zemindars and other landholders, with whom settlements continued to be made so long as they were willing to pay the amounts demanded. If they refused, the lands were let to a farmer who had less consideration for the actual cultivators. The only control the Company exercised was through a Resident at Murshidabad, a control which, as regarded the collection, could only be nominal, and was intended mainly to secure to the Company the greatest revenue possible. The administration of civil and criminal justice in the country generally (outside the capital) had always been assumed by the Zemindar or chief revenue officer of a district, and only in rare cases would there have been an interference on the part of the Government. Their proceedings were regulated by no prescribed procedure, and no record was kept.

With this system the Company's Government did not attempt in any way to interfere until, in the time of Governor Verelst, a servant of the Company was placed in every district with a view to his supervising the native official entrusted with the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice, and subsequently two Councils were established at Murshidabad and Patna to overlook these supervisors. It was not likely, however, that these measures would do much, if anything, to improve the administration either of the revenue or of justice, even if these persons had been conversant with the Bengali language and the details of the adminis-

tration. The servants of the Company were still permitted to trade, and they continued to trade in articles of every kind. With the prestige of members of the governing body they overawed the native officials and fixed their own prices, often, it is said, forcing contracts on unwilling producers, and compelling their performance. Working in their own interests, the servants of the Company succeeded in monopolising the trade in many articles, and thereby preventing the provision of the Company's investment, except at prices far above what would have been the natural level. The interests of the Company as a commercial body, and of its servants as traders, were antagonistic to those of the Company as a Government, and want of all vigour and of all care for the public welfare on the part of the Government led to misrule, the impoverishment of the country, and the loss of revenue. It was this last which touched the Company in England most closely, and so in the appointment of Hastings to be Governor of Bengal the Directors complain that their efforts to reform abuses have rather increased them and added to the miseries of the country, that the appointment of supervisors and Councils intended to give relief to industrious tenants, to improve their investments and destroy monopolies, had failed. "We can hardly say what has not been made a monopoly."

It was under the disappointment caused by a declining revenue and more costly investments that the Court of Directors determined to "stand forth as Dewan, and, by the agency of the Company's servants, to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues."

The Court of Directors did not realise what was involved in their determination. The open control of the revenues involved the control of the other branches of administration, as Hastings perceived, but the Court of Directors gave no instructions for his guidance, laid down no principles on which the Government was to be organised. They were as yet unwilling to drop the fiction of the Nawab's authority, and it was not entirely abandoned till after the close of Hastings's administration. It was left to him to work out unaided the plan on which each department should be administered, and he felt his way through various changes till he ultimately had established Courts of Justice in each district, an Appellate Court at Calcutta, and a Board at the Presidency controlling the revenue. He employed native scholars to make, at his own expense, a collection of Hindu laws, in order that the administration of justice might be in accordance with Indian, not European, customs and ideas. He at the same time with a strong hand repressed abuses on the part of the Company's servants. In order to put down those which arose from their claiming the right to pass their goods free of the established transit duties, he withdrew the numerous small customs posts in the interior. All goods, without exception as to ownership, were required to pay a duty once and for all of 2½ per cent. on articles, according to a list at prices fixed and published, and, the duty once paid, the goods passed free anywhere. Similarly, the abuse of forcing advances on weavers and compelling them to deliver clothes at an arbitrary valuation, was met by prohibiting the collectors from trading with the Company's money advanced for the purpose of providing for the Company's investment, by establishing a system of ready money purchases, and declaring the weavers free to work for whom they chose, and supporting them in this right.

Despite all that is said of Hastings's disregard of justice and his want of humane feelings, his popularity among all classes of people is admitted by Macaulay in a remarkable passage. Following in this matter as in so many others Mill, who after a thoroughgoing condemnation of Hastings as dishonest, self-seeking, hypocritical, and corrupt, at the very end grudgingly allows that he had the art of a great ruler, Macaulay says it is impossible to deny that in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and affection no ruler ever surpassed Hastings; that what is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers who exercised boundless power over a great, indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and by the dominant few. The affection of the Civil Service for him was, he says, singularly ardent and constant, while the army loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity such as no other Governor has been able to attain. It is difficult to reconcile this with the character ascribed to him in other parts of the essay.¹

¹ Macaulay is mistaken in stating that the people were dazzled by Hastings's display of more than regal splendour, and that in India "nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Saheb Warren Hostein." The origin of this is to be found in a note at the end of a very amusing work, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, by Dr. Busted, which gives many glimpses of social life at Calcutta in the time of Hastings and Francis, and traces the careers of some of the social notabilities. There was a jingling rhyme in Hindustani which ran :

Ghore par howdah
Hathi par zin
Jaldi bhag gaga
Colonel Monsin,

which means : with the howdah on the horse, and the saddle on the elephant, Colonel Monson fled in haste.

This was in reference to Colonel Monson's hurried flight to Agra when pursued by Holkar in 1804. By substituting Hostein for Monsin the rhyme could be made to apply to Hastings's escape from Benares to Chunar during Cheyte Singh's revolt; but Dr. Busted points out that it was hardly applicable thus. Hastings had no elephants, he had only 400 sepoys and his suite; they were not opposed, and palanquins were used as a mode of conveyance. Dr. Busted expresses a doubt whether the rhyme was not the composition of some lively spirits in an officers' mess, and I am myself inclined to doubt the genuineness of the rhyme as a native composition, by reason of the style and expression. His note on it is :

"As a matter of fact, the couplet owes any interest attaching to it to its having been quoted and its application misunderstood by Bishop Heber in his *Journal* (1824) as follows :

"Of the sultanlike and splendid character of Warren Hastings many traits are preserved, and a nursery rhyme which is often sung to children seems to show how much they were pleased with the Oriental (not European) pomp which he knew how to employ on occasion,' etc.

"The very reverse of all this would be nearer the truth. 'I am averse to parade myself, and have never used it,' is what Hastings himself has said. His customary disregard of state is strongly testified to by one who accompanied him in the very expedition to Benares of which the sojourn at Chunar was an incident. Mr. Hodges, R.A., in his *Travels in India*, writes : 'When the Governor-General went on shore (i.e., at Patna on his way up), it was scarcely possible to proceed from the multitude which pressed on every side to salute him. When he had passed them, all appeared struck with the simplicity of his appearance, and his ready and constant attention to prevent any injury to the meanest individual from the irascibility of his chobdars or other servants who

Sir William Hunter, in his *Annals of Rural Bengal*, incidentally referring to Warren Hastings, explains the popularity which he enjoyed. He says: "Warren Hastings created a security for person and property such as had never been enjoyed since the Mussulman despoilers rolled down on Hindustan. He framed equal laws, and he did his best to bring them within the reach of the people. He understood the Bengalis thoroughly, aided every effort to investigate their wants or to interpret their character, was munificent exactly at the time and in the manner to win their admiration, and displayed in all his public appearances that prompt, unerring audacity so well calculated to overawe a race whom long oppression had stripped of self-respect. More than this, Warren Hastings really loved the natives, and the natives in return loved and respected him as they have loved and respected no Englishman before or after."¹

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endeavoured to keep them from pressing in. They could not but contrast his appearance with that of their Nawabs, whom they had never seen except mounted on lofty elephants and glittering in splendour with their train, followed by the soldiery to keep off the multitude from offending their arrogance and pride.'

"A note also in Elphinstone's *British Power in India* gives the quaint translation of a passage in the native historian, contrasting the dignified simplicity of Hastings's usual appearance in public with the impressive and dazzling state maintained by M. de Bussy (1750-5), who to his French magnificence added all the parade and pageant of native manners and customs. Governor Hastings always wore a plain coat, and never anything like lace or embroidery. His whole retinue a dozen of horseguards; his throne a plain chair of mahogany."

¹ For a proper study of Warren Hastings the three volumes of *Letters, Despatches, and Other State Papers Preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785*, edited by Sir G. W. Forrest, are all-important; the excellent introduction to those volumes has also been separately published under the title of *The Administration of Warren Hastings*. Gleig's *Memoirs* retain their value. Mill's *History of British India*, despite all its appearance of laboured accuracy, is not always to be trusted, and is disfigured by his preconceptions and prejudices, and his inveterate suspicion and censoriousness. An enormous mass of matter is naturally to be found in the various reports of the Select Committee of the Commons, in the minutes of evidence on Hastings's trial, and in the defence of Hastings at the bar of the House of Lords. Some valuable documents are printed in Ramsay Muir's excellent book, *The Making of India*. Mr. H. G. Keene's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is written with knowledge and marked by sobriety of judgment. On incidental points, C. Hamilton's *History of the Rohilla Afghans*, *The Administration of Justice in British India* by W. H. Morley, and Sir James Fitzjames Stephens' *Nuncomar and Impey* are authoritative. There is a volume on Hastings by Captain Trotter in the "Rulers of India" series, which has some merit; but by far the best monograph is the little work of Sir A. Lyall in the "English Men of Action" series. It deals with every point in Hastings's career with a fulness of knowledge, a largeness of view, and an impartiality which will qualify it to represent the enlightened judgment of the present day.

REVIEWS.

Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne. By the late H. M. GWATKIN. With a Preface by E. W. WATSON. Longmans, 1917. 15s.

THIS interesting and vivacious volume suggests perhaps better than the books which the late Professor Gwatkin published in his lifetime the causes of the remarkable impression which all his pupils took away from his lectures. It is, above all things, a very human book. It is, moreover, very well written in a crisp, curt, bright, and pregnant style that easily carries the reader through the centuries. It sets forth, pithily and vigorously, a very individual point of view, quaintly described by Dr. Watson as "impartial," but to most minds anything else but that, rather, let us say, provocative, personal, stimulating, and, above all things, very refreshing, as compared with the drab formulæ and measured mediocrity of the ordinary text-book. There is a wide range of reading, a great wealth of illustration, and an immensity of matter packed closely together. The very limitations of the book, the rapid rush through the hated days of monks and popes to the glories of the Reformation, are useful as a corrective. Not even the trick of allusiveness and the still more distracting habit of partial anticipation of events not yet described, will prevent a work with such human qualities from becoming very useful reading to the judicious and very interesting reading for us all. The real difficulty is the vagueness of its field, the too narrative character of the greater part of it, and the suggestion of caprice or prejudice in the extraordinary omissions, especially in the mediæval portions. These limitations make it by no means always adequate as a guide for students of English ecclesiastical history as a whole. Probably the author had no intention of writing a manual, but it is rather hard to sympathise with the motive which led him to pass over with extreme brevity the whole of Christian origins, and virtually to ignore the whole of the constitution of the mediæval church, the varied aspects of mediæval monasticism, the position of the church courts, the jurisdiction of the papacy, and many other of the most vivid and important aspects of the subject. It looks not impossible that, though what was finished was finished carefully, there was much that still remained to be done. Yet the rigidly chronological order of the narrative forms a frame into which descriptive details can only be placed with an effort. Still with all shortcomings we cannot but feel glad that we have been allowed to read so characteristic an exposition of Dr. Gwatkin's attitude to his subject. He was much too learned and shrewd a man for his judgments to be negligible, however provocative they may be to some minds. But it would be an affectation to suggest that this book will add to the reputation of the historian of the Arian movement.

Professor Watson tells us in a short preface that the published work substantially represents Professor Gwatkin's manuscript, and that all that has been done in the way of editing has been to fill in a few dates and to correct a few obvious slips. He rightly reprobates the modification of judgments and the supply of omissions that a great scholar deliberately made. His one criticism is, however, a little wide of the mark. The suggestion that Dr. Gwatkin has "ignored the revolution in our idea of the origin of the parish," accomplished by Imbart de la Tour and Ulrich Stutz, suggests an elaboration of "old-fashioned" theories about parochial *origines* that can hardly be attributed to a scholar, who disposes of the whole problem in the thirteen words which describe Wilfrid as "settling the first beginnings of what grew into the parish system of England" (p. 17). But we wish that someone had gone a good deal farther in "correcting obvious lapses." As it stands, the book is far from exempt from those little slips in detail which most of us make when we write a first draft of a book, but which we strive to remove before it sees the light. Individually, they are unimportant, but collectively they do not make the best impression. Thus it would in no wise have altered the author's plan of the work if the process of correction had been extended far enough to have assigned Waverley (p. 54) to its right county, to have eliminated "Lancaster" from the "Montgomery earls" (p. 49), to have transferred the assignation of annates (p. 75) from John XXII. to his predecessor, to have saved St. Dominic from the reproach of discouraging learning (p. 76), to have prevented the perpetuation of the hoary confusion between the Scottish National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant (p. 303), and to have removed from "William" (apparently William III.!) the responsibility for prolonging the non-juring schism (p. 387) by nominating two new bishops for consecration. The task of seeing a posthumous book through the press is a thankless one, but a larger measure of care should certainly have been bestowed in the removal of trifling blemishes of this sort before the book was allowed to see the light.

T. F. Tout.

History of the Abbey of St. Alban. By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, B.A., Fellow of All Souls College. Longmans, Green and Co. 7s. 6d. net.

We have in Mr. Williams' *History of the Abbey of St. Alban* an interesting account of one of our greatest monasteries, which at the same time illustrates the growth of monastic life in England from the eighth century to the Suppression. To those who desire to learn something of the general history of the abbey, Mr. Williams' book will be found a useful work, but to students it is a little wanting in critical treatment. The store of material already prepared by Matthew Paris and other chroniclers has tempted many writers, from the Rev. Peter Newcome downwards, to compile accounts of the abbey. But the adoption of the somewhat obvious annalistic system, based on the monastic chroniclers, has its disadvantages. It gives the author an outlook which extends very little beyond the narrow limits of the original chronicler. For instance, Mr. Williams devotes some little space to the life of St. Alban, but apparently he has not seen Dr. Meyer's work on the legends of St. Alban before the text of Bede, which is based on two early manuscripts at Turin

and Paris, and throws a considerable amount of new light on the *passio*. Again, the history of Odense monastery, which has been investigated by Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, shows that the two accounts of Danish raids and the theft of the relics of St. Alban, which are attributed the one to the tenth and the other to the eleventh century, both refer to one event at the latter date, the earlier story being a misplaced interpolation in the *Gesta Abbatum*. The Danes were still pagans in the tenth century, and would not have laid any value on the relics, nor could they have taken them to Odense monastery, as it had not then been founded. Another matter which is not noticed by the St. Albans chroniclers, and has but a passing reference by Mr. Williams, is the unfortunate connection of Stigand with the abbey, which is mentioned in other chronicles, and is illustrated by the Domesday Survey. By following the monastic chroniclers also the true interpretation both of the revolt of the townsmen of St. Albans in the early part of the fourteenth century, and the peasants' revolt of 1381, has been missed. The controversy as to Cardinal Morton's visitation, in which so much interest has lately been taken, has been wisely treated dispassionately and shortly, but more could have been made, from the material available, of the condition of the house from the Black Death until the Dissolution.

Mr. Williams has, however, realised the difficulty in dealing with the overwhelming extent of his sources, and pleads in his preface that, "should excuse be sought for a book so small which deals with a subject so large, it may be found in the fact that the treatment of authorities is eclectic rather than exhaustive." The difficulty might perhaps have been more satisfactorily met by special treatment of such subjects as the scriptorium and history school, the schools of handicrafts, painting, and music, the economy of the house, its *personnel*, and its political influence, each of which deserves separate attention. The lack of an index is a great drawback to the usefulness of the work.

W. PAGE.

Italy: Mediæval and Modern. By E. M. JAMISON, C. M. ADY, K. D. VERNON, and C. SANFORD TERRY. Clarendon Press. 1917. 6s. 6d.

WHEN, after the war, among many changes which are bound to take place among the belligerent nations, secondary-school and University education will be essentially modified, in this as well as in the Allied countries, and a better knowledge of one another will be sedulously cultivated, a book like this will be an excellent guide to English students for the study of the mediæval and modern history of the Italian nation. Very seldom has a more comprehensive exposition of so vast an argument been collected in such a handy and excellently planned manual form. It is not the usual pedantic summary of names and dates, which serves as a "cram-book" to students without a more thorough preparation before examinations. It is a complete exposition of the essential history of a nation whose historical development is one of the most eventful and complex among European civilisations.

Of that development and of its peculiar characteristics there is a clear if short survey, rarely to be found in works more ambitious

and ponderous than this one. The manifold sides of the Italian genius are accurately examined and described. That genius "manifested itself in law and science, political and physical," and more especially in the "close consciousness of the realities of life." Mastering, as it did, such realities, it was capable of rising from the physical to the spiritual, "dall' umano al divino," and both "in religion and in secular relations the passion for equality and liberty conditioned" throughout the centuries the development of Italian social and spiritual life.

Such a life has been determined not merely by the intellectual and physical qualities of the people, but, as happens with every nation, by the essential factor of the geographical position of the country. Italian history shows, therefore, a perpetual struggle against the ever-impending peril of foreign invasions. The glories of Roman conquests, if examined in a proper light, are mere strategical endeavours to absorb the barbarian elements, threatening the freedom of the "Giardino dell' Imperio," "when it could no longer force them back" beyond the frontiers. Italy, with her wonderful climate and the natural and artistic beauties of her towns and villages, has been a perpetual attraction to Northern barbarians. There is no great difference between the historical conditions which prompted Heruli, Sciri, Rugians, Teutons, Franks, Burgundians, Alemans, Goths, Saxons, Vandals, Huns, etc., to invade her beautiful provinces, and those which are to-day inciting the Austro-German-Turkish-Hungarian and Bulgarian hordes to penetrate those "luminous Italian plains," which—to repeat the recent cynical statement of Von Kühlmann in the German Reichstag—"have always exercised, since the time of the Hohenstaufen, such a magical force of attraction on German covetousness"!

ANTONIO CIPPICO.

Political Portraits. By CHARLES WHIBLEY. Macmillan and Co. 1917. 7s. 6d.

THIS agreeable volume is not a collection of monographs painfully constructed by minute research, nor does it profess the judicial temper. It is as frankly partisan as Macaulay's *Essays*. Mr. Whibley always likes and dislikes strongly. He would have satisfied Johnson as a good hater, and holds no less fervently than the sage himself that the devil was the first Whig. But every book is to be criticised with reference to the author's intention in writing it, not with reference to aims or standards which were never present to his mind. Mr. Whibley's partisanship has something humorous about it, as though he smiled inwardly at his own zeal. His animated and nervous style is too well known to call for commendation here.

Of course, his method has drawbacks. Clarendon, a man with many claims to respect, is the hero of one of these essays, an almost unqualified panegyric. Accordingly, the author has to pass as lightly as did Clarendon himself over those first memorable months of the Long Parliament when Edward Hyde was among the foremost assailants of the King's policy. Again, Mr. Whibley cherishes the deepest contempt for the Duke of Newcastle, and disposes with much art the abundant vituperative material left us by contemporaries of that grotesque and unfriended politician. His indifference to the national safety and his imbecility in war are readily explained by the fact that

Newcastle was a Whig. But Mr. Whibley knows as well as anybody else that for many a year the Whigs were the militant and the Tories the pacific party. Did not the Whigs sustain the wars of William and Anne? Who negotiated the Treaty of Utrecht? Was not Chatham himself a Whig? Was not Bute a Tory? Parties, as Mr. Whibley very well knows, are not Churches bearing unshaken testimony to eternal truths, but combinations of sinful men, pursuing, now one aim, now the contrary, as interest or passion or even some notion of the public good dictates. Mr. Whibley, who holds, like a famous German, that "history is a good aristocrat," seems also to forget that in thus vehemently denouncing Newcastle he is reflecting on the aristocratic system of the eighteenth century.

Of all these papers the one that pleases us most is the paper on Burnet. Burnet was such a racy and amusing person that for once Mr. Whibley sinks abhorrence of Whigs in delineation of character, and is not merely just, but generous. The essay on Melbourne is an appreciative study of a statesman who rose to the highest office without losing intellectual honesty, and retained to the last a keen perception of the charlatanism inseparable from politics. The essay on Fox may be prescribed as a wholesome bitter to unctuous or indiscriminate admirers of that remarkable man. But it is scarcely just to reckon among Fox's sins of anti-patriotism his rejoicing over the French victory at Valmy. France was not then the enemy of England, nor did a conflict seem likely until some months later. The essay on Talleyrand is a sympathetic estimate of a man sometimes judged too severely. As Mr. Whibley reminds us, the governments which Talleyrand deserted were all governments which he had strong reason to believe useless or pernicious to France. Never forgetful of his own interest, Talleyrand was not consciously untrue to his country. The essay on Metternich is more judicial than might have been expected. Not even his antipathy to Liberals has induced Mr. Whibley to belittle the faults of his later years. The Tsar Alexander I. is the theme of a sympathetic but discriminating paper. In short, all these studies will be found interesting and stimulating by those phlegmatic persons who read neither to believe nor to contradict, but to "weigh and consider."

F. C. MONTAGUE.

Freedom after Ejection. A Review (1690-1692) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales. Edited by ALEXANDER GORDON, M.A. Manchester University Press. 1917. 15s. net.

In 1912 a manuscript was discovered which forms a memorial of the short-lived "Happy Union" of Presbyterians and Independents made after the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689. The Union established a "Common Fund," and appointed commissioners to ascertain the whereabouts of ministers ejected twenty-eight years before (their means of livelihood, etc.), of students for the ministry in need of support, and of places where congregations had met, were meeting, or were likely to meet. On the reports of these commissioners grants were made. The manuscript thus affords an interesting glimpse into the life of the Protestant dissenters (nearly 109,000 in number in 1688) at this time; especially noteworthy is the account of men ejected nearly thirty years previously, who had kept loyal to principle through persecution and poverty, and now, young in spirit,

if worn in body, were eager to seize the opportunity offered by freedom. Of the 759 ministers in the return (part of the country only), 380 had been "outed," all but seventeen being still in active service; 218 were without sufficient means; 133 without congregations. At Belper, "£28 a year is the least a minister can subsist on"; in Norfolk, "ministers cannot live like ministers under £50." Many of the items are amusing, and some pathetic; all throw light on dissenting life and customs.

The volume under review (why is the "Contents" at the end?) gives a literatim reproduction of the manuscript, a commentary on the Union, the Fund, and its administration, and an index (pp. 198-393) of persons and places. This "index," the fruit of much research and wide knowledge, gives short biographies of all mentioned. It is marked by that thoroughness and ability which those who know Mr. Gordon's work in the "Dictionary of National Biography" and elsewhere have come to expect and is enlivened by characteristic "asides." At all points where tested it has been found reliable and accurate, though the editor's caution is perhaps extreme in refusing to identify Morris (p. 98) with Roger Morrice, ejected minister and antiquary. Altogether, Mr. Gordon and the Manchester University are to be congratulated on a very competent and useful contribution to ecclesiastical history.

ALBERT PEEL.

The Old Empire and the New. By A. P. NEWTON, D.LIT.
London: Dent and Sons. 1917. 2s. 6d. net.

THOSE who have attempted a similar task will know the difficulty of compressing within six lectures a general view of the character of the British Empire, the old as well as the new. Under the separate headings of Administration, Sea-power, Imperial Trade and Relations with Native Races, Dr. Newton makes good the thesis of his opening lecture, "The Continuity of Imperial History," and leads to his closing review of the "steps towards imperial unity." In his treatment of the subjects of the American Revolution and the Mercantile system he shows himself dispassionate and shrewd, and in a striking passage he anticipates the line of argument since adopted by General Smuts, when he suggests that there may be in the future greater equilibrium between land- and sea-power. Our first duty is, then, to thank Dr. Newton for a singularly suggestive and interesting little volume.

The readers of HISTORY, however, are, for the most part, largely concerned with the details and minutiae of the subject; and therefore it may be worth while to call attention to a few points where either the author or the critic is for the moment nodding. What were the *Seven* nations of the Illinois country? (We hear much of the *Five* nations and of the *Six*, after the migration of the Tuscarora); and in spite of the individual merits of Sir William Johnson, can it be said that under the old colonial system men were "discovering how to manage a native protectorate with success"? In the war that ended with the Peace of Ryswick it was not, assuredly, the case that the war was confined to Europe, whatever may have been the intention of the Treaty of Neutrality of 1686. By a curious slip we are told that "it was found impossible to get any adequate help from New England" against the French, and that Virginia was left to bear the brunt alone. In fact, the price paid by Massachusetts in blood

and treasure exceeded the aggregate efforts of all the other colonies, and Virginia was conspicuous in its shirking of obligations.

The Navigation Laws are described as the special weapon of Burghley, whereas, according to Dr. Cunningham, he was very far from being an enthusiast for their policy. Some words are apparently left out in a sentence on p. 90, which, as it stands, seems unintelligible. "Canada," we are told, "which regarded with regret the abolition of imperial preference, when it suited her interests, but when, on its expiry, the States refused to renew it . . . all liking for such arrangements was quenched." We presume that after "interests" should be inserted some such words as "accepted reciprocity from the United States." "Warnes," on p. 102, should presumably be "Warner"; and, though the statement is literally correct, considering that the Government of Cape Colony was at the time an autocracy, it may mislead to say that England "wished to confer upon the negroes of her African possessions all the political rights of citizenship that were possessed by her own people resident there." Neither was the measure due to "the England of the first Reformed Parliament"; the ordinance in question was passed in 1828. Responsible government was not brought into operation in Australia in 1850; and the clauses in the Australian Government Bill permitting the union of the Colonies for common purposes did not cause considerable friction, seeing that they had been quietly withdrawn in the passage of the measure through Parliament. All these, however, are minor points; the main thing is that we have here a volume which no one who is interested in the meaning of the British Empire should neglect to study.

H. E. EGERTON.

The World of States. By C. DELISLE BURNS. Headley Brothers. 2s. net.

Proposals for the Prevention of Future Wars. By VISCOUNT BRYCE and others. Allen and Unwin. 1s. net.

The Framework of a Lasting Peace. Edited by L. S. WOOLF. Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d.

Neutrality versus Justice. By A. J. JACOBS. Fisher Unwin. 2s.

War Speeches by British Ministers, 1914-1916. Fisher Unwin. 1s. net.

The War and the Future. By the RT. HON. SIR ROBERT BORDEN. Hodder and Stoughton. 2s.

War-time Speeches. By LT.-GEN. the RT. HON. J. C. SMUTS. Hodder and Stoughton. 1s. net.

America and Freedom: being the Statements of President Wilson on the War. With a Preface by VISCOUNT GREY. Allen and Unwin. 1s. net.

Catalogue of War Publications. By G. W. PROTHERO, LITT.D., with the assistance of Alex. J. Philip. Murray. 2s. 6d.

THE titles of most of these volumes carry their own recommendation to the public. It is well that we should have accessible in a cheap and permanent form such contributions to contemporary history as the *War Speeches of British Ministers*, to which Mr. Asquith is the chief contributor, the others being Viscount Grey, Mr. Lloyd

George, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Churchill, Lord Kitchener, Mr. Bonar Law, and Lord Curzon. The volume is an excellent shilling's worth, running to 374 pages. Not less important are the utterances of President Wilson; possibly they are more so, for he counts in the United States for as much as all the British orators combined do in the British Isles. General Smuts and Sir Robert Borden have also volumes to themselves representing the South African and Canadian points of view; but General Smuts is more interesting on the future organisation of the British Empire and of peace than on our objects in the war. His speeches no doubt indicate the line he took in the Imperial Conference, and are of the greatest importance as representing the attitude of South Africa to the proposed Imperial Union which has been discussed in four articles in this review.

He also deals with that "League of Nations" the formation of which is the subject of most of the other volumes before us. There have been about three dozen different proposals, but for practical purposes they may be reduced to the half-dozen set out and examined by Mr. Woolf. They are two emanating from The Hague; the proposals of the American League to Enforce Peace; that of the English League of Nations Society; the scheme of Lord Bryce and others; and the far more elaborate Convention drafted by the Fabian Society. Mr. Woolf provides some sound criticism, particularly of the conventional distinction between "justiciable" and "non-justiciable" disputes. It is clear that an international tribunal confined to the settlement of justiciable disputes will be useless for the purpose of averting wars; for a justiciable dispute is one in which neither disputant thinks that its honour or its vital interests are involved, and it is only over disputes in which they are involved that a nation goes to war to-day. The other disputes were settled by diplomacy or arbitration.

But the most interesting and original of these contributions to the subject is Mr. Jacobs's. He is, we believe, a business-man who has not hitherto ventured upon authorship, and whose historical and juridical accomplishments leave something to be desired. But his little book is the result of years of study and reflexion, and it makes a distinct addition to the literature of the problem. Briefly, Mr. Jacobs's point is that the root of the evil lies in that protection, and even approval, of neutrality in war which leaves individual States at the mercy of their neighbours; there should, he thinks, be no more neutrality among States than there is between the criminal and the community. He advocates a simple league for security against invasion; once that security is guaranteed, there may be room for international law and its paraphernalia of courts, but without it there is no effective sanction and no binding obligation. It is the lack of security which produces militarism in all its forms, hampers the free play of public opinion, and forces weaker States into unnatural alliances, just as mediæval anarchy compelled the weaker individuals to seek protection from the over-mighty subject. There are weak points in Mr. Jacobs's argument, but it is one which deserves consideration at the hands of the Governments and their advisers now busied with the question.

Mr. Delisle Burns's volume is a thoughtful but rapid survey of the various problems involved in our conception of the State and its relation with other States. He might almost have taken as his text the epigram that the Renaissance, in its political aspect, dethroned

the mediæval superstition of the Church and enthroned the modern superstition of the State. That modern superstition is at the root of many of our problems to-day, particularly our international problems. But inasmuch as it is difficult to drive out one superstition without the help of another, what superstition will assist to expel that of the State? We shall not find a solution even in the multitude of war-books and pamphlets industriously and usefully catalogued by Dr. Prothero and Mr. Philip; their index alone runs to 158 closely-printed columns.

A. F. POLLARD.

The Coming Polity. By V. BRANFORD and PATRICK GEDDES. Williams and Norgate. 5s. *Ideas at War.* By PATRICK GEDDES and G. SLATER. Williams and Norgate. 5s.

THESE are the first two volumes in a new series described as a *Popular Library of Regional, Human, and Civic Studies, and their Application to Current Issues*. We notice them here in so far as they can be considered historical studies, and, as such, their relation to any accurate view of the past is so vague and slight that one has grave doubts as to classing them as "historical" at all. There are, however, certain points in the retrospective attitude of the writers which claim some attention from readers of HISTORY. They—especially in the former volume—lay stress on the work of Comte and Le Play as pioneers in a "social" view of history, *i.e.*, in thinking that the most important things to trace in history are those that indicate the growth of a common life in the world, in national and civic matters, as well as in international. We are especially grateful to Mr. Branford for calling attention to the life and work of Le Play, who is too little known in this country. A French mining engineer, sent to represent his country at the First International Exhibition in London in 1851, he carried back with him ideas which led to the Paris Exhibition of 1855, and then became the first of a great series of public servants who have specially studied the conditions of the working classes in industrial countries with a view to their amelioration. Of such we in England have Charles Booth, Arnold Toynbee, Canon Barnett. Mr. and Mrs. Webb, and many more who have made the ideals which Prof. Geddes and Mr. Branford urge upon us, not only a policy to be pursued more energetically when the war is over, but a present, actually growing before us while the war is on.

The authors also appear right to the present reviewer in arguing, from the past, for a spiritual force and direction in society independent, as far as may be, of the direction of the State. In this they wisely point us away from the Prussian example and on to lines more consonant with our national traditions. And we must also wish them all success in their attempt to strengthen and glorify the local spirit, and give us places to love and be proud of in our towns and cities. In these regional matters Prof. Geddes's initiative has already borne good fruit both in Edinburgh, in Chelsea, and in the recent surveys carried out at Newbury and many other places.

But, as we hinted above, the historical element in all this is somewhat thin, and one must conclude by regretting that such valuable ideas should have been introduced to the public in such a hasty and unfinished style. The writing and the arrangement of matter are so chaotic that the hard-pressed or orderly reader

will be inclined to overlook the ore in his impatience at the dross. Every well-wisher will beg Prof. Geddes and his coadjutors to take more pains with the succeeding volumes. His purpose is worth it.

F. S. MARVIN.

The Teaching of History. By C. H. JARVIS. Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. 1917.

DR. C. H. JARVIS is lecturer in education at the City of Leeds Training College, and his book is based on lectures delivered at that institution. It seems to aim mainly at giving practical help to teachers who are not specialists in history, by explaining to them why history should be taught, what history they should teach, how they should teach it, and how they should correlate their lessons with other studies. With the laudable object of being as practical as possible, Mr. Jarvis has made his book both a treatise on method, and a sort of substitute for a date book. How far this combination is really helpful must be decided by those who use the book in the class-room, but, assuming it to be so, we may generally praise the wisdom of his generalisations, and, with perhaps greater reserve, his summary treatment of the periods by which he elects to illustrate his method. Perhaps some of his *obiter dicta* must not be taken too literally, as, for example, the "evidently" "Danish origin" of a rude romanesque font in a Yorkshire church. And the curious way in which Anglo-Saxon history is stressed, while very little is said of the period between the Normans and the Tudors, will not commend itself to everybody. But where selection must be made, no two persons would make it in the same way. Our main doubt is the extent to which the really uninstructed teacher would find the method useful to him. What would he make, for instance, of the statistics of witch-killing in one place, or the casual reference in another to the partiality of a chronicler of whom he can know nothing? But if such books have to be written, Dr. Jarvis's little treatise has as good a claim to see the light as most of its type, and we cannot praise too highly his lofty conception of the dignity of his subject or his appeal to the over-practical schoolmaster to allow his pupils to spend less time in working out sums in arithmetic and more in such human subjects as history and literature.

T. F. TOUT.

The Middle Group of American Historians. By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., LL.D. Pp. x+324. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1917. 8s. 6d. net.

In any comparison between the progress of education in the United States and in England during the last two generations one cannot fail to note how much larger has been the part played by the study of history among our cousins across the Atlantic than among ourselves. It has not been due to the fact that America has had more historians of the front rank than has England, and no such claim would be advanced; it is rather to be attributed to the widespread interest that has been taken by American readers in the growth of the nation and to the fact that, owing to the narrowness of the field to be covered, it has been necessary for writers on American history who desired to be original to dig systematically among the national records and not merely to be content with re-

arranging the old traditional published material, and making up for their lack of a knowledge of the original records by the grace and agility of their literary style. Most of the great American historians, with the exception of Bancroft and Washington Irving, have been remarkable rather for the industry of their research than for their powers of political advocacy or their perfection of literary form, and this has brought it about that history has advanced further in America as a science than as an art.

Dr. Bassett's most interesting volume traces this advance by an examination of the careers and methods of many of the American historians between 1820 and 1880, the period when scientific methods of historical study were being formulated. The period had been preceded by an earlier one when historical writing in America had risen little above the compilation of annals, and it has been followed by the modern period during which history has taken one of the foremost places as a subject of intellectual interest in America. Dr. Bassett traces first the course of historical writing prior to the Revolution and in the earlier years of the formative period, and then deals in turn with the work of Peter Force, the compiler of the American tracts; of Jared Sparks, the biographer of Washington; of George Bancroft, the panegyrist of the Revolution; and of W. H. Prescott and John Lothrop Motley, who took as their subjects, not American history at all, but the more dramatic history of Spain and of Holland. The book cannot fail to be a source of the most amused interest to anyone who has ever tried his hand at the gathering of historical material or at any historical writing, for it abounds in the description of difficulties such as are distressingly familiar, and it is also not without attraction for the general reader. It describes the introduction of history as a subject into the American universities, and more than one of the passages it quotes remind us that difficult as are our own times for any intellectual exercise, such difficulties have not been unmet with in the past.

"The war and the numerous avocations consequent upon it," wrote the historian, Ebenezer Hazard, in 1779, "have thrown every man's mind into such an unsettled and confused state that but few can think steadily upon any subject. They hear of useful designs, they give you all the encouragement which can be derived from the warmest approbation of your plan, they will even promise you assistance. Politics intrude—kick you and your designs out of their heads; and when you appear again, why, they really forgot that the matter had been mentioned to them." This curiously apt quotation is only one of many that might be gleaned from Dr. Bassett's pages, and his whole book may be warmly commended both to the historian and to the general reader.

ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON.

SHORT NOTICES.

MR. J. KESTELL FLOYER's *Studies in the History of English Church Endowments* (Macmillans, 1917, 3s.) is an unsatisfactory book. The large amount of miscellaneous information, painfully collected and agreeably related, is rendered almost useless by the unhappy want of grasp of the fundamentals of the subject. Even

when good books are used their message is frequently misunderstood. Such technical terms as "folkland," "secular," "vicar," "rector," and "parson" are used in a blurred and confused fashion. As a specimen we may take Mr. Floyer's doctrine of the "parson," whom he believes to have been a "sort of thane" (p. 49), "a person with more refinement and culture than the secular landowner, and with larger views than the village priest" (p. 94). Unfortunately, this beneficent personage "disappeared" in "the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." Mr. Floyer holds that at some time "most Cathedral churches" followed the rule of Chrodegang (p. 57), and that the Dominicans provided our ancestors with a "banking system" (p. 114). Proper names are often mangled and mis-spelt, as witness the string of Welsh names on p. 76. The references are vague and prudently so. We took the trouble to look up Mr. Floyer's strange account of the Church of Loughborough in his authority, the Rolls of Bishop Hugh of Wells (I. 253). It was hardly a surprise to find that Loughborough was a not unusual case of a mediety of unequal portions, and that Mr. Floyer's views seem only explicable on the basis of a misunderstanding of six lines of not very difficult Latin.

T. F. T.

In the thirty-five pages of this lecture on *Mediæval Town Planning*, delivered at the John Rylands Library on December 13th, 1916 (Manchester, the University Press, 1s. 6d.), Prof. Tout has set down all that everyone ought to know on this subject, and has given those who want more knowledge plenty of advice, where to get it. He has drawn his illustrations from Silesia, from Poland, from Aquitaine, and from England and Wales (Salisbury, Flint, Conway, Carnarvon, Hull, Winchelsea); and the collection of maps makes an interesting study, even though a modern reader may feel that the rectangular symmetry of such a "bastide" as Montpazier must have induced boredom even in the traditional Gascon. It is curious once more to note that 1350 marks the end of mediæval town planning; the fourteenth century saw so many movements die or stiffen into paralysed mummies. Prof. Tout calls Aigues-Mortes a "bustling little town"; he must have visited it on Sunday or on a feast-day.

C. G. C.

WE have received the numbers for July and October, 1917, and January, 1918, completing Volume III. of the *Catholic Historical Review* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.: \$1 each; annual subscription, \$3.50). Among their contents are the following, of interest to others besides students of the history of Roman Catholicism in the States. July: an article on Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, first President of the Indies (1493-1523), by the Rev. J. F. O'Hara; ten documents from the Vatican Archives illustrating the history of the mediæval See of Gardar in Greenland, printed from the rare facsimiles published by J. C. Heywood in 1893, with a bibliographical note upon the subject. October: articles on the controversy between Grotius and De Laet on the origin of the American Aborigines, by Dr. H. F. Wright; the sources of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, by Gaillard Hunt; and the Church in Spanish American History, by Dr. Julius Klein. January: an article on the Inquisition in the Philippines (1583-1671), by Dr. C. H. Cunningham.

E. J. D.

It has been held that one of the results of the Industrial Revolution was the passing of the intellectual leadership of England from the South to the new great towns of the North; and it is noteworthy that the Bradford Library was founded in 1774, very soon after the change began which transformed the ancient little market town into a centre of the worsted industry. Its story is briefly told by the present Deputy Chief Librarian of the Public Libraries, Mr. Miles E. Hartley, in an interesting paper on *The Literary Institutions of Bradford, with Notes on the Early Printers*, reprinted from *Book Auction Records*, Vol. XIV. The other institutions include the Mechanics' Institute, which, after a false start in 1826, was established in 1832. A book issued by one of the early printers in 1795 bore the remarkable title, *Four Addresses to the People of England, intended to have been spoken in the first general Convention, by the author of A Concise Sketch of the Intended Revolution*. E. J. D.

THE effect of entry into the war upon the study of history in the United States is clearly reflected in the *History Teachers' Magazine* (Vol. VIII., 1917; Vol. IX., Jan., Feb., March, 1918: Philadelphia: the McKinley Publishing Co.: 25 cents a copy, \$2 a year). There is no reference to the war in any of the sixteen contributions to the Conference on the Elementary (first-year) College Course (held at the meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1916), given in the number for April, 1917; but in May there are articles on "The War and History Teaching in Europe," and "Historical Light on the League to Enforce Peace." During April a National Board for Historical Service was formed, and an account is given in the November number. It appointed four committees, mainly of university teachers, under the general chairmanship of Professor E. B. Greene, of Illinois, to consider "what reorganisation of historical material should be made in the usual high school subjects of ancient, European, English, and American history"; and "suggestions" prepared under the direction of these committees soon became a feature of each number of the *Magazine*. Those for March, 1918, were on "The Great War and Roman History"; "English History, 1815-1914"; "Interaction of European and American Politics, 1823-61"; and "The Use and Abuse of Current Events in History Classes." Practically the whole of this number is concerned directly or indirectly with the war; it is more than double the size of that for March, 1917; and it includes as a "War Supplement" (the third of a series) a critical bibliography, which is to be followed in April and May by others on war geography and maps and "The Economic Background." These supplements are being reprinted as issued, and sold at prices of from 10 to 25 cents "for use in classes, reading circles, clubs, and public meetings."

E. J. D.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date. The prices given are net.]

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY of India : Annual Report, 1913-14. Calcutta. 30s. (p. 593, 1917.)

ANCIENT COINAGE, 700-300 B.C. By Percy Gardner. xvi+463 pp. Clarendon Press. 18s. (p. 100.)

PLUTARCH'S LIVES, Vol. V. Eng. trans. B. Perrin. ix+544 pp. Dto's Roman History, Vol. VI. Eng. trans. E. Cary and H. B. Foster. 492 pp. (The Loeb Classical Library.) Heinemann. 5s. each.

CHRISTIANITY in History. By J. V. Bartlet and A. J. Carlyle. xx+613 pp. Macmillan. 12s. (p. 76.)

THE CONVERSION of Europe. By C. H. Robinson. xxiii+640 pp. Longmans. 18s. (p. 645, 1917.)

GUIDE to the Study of Medieval History. By L. J. Paetow. xvi+552 pp. Univ. of California Press. \$2.

SOCIAL LIFE IN BRITAIN from the Conquest to the Reformation. A collection of extracts from original sources, compiled by G. G. Coulton. xvi+540 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 15s. (p. 79.)

MAGNA CARTA Commemoration Essays. Ed. H. E. Malden. Preface Viscount Bryce. xxxi+310 pp. Royal Hist. Soc. (p. 642, 1917.)

CAMBRIDGE PAPERS. By W. W. Rouse Ball. 326 pp. Macmillan. 6s. (p. 104; *Educ. Suppl.*, p. 91.)

THE HISTORICAL REGISTER of the University of Cambridge. Ed. J. R. Tanner. Cambridge Univ. Press. 12s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 47.)

VETUS LIBER Archidiaconi Eliensis. Ed. C. L. Feltoe and E. H. Minns. xxxviii+323 pp. Cambridge Antiquarian Soc. 10s.

THE REGISTER of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford (1422-48). Ed. A. T. Bannister. xii+382 pp. Hereford : The Cantilupe Soc.

ENGLISH CHURCH Woodwork, 1250-1550. By F. E. Howard and F. H. Crossley. xxxiii+370 pp. Batsford. 30s. (p. 41.)

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHAUCER'S ENGLAND. Ed. Dorothy Hughes. xiv+302 pp. Longmans. 7s. 6d. (p. 44.)

WESSEL GANSFORT (c. 1420-1489). Life by E. W. Miller; principal works trans. J. W. Scudder. 2 vols. xvi+333+v+369 pp. Putnams. 16s. (p. 88.)

AMERIC VESPUCE, 1451-1512. Par H. Vignaud. Paris : E. Leroux. (p. 74.)

SEA-POWER* AND FREEDOM. By G. Fiennes. xi+324 pp. Skeffington. 10s. 6d. (p. 606, 1917.)

PORTUGUESE PORTRAITS (13th to 16th centuries). By A. G. F. Bell. xvi+144 pp. Blackwell. 5s.

EARLY ENGLISH MINIATURES in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch. Intro. H. A. Kennedy. xii+44 pp., 183 reproductions. "The Studio." 7s. 6d. (p. 633, 649, 1917.)

THE EPISCOPATE and the Reformation. By J. P. Whitney. 199 pp. Robert Scott. 2s. 6d. n. (p. 16.)

OLD ENGLISH SCHOLARSHIP in England, 1566-1800. By E. N. Adams. 209 pp. Yale Univ. Press. 8s. 6d.

THREE CENTURIES OF PRICES of Wheat, Flour, and Bread. By J. Kirkland. 64 pp. Borough Polytechnic Institute, S.E.1. 3s.

THE GREAT FRAUD of Ulster. By T. M. Healy. xx+192 pp. M. H. Gill. 2s. 6d.

HUGO GROTIUS. By H. Vreeland. xiii+258 pp. New York : Oxford Univ. Press. 10s. (p. 75.)

PAPERS relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643-7. Ed. C. Sanford Terry. 2 vols. cvi+297+vi+696 pp. Scottish Hist. Soc. (p. 40.)

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E. J. D.

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HISTORY

JULY, 1918.

AMERICA'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR : AN HISTORICAL STATEMENT.¹

AN audience of intelligent and well-read British people is well aware of the fact that America long held aloof from the complications of European politics, but it is not altogether easy to comprehend how remote were the diplomatic controversies of this side of the ocean. Even the intellectual classes discussed such questions seldom, and when the subject was discussed the matter appeared distant and devoid of immediate interest; it was impersonal and bookish. Only those that had travelled in Europe had much notion of the tension existing on the Continent, and only keen observers discovered that, for it was not to be seen on a hurried holiday trip through the art galleries of the Old World. We had little or no knowledge of the ever-vexed Balkans, and had cyclopædic ignorance of the Eastern question. Individually we may have had our sympathies and our mild antipathies, but as a people we were unsuspicious, guileless, and unsophisticated. Some of these attributes may appear to be inapplicable, for you may know that in Governmental matters we have sometimes been sharp, perhaps I should say aggressive, but, on the whole, as a people we live in an air of toleration.

I trust that the Italian historian was in part wrong when he contrasted Europe with America, saying that Europe was clouded with hate and America brightened by friendliness; but I am confident that we as a nation were free from mean suspicions and lived in an atmosphere of good nature. This good nature is not necessarily temperamental. We are not good-natured now—we are ugly. Our good-naturedness was in large measure the

¹ A lecture delivered at University College on May 7th, 1918, with the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour in the chair.

product of ignorance, of absorption in our own affairs, and of intense interest in the game of business, in the task of social betterment, and in political controversy. Foreign affairs touched us only slightly. Moreover, we were a composite people, priding ourselves on our capacity to accept and to make our own the peoples of many nations. We watched, those of us that had intellectual interest in national development, the steady stream of immigrants pouring into the land, and though we often had misgivings we were generally carried along by characteristic optimism, and by a wholesome faith in the power of American ideals to make over the newcomers into citizens feeling and thinking as the rest of us did. Prejudices and dislikes and suspicions of alien peoples were, therefore, foreign to us; we did not reason about it, or ponder the problem particularly, we simply moved along unaware of danger and without feeling. Many of you will say to yourselves: "Much of this is also true of Britain; we have not nursed hatred or encouraged suspicion of other nations; we, too, have been friendly and open-minded." If you are saying so, you are doubtless speaking the truth. Certainly in America we were quite unprepared for an appreciation of the psychology of Germany, for any understanding of that mean jealousy, the petty and gross intolerance, the suspicions and sly intrigue which we have at last come to know so well.

For a hundred years and more America has been free from the entanglements of European politics. We appeared to have but one principle of foreign politics, and that was to mind our own business and to let Europe alone. Occasionally we were reminded that America had become a world-Power, but most of us smiled at the expression, thinking we had been a world-Power for a century or more, and not believing that we were called upon to abandon our old policy of isolation or be caught up in the tangled skein of Europe. We had one fixed policy, the Monroe doctrine, which meant what it might mean—for it was a perfect chameleon among doctrines—but, conveniently adaptable to exigencies of international affairs in the Western hemisphere, it was rigid in its application to Europe. America, for her own safety, for her own interest, was to lead her own life, and follow her own courses. This policy, if policy it may be called, for it is, after all, rather a feeling, a sentiment, and a tradition than a policy, may appear to you narrow and provincial, the child of selfishness and of ignorance. Well, I am not here to defend or apologise; I can only say that conditions are much as I have described them; and, again, you may possibly say that

you, too, in the care of your vast Empire, would have been quite content to be left alone; you would have been more than satisfied, most of you, if you could have believed that you could go on quite freely to do your best with your own problems without fear of molestation or interference from some jealous outsider.

The Monroe doctrine is defended by practically all American students of history for what it has accomplished, but, right or wrong, it was popularly held and supported; it is practically the only policy of State which we have ever had, and which through the whole of our national existence has maintained itself and strangely persisted despite the developments of modern history, despite the fact that the ocean had become a highway and not a barrier, despite the strength of commercial and intellectual bonds connecting us with Europe, despite the growth of democracy over here and the extension of those principles of popular government which at one time we justly thought were our peculiar possession. But deeper, more far-reaching than a policy of State embalmed in a phrase was the strength of tradition, our one tradition, and deeper still a sentiment, a feeling; an attitude of mind, a sense that we were to move along fulfilling as best we might our own destiny, and carrying our burdens as steadily as our own strength permitted.

To-day America is stirred as it never has been before; not even in the days of our own Civil War, I think, was feeling more intense or thought more bitter. We know that America has been called to its own, called to give proof on the field of battle that it values honour and liberty and truth and fair dealing more than life. We are not ignobly striving for profit or territorial aggrandisement; we have no hidden purpose in our detestation of the forces which have plunged the world into the misery of unspeakable sorrow and desolation. But this I must say—and I believe I speak truthfully and with some slight knowledge—you and I should err if we did not see how difficult it was to reach the conviction that a European struggle was ours also; how difficult, how extremely difficult, to uproot those habits of thought which I believe I have not described too strongly. No one can be sure how thoroughly hereafter we shall participate in world affairs. I know not what to say, or how to express the contradictory impressions that come to me. I am confident of intense earnestness, of a profound feeling of duty, of pride in the leadership of a great American, whose vision is wide and whose love of humanity is strong. I am confident of deep and vivid sympathy for the unhappy Belgians to whom we have given food and care

and money. We have admiration for brave, sorrow-stricken France and for the quiet, masterful strength of Britain, by whose side we gladly fight. But I cannot be sure that we have altogether cast aside old supports or barriers, or that we have reached a stage where we can think internationally. It may be, we do not know, it may be that the old days of isolation are gone; it may be that we are henceforth to play a conspicuous rôle in the affairs of the world. To me that appears inevitable. Isolation conflicts with realities of modern life too strongly, our duty is too clear, your hopes for civilisation and peace are too nearly identical with ours, the world is too nearly one organic whole, the needs of humanity are too pressing to allow a nation like America to live its own life heedless and unmindful of responsibility for affairs beyond its borders; and so we may expect intelligent and, I hope, high-minded and generous participation of America in world affairs; but no one can be sure just how thoroughly we have cast aside our old habits.

From describing American attitude towards foreign affairs before the war I have passed on to a consideration of the present and the future, for already the past seems long past, and the present holds us in its grasp. I must endeavour, however, for the time, at least, to keep my mind within those early trying and soul-harrowing years when we were amazed, distracted, doubtful, full of newly awakened interest and newly aroused foreboding, stirred with sympathy and with hitherto unfelt passions, groping amid new scenes, learning new enmities, finding that we were in the presence of a dark, unseemly force that most of us had not dreamed of, holding fast, over-stubbornly, it may be, but holding still to what we were or had been, believing or trying to believe, or struggling out of the belief, that this war was not our war, turning over in our minds the responsibility involved in calling 100,000,000 peaceful people to arms, obtaining ourselves or hoping that the man on the street was getting a wider outlook on the world wherein he might see that patriotism is not enough—see narrow-souled patriotism exalting its own *Kultur* and beating down the life and hope of a wider humanity. From what I have already said it will be plain that a mental change and a sentimental change had to come before this wider outlook could be had; knowledge had to be gathered and new interests had to be created.

If I have been rightly informed, British notions of the American population are in danger of falling into one of two opposite errors. On the one side is the belief that we are a British people

who a hundred years or more ago broke away from Britain, and are still in all essentials British to the core. On the other side is the belief that British stock has been entirely submerged and that the land is filled with a myriad of men of different races but slightly affected by the culture and mental habits of the Mother Country. No one can with perfect precision describe the American people, certainly not in a few words, but it can be said with considerable positiveness that we are neither one thing nor the other. Even of the eighteenth century it could truthfully be said that not England but Europe was the Mother of America. The flood of emigrants that have come in the past fifty years in constantly increasing numbers has filled our land with millions of persons whose traditions are not British. A considerable portion of these persons have become Americanised, their children have learned the English language, and have been absorbed into our life. In 1910 the foreign white stock amounted to about one-third of the total population, 32,000,000 people. By foreign white stock I mean persons born in Europe or the children of foreign born. Of these 8,000,000 were German, though these figures do not include Austrian Germans; 2,500,000 were German born. In recent years there has been an influx of Russians, mostly Russian Jews, and also many Italians, with not a few Greeks. How far had these people, even those that had been in the land a decade or two, been actually absorbed? I cannot answer, but there are one or two things I can say with some assurance. Most of these people were proud of American citizenship, most of them felt that they had cast the past aside, many of them showed an appreciation for the elemental ideals of American life. And this leads me to a consideration of the other belief that some of you may hold, that this flood has submerged the old British stock. Here, again, the whole truth is illusive, but the main outstanding fact is, in my judgment, the astonishing vigour of Anglo-Saxon life. Nothing is to me, as I study American history and American conditions, more impressive than the force of the essentials of Anglo-American civilisation. The influences of language, of literature, of law have exerted and will continue to exert steady pressure, and the resulting civilisation will be largely identical with your own. After all, there is something compelling in the principles of individual liberty, in those principles of political thought and action which America inherited from Britain.

We have no conscious desire to counteract the qualities brought to our shores by the men from the European Continent. When in the past we have spoken of the immigration problem, and

realised the difficulties, we have not said: "Can these people be inoculated with the qualities of Anglo-Saxonism, can they be brought under the sway of the old British stock?" We have said: "Can we be sure that these people will become American, patriotic, and law-abiding? Will they accept what even in these latter days we call the ideals of American citizenship?" And it must be remembered that one of those ideals was hospitality, opportunity for the man of the Old World to start over again on our shores, and to go on and up with us. We have had no desire, and we have now no desire, to influence these people to any fixed standards of racial life.

I am discussing this subject only to show you certain elementary factors in a complicated situation. My intention is not to impugn the patriotism or the civic virtues of the recent immigrants; but it must be plain that among them sympathy for Britain would play no part, there would be no instinctive response to the needs of any foreign country, save the one or the other with which they were racially connected, and perhaps not with that. Many of these persons left the Old World to escape its military burdens. My object, let me repeat, is not to complain of the attitude of these millions, nor, on the other hand, to praise or defend them. To me the striking fact is this, that the vast majority were prepared, when the time came, to follow the flag of the United States, quietly to take up the load of war, and to walk forward with no other thought than patriotic devotion to the country of their adoption and the principles which they knew you as well as we are fighting for.

There is one other thought which I must offer, a simple one, but of real significance. The war was far away. I have emphasised our detachment and our seclusion from the political affairs of Europe, but I am speaking now only of the difficulty with which incidents are made real by the imagination, if those incidents are three or four thousand miles distant. You will say, perchance, that distance did not cloud the mind of the Australian or the South African. All the more honour to them. But, again, and I speak solely of facts as I see them, it was hard, very hard, for the average man in a prairie town of the Mississippi Valley to feel the actuality of the stories told him in his weekly paper. Such men as I have in mind are not unintelligent, they are not hopelessly narrow and dull. But they did not instinctively realise that this was their war. The reason will be given by any tyro in psychology: the war lacked immediateness.

If any considerable portion of what I have said is true, then

time was necessary to awaken new ideas and to get new points of view. Passions, I know, for which there has been emotional preparation, can quickly sweep across the Continent, but, while we are a sensitive people, and react quickly to certain elements, it is just impossible for a wave of impulse to pass from one side of the land to the other, unless by our previous history the brain-tracts have been developed through thought and experience. Of course, that is true of all peoples. The Germans flew to arms, flung themselves into war, because their minds had been dwelling on war, and because of the psychological effects of militarism. But America was in its essence a country of peace; men's minds needed to be wrenched from their moorings, or shunted on to new lines altogether, before they could even conceive of the barbarity of war.

Our population also lacked homogeneity, and you cannot by a single spark send a fire of passion through 100,000,000 men not in psychological contact. Plainly, then, the American people required time to learn, time to become homogeneous in their attitude towards the great question of the war. I am not contending reasons that we ought to have gone to war earlier; I am trying to be detached, unargumentative.

If you still ask why the common man did not more quickly grasp the complexities of the European conflict, I ask you in turn to let your mind wander from New York, with its million of foreign-born citizens, its great wealth, and its vast material splendour, prosperity, and poverty, onward across the Continent, over the Appalachians, across the prairies dotted with innumerable farm-houses and villages and populous towns, onwards to California and the Pacific, three thousand miles away, or down through the cotton-raising South and up to the wheat regions of Minnesota and the Dakotas, then over the iron and copper regions of Michigan. Face the difficulty of actually reproducing in your own mind the conditions of life, the spirit and the temper of that vast region, and, if you do, you will appreciate the task we had in visualising Europe, and you will possibly be astonished, as I sometimes am, not that we moved slowly, but that finally, little by little, step by step, we came to feel as a nation and as a single whole to see the thing in all its naked and vulgar ugliness, this thing with which we had to fight, in defence of civilisation, and the elementary principles of decency and manly justice.

What were the American sympathies in the earlier months of the war? You can probably answer that yourselves. In many quarters there was intuition and instantaneous sympathy for the

Allied cause. Many of us, ignorant as we were, had learned something of German military ambition. Some of us had knowledge of German arrogance. Some of us realised that a War Lord reigned in Berlin, and we had long believed that his great military establishment menaced the peace of Europe. Such persons reacted to the side of Britain and France almost at the very beginning—strongly, as soon as they saw the facts—but I venture to say that if there was hesitation in reaching definite conclusions no one who has read the history of modern diplomacy will altogether blame the hesitant. But soon came the British Blue Book, with the despatches of your Foreign Office; the thing we wanted to know was: Who began this war? We wanted to know authoritatively, documentarily, unequivocally—and we found out. We discovered the truth we were seeking, in part from the British Blue Book; and its revelations were considerably confirmed by the German White Book. This German volume is the most important document of the war; a revelation of military arrogance, of haughty intolerance. It was convincing even more by what it omitted than by what it contained; for if the old adage was ever true it was true of this particular volume: The suppression of the truth is the confession of falsehood.

What I am now saying must appear to you like lines from ancient history, and for that matter so does it to me. But I need to recall for historical accuracy the painful interest with which we turned the leaves of the Blue and White and Grey Books as they came to hand, and how those of us having access to their pages were enlightened in our sympathies and steeled in our repugnance to the methods of autocratic militarism. The story of the scrap of paper set America to thinking hard. Never did the carrying power of a phrase more clearly manifest itself. Then for some months we studied and discussed the invasion of Belgium, and began to gather in the tales of German atrocities, at first with incredulity, but with steadily growing amazement and indignation. Doubtless you passed through the same mental experiences yourselves. Can one be ashamed of his unwillingness to believe that a nation calling itself civilised could be guilty of the cruelty practised by the German Army in Belgium? In our case, as perhaps in yours, it was only after the publication of the Bryce Report with the accompanying documents that we saw the reality and believed the unbelievable. We discovered, then, what militarism meant in its final qualities—militarism which inculcated devastation and terrorism as a portion of definite military policy. Belgium settled the sympathies of the great mass of the people of America. We saw

the whole horrible thing was premeditated, planned with cold, calculating, repulsive German efficiency. We realised that mobilisation plans are not formed in a moment, or strategic railways laid down in a night; we realised that *Realpolitik*—the very word a reproach—included deceit as well as barbarity. Even in these days of misgiving and distress we may take some comfort possibly in believing that international bullying, *Machtpolitik*, was shattered when it shocked the conscience of the world. John Bright, I believe it was, said that the only value of war is to teach geography; but this war taught a language. We learned what *Schrecklichkeit* means; and we discovered that terrorism is involved in the whole philosophy of war when it is carried out with relentless thoroughness and with logical disregard for the ordinary promptings of compassion.

German propagandists early began to cultivate American opinion. I do not know what effect missionaries of *Kultur* like Herr Dernburg made on the popular mind. On the whole I imagine Herr Dernburg himself believes to-day that he did more harm than good. Certainly more harm if he succeeded in arousing the passion and increasing the prejudices of German-Americans, and certainly harm for the German cause if he awakened resentment in the hearts of such simple-minded Americans as were aware of his purposes. The great body of the American people were not hoodwinked by the German propagandists. A famous American said early in the war that he had been asked by British friends whether it would be well to send material to America to win the people to the cause of the Allies, and he replied: "I do not think it is at all necessary; the American people at large have a good deal of sense, when all is said, and, if their good sense fail, the German Ambassador will help them to appreciate the rectitude of the Allied position."

The attempts of German propagandists to justify the invasion showed an astonishing inability or unwillingness to make frank use of public documentary material. Documents found in the Belgian archives showed that some years ago an English military officer and a Belgian official had consulted together as to what steps England should take in case Germany invaded Belgium. After Germany had done the very thing which England and Belgium had feared German propagandists tried to justify her by declaring that Belgium was considering means of preventing it. The use made of the documents actually affronted our intelligence and added to our distrust.

You are about to ask me why America did not plunge into

the war or immediately prepare for the conflict, just as soon as the enormity of Prussian deceit and cruelty was realised. Again, I cannot tell you, and again I refrain from speaking apologetically or in condemnation. I can only say that a very few, a very limited number, in my judgment, believed by the early spring of 1915 that this war was our war in the sense that we should enter. After all, did a nation ever before in the world's history enter a conflict only because it loathed the principles and despised the conduct of another nation, solely because of moral indignation, or have nations been led into war by ministers or rulers, or for some evident material gain? My historical information may be insufficient, but, as I see it, the nearest approach to such altruistic conduct was when you yourselves entered this war and sent over your famous little army to win imperishable glory and to die on the field of honour at Mons. Pray do not accuse me of dealing in smart retort. You are no stronger defender of British honour, courage, and high-mindedness than I am. I claim at such a time as this and in this presence no indulgence as an ignorant outsider. But am I not right in thinking that your interests in some respects coincided or appeared to coincide with your duty and your honour? If you answer no, that you offered all for humanity, I shall not deny you. I am not wrong, however, I think, in attributing to Mr. Balfour himself the remark, when we did enter the war, that it was the most magnanimous and generous act in history.

May I give one more answer to why we did not enter the war as soon as *Machtpolitik* was revealed in all its hideousness—an answer, I mean, not already suggested by the earlier portions of my remarks in which I attempted to portray American psychological condition? The answer is this: a great many persons were strengthened in their antipathy to war. Instead of making men more warlike the struggle in Europe made them more determined to keep the peace. We clung to an ideal not totally foolish, though time proved it to be vain. We believed that the stricken world might actually be benefited if one great nation should keep out of the struggle. We thought, not stupidly, though wrongly, that the spectacle of a nation's standing almost unarmed and totally unafraid might be of some service in ushering in the day of peace and of reconciliation.

Of one thing I can speak with much confidence—and in such a complicated matter it is comforting to have one sure piece of solid ground to stand upon—the financial gain from neutrality entered into our calculations not with the weight of a farthing. Profits from munition-making or from trade influenced the general

sense of the country not one iota. At no time did we measure our duty or our interest in dollars and cents or scan with mean avidity the pages of our ledgers. Occasionally, it is true, one heard of the advantages offered by the war for increasing our trade with South America; but here again in no appreciable degree did this enter into our calculations or sear our consciences.

Shall I say a word about the *Lusitania*, about that shameful, premeditated, advertised, and dastardly crime? It is difficult even now to speak about it with calmness, and there is no reason why one should. You know, of course, of President Wilson's messages, and you know that here and in America as well there was some sharp criticism because he did not follow his words with immediate and energetic action. There are many to-day who believe that, if he had then spoken the word, America would have sprung to arms, that the masses of the people were waiting for the word. Well, who can tell? I think myself that even then, in the spring of 1915, the people were not ready. Some believed, or strove to believe, that we had no right to furnish munitions to the Allies; many had not yet fully realised the enormity of Germany's criminality. Only, I repeat, only by a partial understanding of the America I have sought to describe to you can one see the difficulty of arousing the people to war. America is a democratic country; the people do not blindly follow leadership or accept opinions from others. If the President had taken a false step, he would have lost his powers of guidance, and, moreover, though many were bitter and all were unhappy, the masses of sensible, sober people, unlearned in matters of international law, did not readily see how totally illegal and totally brutal was the attack on unoffending travellers and non-combatants. Moreover—and here is the most crucial but more illusive and intangible thing—the nation, in its very reluctance to act, in its readiness to wait, in its willingness to accept affront and injury, showed certain qualities of intelligent patience, a certain obstinate love of peace, a certain over-indulgence in the desire to be fair-minded. It was one of those maddening and inhibiting contradictions such as illuminate and darken the course of history—idealism and rectitude of purpose standing in some measure in their own light.

All through those years we hoped, as probably the President did, that we could save the shattered fabric of international law by protest and expostulation. That appeared the chiefest duty of a neutral nation; that duty might justify the retention of neutrality even when we ourselves were suffering injury at the hands of the

belligerents. That duty possibly justified even our complaints of the British blockade, which, I think it must be confessed, constituted at least an unexpected expansion of the legal privileges of a belligerent. Of course, as we now see, words could have no effect on a German Government, bent on beating down all opposition and on setting up its appetite as the central principle of international law; but I cannot help thinking there was at least some evidence of character and considerable right-mindedness in our hope that argument and stern rebuke would save something from the wreckage.

After the *Sussex* affair, in the summer of 1916, our relations with the German Government were again greatly strained, but President Wilson succeeded in getting a promise that merchantmen should not be sunk without warning and without saving lives, unless the vessel should resist or attempt to escape. This promise was coupled with a condition that we should compel Great Britain to surrender what Berlin asserted to be an illegal blockade. Remembering, possibly, the net into which Napoleon enticed James Madison about 107 years ago, our Government did not accept the condition, but warned Germany that her obligations were "individual, not joint, absolute, and not relative." We rested easier; but we now realise that this willingness to forgo the sinking of peaceful vessels and the taking of lives can be accounted for by the fact that the old U-boats were being destroyed and the Teutonic Powers did not then have in readiness the large and improved monsters of the deep with which to carry on the work of destruction. Conditions were bad enough during the latter half of 1916, but with the beginning of the new year ruthless warfare was openly and brazenly instituted. With the announcement that no warning would be given when ships were sunk within a war zone (1917), cutting off nearly the whole coast of Western Europe, President Wilson sent the German Ambassador home, and war seemed inevitable. One of the astounding revelations of the political methods of the German Foreign Office was the announcement, made by the Chancellor to the Reichstag and the German people, that President Wilson had broken off diplomatic relations abruptly, although the step was taken eighteen months or more after the exchange of dispatches on the *Lusitania* crime, and half a year after the exchange of Notes about the *Sussex*.

Why did President Wilson, after long effort to maintain neutrality and even to hasten the coming of peace, finally advocate war? Before attempting to answer this question let us recall the

President's efforts to bring the conflicting nations to a statement of their terms, and to hold out to the world the conception of the establishment of permanent peace. The President's message on this subject came out almost simultaneously with Germany's proposal in which she suggested peace on the basis of an assumed victory for her army. Such a peace the Allied nations could not accept without accepting militarism, without losing the all-important objects for which millions of men had already given their lives; and probably most of us in America believed that such proposals were put forth chiefly to make the German people think that the Allies were the aggressors, and must bear the odium of further conflict. When the President called on the warring nations to state their terms, possibly he still cherished the hope that, if terms were frankly stated, negotiations might actually be begun; almost certainly he desired such open statement as would show to the world at large the real essence of the conflict, and also show that we were not ready to enter the struggle until we had made every possible effort to bring peace. The President's appeal produced no very tangible results, although the Allied Powers stated their desires and purposes with considerable definiteness, and these terms did not appear to us unreasonable or unworthy.

Throughout this time the President and all thinking Americans were interested chiefly in the maintenance of civilisation, and they looked forward not merely to victory or to the acquisition of territory by one or another nation, but to the foundation of a lasting peace by the establishment of principles of justice and reason. We found that we could not paint in too dark colours the future of the world if we are all to remain under the pall of fear and suspicion, and under the overwhelming burden of armament; and thus we came to see that without America's entrance into this war there was little hope for relief from the crushing weight of war and the almost equally burdensome weight of ever-increasing armed preparation. Never, it appeared, in the long history of mankind was there such a fearful alternative, never a louder call to duty. America, without the hope of profit, with no mean or hidden purpose, must herself fight to maintain the principles of civilisation and for the hope of lasting peace and propriety between nations.

Many of us came to realise the incredible fact that Germany menaced our safety, that if the war lords of Prussia were successful we were in actual and immediate danger. I know nothing more magnificent and imperial in its effrontery than the remark made by the Kaiser to the American Ambassador that he would stand

no more nonsense from America after this war! Still, we could scarcely credit what appears to be the truth, that—if I may attribute to the Kaiser the offensive words of Napoleon—America was within the scope of his policy. Possibly it was shameful in us to wait and to rely on the Allied Powers when we began to feel that their defeat imperilled our own safety. But something more than fear was needed to force us into the fight; not until the issues were clear to the nations of the world, not until there was hope for a constructive peace, not till we heard the call of humanity, were we prepared to fling in our power and resources.

Doubtless our final entrance into the conflict was brought about by cumulative irritation at German methods and policies. Our conviction of their unworthiness grew gradually day by day. This conviction was the result of experience of having actually lived through a great crisis. Among these irritations, which opened our eyes and hardened our hearts, none was more powerful than the machinations of the German spies. We were more than irritated, we were enlightened; we discovered what *Weltpolitik* and *Realpolitik* really were—German espionage helped us to grasp the nature of a principle which is essentially criminal and which, if it continues, must make decent international relationships quite impossible. And so this fact began to stand out strongly: Democracy cannot survive in an atmosphere of indecent intrigue—Democracy is comparatively helpless in a game of secret skill and of stealthy manipulation.

America came to see, by April, 1917, that she must enter the struggle, and sacrifice, if need be, all but honour to put down arrogant militarism and strutting autocracy, the remnants of an outworn practice of life and mode of thought. The world was too small to contain two fundamentally hostile principles of life. It took the devastation of this horrible calamity, the death of millions, the crippling of tens of millions, the semi-starvation of a continent, the drowning of our own people, the slimy intrigue in our own nation, the practice of studied cruelty in Belgium and Poland—it needed all this to open our blind eyes; but at last we saw. There was no use in arguing about it; the world was too small, too organically united; it could not encompass two warring principles of life—warring, that is to say, and deadly in their antagonisms even in times of so-called peace; for the deadliest of enemies are ideas and ideals that in, of, and through themselves lead to differing goals. There was no use in talking about it; the world cannot permanently exist or longer live half slave and half free. We have to make the world safe for Democracy.

President Wilson has not, as some people think, asserted that Prussia must adopt a democratic Government. He has simply said that German rulers cannot be trusted; any arrangement with them for peace, unbacked by the people of Germany, would be a bauble. Does anybody doubt that the German Government is not trusted? The question is not whether it ought to be trusted; as to that, some ignorant person might break into an argument. The question is not whether we may ultimately have to sign a peace with the gilded and brazen rulers of Germany; on that point some faint-hearted person might start a discussion. The question is: Does anybody trust the Government? The President has also pointed out that a peace which is really vital must be a peace of peoples. Anybody doubting that has not got very far into the meaning of this horrible catastrophe. We are not, let us hope, giving up the lives of our boys for a "peace" hanging on the shaky word of a Berlin Government. And nothing but the righteous sense and serene judgment of everyday people who have seen light and love the sunshine of friendliness—nothing else can give us hope for humanity.

And this leads me to say, what you will know, that the whole fate of democracy is involved in this war, and that out of it, to use the words of Lincoln, must come a new birth of freedom. It is not merely that the hosts of Germany have turned under regal leadership against the democratic nations of the West and hoped to crush them by weight of arms and barbaric fury. It is not alone our territorial integrity or even our forms of government which are imperilled; the spirit and breadth of open-minded, cheerful, hopeful and trustful democracy are in danger. Democracy is and must be sociable, friendly, and helpful, or it belies its own character and denies its own philosophy. It cannot breathe the fetid air of intrigue, espionage, and hidden malice. Democracy is built on faith, faith in the elementary rectitude, the substantial validity of human life and purposes. If it is not trustful and open-hearted and hopeful it falsifies its own being. The time has come when once for all it must be decided on which philosophy of life humanity will rest.

In all its aspects democracy is purely a matter of human relations. The time was when we thought only of individual freedom or of social and political equality. But by processes of natural inevitable growth we have passed on to a fuller relation of democratic obligation. Democracy involves helpfulness and friendly companionship; there can be no such thing as an insulated democratic individual, and there can be no such thing as an insulated

democratic nation; the spirit of companionableness and co-operation must express itself in international relations and manifest itself in ordinary intercourse between Governments and people. That we shall always act in highest accord with the essential ideals of this philosophy of life one dare not prophesy; but such, I maintain, is the logical and necessary product of a developing spirit. Democracy is in its essence essentially human, not merely political or governmental; and the inmost significance of this struggle consists in this: we are menaced by a force and a philosophy hideously at variance with the primary and heartfelt instincts of democratic life. This very force has compelled democracy to expand itself beyond the confines of national boundaries, and to demand the recognition of its principles as the foundation of peace and of a hopeful progressive human and humane world-order.

The passing years have shown, then, that self-contained, purely national democracy is not enough. We cannot be inwardly democratic, outwardly autocratic. We may not demand that Prussia adopt the forms of popular government—though these must come to her, unless she stand aside free from the currents of modern civilisation—but we can and will demand that she abide by the code of democratic fair-play and fair-mindedness. If she is unable or unwilling to think as the outside world is thinking, she must be made incompetent. The distinguished gentleman who so kindly introduced me this evening used these words some months ago: "Prussia must be powerless or free." It would be sheerest folly now not to see the whole fact clearly. The world cannot remain half free and half Prussian; and the essential ethics of Democracy must be boldly adopted as the guiding principle of international intercourse and human progress. Those ethical principles, we may remind ourselves again, are not so much intellectual as spiritual, not so much political as human and social—they rest on faith, on responsibility, on helpfulness, and companionable co-operation.

That this war will bring in a revived and enlarged sense of social obligation and develop within each of the nations now fighting for democratic ideals a new appreciation of duties as well as rights, we now see is inevitable; but it must, I repeat, do more than this. It must extend those ideals beyond the limits of individual conduct or internal policy. Unless these ideals permeate the philosophy of the world, domestic democracy is endangered. Even for our own salvation we must strive, then, for international democracy—I mean, of course, tolerance, frankness, forbearance, open-mindedness, faith, and companionship.

That, you will say, is a big programme. Well, this is a big war. It will bring big, inconceivably big, psychological results. A new world is before us. To some extent we can make it what we will; and what it will be depends, so far as conscious effort can bring things to pass, on the purpose and desire of the English-speaking peoples. We must not fail, we simply must not fail. Let us not lose ourselves, our inherent character, and let us highly resolve to carry forward into the days of peace that feeling of mutual respect, that sense of friendly co-operation by which we are now possessed. This we must do for our own welfare and for the welfare of the outside world.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.

THE NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1587.

IN the City of Manchester Art Gallery there hangs a picture entitled *The Invincible Armada*. The painting shows a floor of sand and rock and seaweed piled with the carcasses of Spanish galleons that once lifted their tapering masts to the stars and now lie broken on the Hebridean reefs with gaunt limbs hollow like the ribs of Death.

Which picture is an allegory.

It serves to demonstrate this eternal truth : *That the effects or fruits of naval power are more evident than its exercise.*

If we turn to that well-known and widely appreciated compendium, Mr. Gamaliel Gotobed's *Brief Survey of British History*, we find that " in 1588 Philip II. sent against England an ambitious naval expedition. His fleet, aggregating some hundred and thirty ships, entered the English Channel unopposed, but was then encountered by the smaller ships of Lord Howard and Drake. Several skirmishes took place, but the mountain-like sides of the Spanish galleons put them at a grave disadvantage ; and, unable sufficiently to depress their guns, they had the mortification of firing right over the English ships, who, for their part, wisely kept out of range. When Calais was reached Medina Sidonia would have gladly handed over the direction of affairs to the Duke of Parma ; but, before he could do so, the English dislodged him from his anchorage by fireships, and it was with considerable difficulty that he avoided the treacherous sandbanks that fringe the coast of Zealand. At length, a fortunate shift of wind enabling him to steer a course into the North Sea, he resolved to return to Spain by a circumnavigation of Scotland and Ireland. In this resolve, however, he was thwarted by the inclemency of the weather, a violent gale driving his vessels to destruction on the coasts of the realm which he had come to invade. *Flavit Deus et dissipati sunt.*"

In other words : Man proposes, ocean disposes.

The oak leviathans, whose huge ribs make
Their clay creator the vain title take
Of lord of thee and arbiter of war,
These are thy toys and, as the snowy flake,
They melt into the yeast of waves, which mar
Alike the Armada's pride or spoils of Trafalgar.

That is Byron's view. That is Mr. Gamaliel Gotobed's view. That is the accepted view. That is the view set forth pictorially in the Art Gallery at Manchester.

Now let us (as succinctly as Mr. Gamaliel Gotobed) re-describe the Armada episode in terms more honourable to this England that we love, and more creditable to the sea-forces that saved her then, as they have saved her many times since.

In 1588 Philip II. committed himself to what we can (after three centuries of experience) describe as the maddest of all maritime enterprises: *he sent a strictly military expedition over an uncommanded sea*. Against the islanders who dared to thwart his world-design of " *España über alles!*" he dispatched 15,000 soldiers, superbly equipped, which, with reinforcements from the Netherlands, he deemed sufficient for the subjugation of England. But no sooner had his galleons entered the Channel than they were engaged by Lord Howard and Drake with the new battleships which had been in process of evolution since the beginning of Tudor times, and of which this country alone held the secret. From Plymouth to Gravelines the English pounded their antagonists at a range which admitted of no reply, and under the hideous carnage their heavy guns inflicted the stricken Spaniards fled in miserably complete defeat and utter demoralisation. So grievous, indeed, was their punishment that they were doomed to fall victims to the first rough usage or unkind treatment they encountered—the blowy weather of an English August or the thievish propensities of Irish kerns.

Such is the real picture. Set it side by side with Mr. Gotobed's and it will serve to illustrate what I am labouring to emphasise—the tendency of the uninitiated to count the fruits of sea-power instead of gauging the causes which produced the harvest, and the consequent tendency to ascribe as the direct gifts of an indulgent Providence the results achieved by a Navy whose work is unseen.

Take as a further example of this the present position on the Western Front. The millions of heroes assembled there, their railways, their hospitals, their munitionment, their food supplies, their heavy guns—such an assemblage, so vast, so diverse, so uncountable excites in the breast of the patriot such a glow of admiration that he is apt to forget that their *transference overseas* is a feat for which history affords no parallel. What Philip II. aspired to do, what Napoleon vainly attempted, what Ludendorff has never so much as dreamed of, or Hindenburg conceived—that the fleets of England accomplish as easily as a man puts on his

boats. Yet so slight is the appreciation which this stupendous achievement evokes that members of the Fourth Estate have urged the Army to win the war before the Navy loses it.

Now we can select no better example of our failure rightly to recognise a great manifestation of naval power than the campaign of 1587.

Let us turn once again to the uninspired pages of Mr. Gamaliel Gotobed. "In 1587," says that complacent historian, "Philip's fleet was ready to sail and lay waiting a fair wind in Cadiz Bay. But early in the year Drake with a small fleet sailed down the coast, and entering the harbour unexpectedly spread panic among the Spanish shipping and burnt some fifty or sixty sail. This exploit, which he facetiously described as 'singeing King Philip's beard,' had as its most important consequence the delaying of the Armada's departure for at least a twelvemonth."

It is an unforgettable scene, the great bonfire or holocaust. Yet it is a mighty poor compliment to Sir Francis Drake to insist that he did nothing more than ignite it.

Let us re-examine the campaign in its salient features.

When Drake set sail in 1587 he was merely instructed to impeach the preparations which the Spaniards were making for the conquest of England. Nobody at home had any notion that he was about to fight one of the most decisive battles in the history of the world.

The Spaniards professed a belief that he carried in his cabin a magic crystal in which he could discern the most secret movement of his enemies. Without endorsing this left-handed compliment to his strategic insight, we may readily admit that Drake knew with regard to the Spanish "navy" what some of us know to-day about the High Canal Fleet. He knew where it had its headquarters.

Now by "navy," of course, we are to understand a sea-borne force, laid down, launched, commissioned, equipped, and manned wholly and solely for fighting purposes. Philip's "navy," which enjoyed in 1587 a reputation unapproached by any other, was made up exclusively of oared vessels. This is admittedly a difficult thing for the modern mind to grasp. The oared vessels with which we are to-day familiar are in size so ridiculously Lilliputian that our imagination can hardly body forth any oared craft that is not in its very essence ancillary. But Philip's "galleys" were not ancillary. They were immense things; the hyper-super-Dreadnoughts of their day. I will not give their measurements. I will not compare them to the triremes of Athens or to the quin-

queremes of the Doge and Council of Ten. Give your imagination the rein. Conjure up the biggest thing you can. You will not be overdoing it.

The galleys were propelled by naked slaves—naked, because the work was too strenuous to admit of clothing; slaves, because the toil was too arduous to attract the free labourer. It should be noted, however, in passing that every crew contained its quota of volunteers. The naked slaves were fed with bread and water, because wine and meat would have spoiled their condition. They slept at the oar because there was no room for a berth-deck in a vessel of abnormally shallow draught. And their ankles were shackled together with chains lest they should seize an opportunity to swim ashore and escape. On the other hand, their physical welfare was at least as closely watched and tenderly nursed as, let us say, the water-tube boilers by your modern engineer.

So much in brief for the motive-power of galleys.

They were manned by the finest infantry that the world had seen since the fall of Rome, for the legions of Philip lacked nothing that money could buy or valour make glorious.

For armament they carried some five guns of good calibre mounted right forward on the ordnance deck in the very prow of the vessels. But with good reason they put less trust in these than in their rams or beaks, hideous contrivances which terrorised the sea as no other mechanical device of man has done until the coming of the *Unterseeboot*. Long, strong, iron-shod snouts, driven forward with staggering impetus, they could pierce through the thickest planking available as if it had been cardboard. No other vessel ever stood up to galleys in their own element—the Mediterranean.

Very beautiful were the manœuvres conducted by a fleet or squadron of these craft. They were as lithe as human gymnasts. They were as supple and sinuous as a troupe of Russian dancers. They could glide, and curvet, and caracole. They took delight in performing combined figures, gavottes, mazurkas, and the like. And no cavalry charge that ever held spectators breathless could equal the dash of a galley-fleet; all the vessels prow to prow, stern to stern; the numberless sweeps cutting the water in a symphony of form; the naked sword beaks glistening in a row, like a level alignment of lances.

Such was the force that in 1571 won imperishable fame at Lepanto. A vision of it may still be obtained in the paintings of Paolo Veronese, and above all in the picture by Andrea Vicentino in the Doge's Palace at Venice.

The Spanish Galley bases were two in number. One was within the confines of the Mediterranean, on the Catalanian coast, at Barcelona; but with this we have no concern. The other, as you have already guessed, was at Cadiz. Hither in 1587 Drake hastened, having under his command some twenty-five vessels; all of them, by Spanish computation, merchantmen; but four of them Crown vessels of the latest type.

At this point it would be interesting to canvass the opinion which the leading Spanish seamen of 1587 held concerning Drake. A body of such opinion is not now available; but for it we can substitute the considered verdict of the foremost Spanish expert of our own day.

Captain Don Cesário Fernandez Duro has delved deeply into the unpublished documents of his own country and holds high rank among naval historians. He is obviously in a better position to plumb and appreciate the meaning of Drake's genius than any Spanish seaman of 1587. Yet in his *Armada Española* [III., 112] he thus characterises and impartially appraises the first great English naval officer.

"Without any possible doubt it was the initiative, example, and inspiration of Drake that created and rapidly developed the spirit of the English navy. An excellent sailor, of penetrating observation, daring as none other, he laid the foundation of his successes upon the knowledge he had acquired of the neglect or carelessness which forms an integral part of the Spanish national character, and of the vulnerable points which necessarily existed in so vast an empire. He always counted upon surprise rather than upon force, and thus he sailed round the world in a ship of moderate size with less than one hundred men, filled his hold with gold, burnt ships, and sacked towns without firing an arquebus. From San Domingo, Carthage, and Florida we see him bringing away two hundred guns in proof that these cities, which used the weapons as ornaments, had been governed in peace and tranquillity by lawyers and civilian officials. In the attack upon Cadiz, the most daring of his deeds, his glory is due to *the astuteness which enabled him to assure himself that he would meet with no resistance* in a place where universal opinion relied upon the name and fame of King Philip.

"These were all the deeds of a very skilful corsair or highwayman. But no sooner had a declaration of war put our towns and ships on guard than the good qualities of the sailor were eclipsed and *the weakness of the military leader declared itself*. Timid and irresolute, he remained idle in the Channel or dallied off the

shoals of Flanders, never daring to expose the sides of his flagship in face of the galleons so irresponsibly commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia. . . . As pirate, or corsair, if the latter word is preferred . . . he was pre-eminent. As Admiral or General he is not among those who make for England's glory.

"He was perhaps more famous in Spain than in his own country."

There is no need to quarrel with this wayward passage; Drake's reputation has a peculiar knack of looking after itself. The point to note is the persistent Spanish belief that Drake was a pirate and nothing more. That is clearly the belief to-day; and that was the general opinion at Cadiz in 1587.

Now no "navy" is afraid of a pirate; and the Spanish galley-fleet in May, 1587, had less cause than ever for misgiving, because it hugged itself snugly under the guns of Cadiz; guns which could at a moment's notice protect it with a fencing hail of shot as dense and destructive as a plague of locusts. In short, it can have wished for nothing so fervently as that the hated "corsair" who had sailed round the world, sipping the honey that others had stored, would be silly enough to upset the bee-hives, or, in other words, venture into Cadiz Bay.

Drake brought the galleys the fulfilment of their desire. He sailed to Cadiz, and without hesitation entered its land-locked waters. I have said that he had four of the latest Crown vessels. These he found sufficient for his need. They were ships of a type which I recently described in a note in this journal on the Armada's overthrow. I need not say more of them here than that they were henceforth to rule all waterways until steel replaced wood and machines took the place of sails. But their pre-eminence was not generally known in 1587. It was a fact of which the Spaniards were as profoundly ignorant as they were concerning the worth of the man who was about to brush them into the dust-heap. The galleys, superb in their appointments, gorgeous in their symmetrical array, proud in their recollections of Lepanto, shot forward under the impulse of a single will as confidently as leopards leap forth upon cattle. Their very motion had always been a source of sinking fear; and every second their speed increased.

The four English ships, undisturbed by this display, lay motionless, becalmed.

On raced the galleys, a streak of speed, a line of deadly beaks. Nearer; and Drake gave the word to fire.

Of the struggle that ensued it may truthfully be said that no contest has been so entirely one-sided since the host of Pharaoh

pursued the Israelites and was quenched in an ensanguined sea.

The heavy naval guns of England opened their iron mouths outright and with rough but unmistakable eloquence spoke their message to the world; gun beside gun, tier under tier, in thundering diapason.

And thus in an hour ended a method of maritime warfare that was as old perhaps as time itself; certainly as old as recorded history. Henceforth the galley was to play a part in the annals of mankind no more important than the arbalest, or the catapult, or the battering-ram. The days of Salamis and Actium at last were gone; and Lepanto now served only to demonstrate that the Spaniards had been sleeping, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, while a "pirate, or corsair, if the latter word is preferred," had been teaching the waves to obey him.

It is not, perhaps, strange that a typically British naval officer should dismiss his greatest battle, with all the fruits thereof, as "singeing Philip's beard"¹; but it is passing strange that the island race, priding itself upon its skill in ruling the sea, should for centuries cheat itself with stories of a bonfire, and even at times feel sensitive as to the piratical tendencies of their captain who closed an epoch in the history of the world.

I should only be helping to prolong the life of die-hard delusions if I were to pretend that I could compile a satisfying bibliography of the subject dealt with in this article. The momentous encounter in Cadiz Bay between the earliest sailing navy and the ships which it replaced has no adequate orchestration in contemporary documents. And a minute's reflection will explain why this is so. Those who took no part in the action did not even know what had occurred, and those who were actually present (Drake himself perhaps excepted) were so profoundly indifferent to the past history of the galley, and so necessarily ignorant of its future, that they were not even in a position to comment usefully on the significance of the affray. The proper method of expanding the present article would be to collect all available examples of first-class pitched battles at sea previous to 1587, and all available examples of first-class pitched battles at sea subsequent to 1587. It would then be found that this date is the true boundary stone which separates the era of the oar-propelled ship from the era of the ship of the line. There were, it is true, engagements with galleys

¹ Compare the Navy's unofficial version of the recent raid on the U-boat bases:—"We visited Fritz in scooters and skimming-dishes, and made the infant sit up and take notice."

after 1587. Sir William Monson in his *Naval Tracts* has described his experiences in Cezimbra Bay ; and Sir Julian Corbett has traced in his *Successors of Drake* the unavailing struggles of Federico Spinola. But these trifling affairs serve only to toll the passing-bell for a weapon of warfare already defunct.

The completeness of Drake's work is illuminated by interesting sidelights derivable from the campaigns of 1588 and 1596. In the Armada year Philip's fleet of armed transports would have been accompanied, it might well be thought, by the fighting "navy" of Spain. Not so. The galleys had been weighed in the balances and found wanting : and the wretched sea-borne soldiers went forth alone to their doom. In 1596, when Cadiz was visited for the second time, Raleigh, who led the English fleet, replied to the fire of the Spanish galleys with blasts of discordant derision from a band of trumpeters.

Drake's own 1587 despatch (S.P. Dom. cc, 46) is one of those exasperating contributions generally held up for admiration as a "model of reticence." He mentions the date of departure from Plymouth, and the date of arrival at Cadiz. He mentions that he entered the Bay, and that, after giving the Spaniard cause to regret the visit, "we departed thence at our pleasure with as much honour as we could wish, notwithstanding that during the time of our abode there we

"(1) Were both oftentimes fought withal by twelve of the King's galleys of whom we sank two and always repulsed the rest ; and

"(2) Were without ceasing vehemently shot at from the shore. . . .

"At our departure we were courteously written unto by one Don Pedro, General of those Galleys." Observe in passing that, while he says nothing concerning his own prowess, he draws attention to the fact that the galleys were game for round after round, and that their commander took his beating like a gentleman.

There are two other contemporary English accounts that deserve examination. There is the *Brief Relation* in Hakluyt, and a manuscript in the British Museum by Robert Leng which has been printed in the *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. V. Both of these narratives are chatty, gossipy little things, such as might have been written of the recent affairs at Zeebrugge and Ostend by an accredited agent sent down to Dover to examine our seamen who return from "duty" as free from boasts as the ships that carried them. The author of the *Brief Relation*, after marshalling

the galleys, and counting them, modestly adds, they "shot freely at us, but altogether in vain. For they went away with the blows well beaten for their pains." Robert Leng is a trifle less laconic. "Presently," he says, "there came forth from the town ten other galleys [he has already mentioned two] and fought with us. But we applied them so with our great ordnance that two of them were fain to be hayled up that night." That is all. No reference to the epoch-making nature of the battle; no estimate of its effect upon the development of battleships or upon the duration of the war. Should we expect other treatment? I do not think so. Incidentally we may notice that Sir William Monson, reviewing the campaign some years afterwards in his *Naval Tracts*, sets a bad example by omitting all reference to its principal episode. This was probably not so much because he wished to disparage Drake, as because for him there was only one decisive defeat of Spanish galleys—his own little affair in Cezimbra Bay (June, 1602).

The editor of Robert Leng's narrative in the *Camden Miscellany* printed a contemporary French account of what occurred; and this is interesting as coming from a quite impartial source. "Don Pedro de Acugna," says this unknown writer, "came into action with the galleys to spoil the enemy. But their artillery being of longer range than that of the galleys (*estant de plus grande portée que celle des gallères*) compelled them to draw off." And again, he says: "The galleys put themselves a second time into action to attack the enemy, with whom rested so great an advantage by reason of the quantity and power of their artillery, that the galleys were compelled to draw off."

Beyond this there is little else. No one thought it worth his while to describe for posterity what these galleys were like or how they were broken. No one was ready to risk his reputation by prophesying that the age of oared craft was at an end. But what the official and semi-official despatches omit is in part supplied from another source.

When Elizabeth's Council consented to the plan of campaign which Drake formulated they appointed as his second-in-command a certain William Borough. This commander, if known at all, is known from the flippant caricatures drawn by Froude (*History of England*, XII., 291-6; *English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 223-8). In reality he was one of the ablest seamen of his time; an explorer and navigator beside whom such men as Almagro, Amerigo, and Del Cano shrink perceptibly. He had forced his way round the North Cape, and charted the unknown

waters of the White Sea with an accuracy and thoroughness worthy of the nineteenth century. His observations of magnetic variation left the Spaniards and Portuguese far behind ; and well he deserved the high official post which he occupied in 1587, that of Controller of her Majesty's Crown Navy. What he did not know of navigation and cartography was not worth knowing. It is not, however, for his merits but for his blemishes (if blemishes they were) that we are nowadays in his debt. He was too exalted a dignitary and too set in his opinions to act as second-in-command to a man of his own age ; and of the Spanish galley-fleet based upon Cadiz he held an opinion not differing at all from that held by Philip himself.

He was in consequence at loggerheads with Drake from the moment that the two reached Cadiz. Relations, indeed, at last became so strained that Drake imprisoned his Second in the *Golden Lion* ; and, when the *Golden Lion* was mutinously carried home by her crew, he condemned Borough (whom he supposed responsible for this outrage) to death for insubordination. Borough, in consequence, determined to ventilate his grievances and make public the scandalous behaviour of Drake throughout the whole campaign. In doing so he turns on the limelight in a manner for which we can only profess ourselves profoundly grateful. The State Papers that bear upon this sensational investigation are more valuable than all the advices and relations and other documents that survive. They have been collected and edited for the " Navy Records Society " by Sir Julian Corbett in the second part of a volume which he calls *The Spanish War, 1585-7*. Borough's beautifully drawn charts to illustrate what happened at Cadiz are in the Record Office, S.P.D. CCII., 14, and CCIII., 28. The latter (uncoloured) has been reproduced more than once, and will be found in facsimile in the sixth volume of the Hakluyt Society's twelve-volume edition of *The Principal Navigations*. I wish I could recommend a good book in English on the galley, but such a thing, I fear, does not exist, and the encyclopædia articles are disappointing. The best portrait of a typical oared ship will be found in Dirck Joseph Furtenbach's *Architectura Navalis* (1629), a picture that might with advantage be more widely reproduced.

GEOFFREY CALLENDER

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON PUBLIC RECORDS: A STUDY OF THE ARCHIVES IN WAR-TIME.

IN happier times the reports of a Royal Commission on our "Public" and "Local" records would have attracted a good deal of attention, though experienced students of Blue Books are aware of the limitations of Royal Commissions in respect of historical investigation. In these dark days the passing of the Commission might easily remain unnoticed, and even its handsome legacy of three weighty Reports cannot as yet be fully appreciated. In the meantime it is desirable that the work of the Commission should be duly noted for future reference, and in connection with its published proceedings some mention may conveniently be made of the contemporary literature of our archives. The genesis of the Commission has been related in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1914, and its affinities with earlier commissions are exhaustively discussed in the periodical literature referred to at the close of the present article. I propose, therefore, to deal here, briefly, with the method of investigation adopted by the Commissioners and the results that have been obtained, with their bearing on the present state and future prospects of historical study.

The Reports of the Commission have been drawn up and arranged for publication upon a definite plan, which is naturally based on the terms of reference contained in the Royal Warrant of appointment.¹ Almost from the first the Commissioners contemplated the issue of three Reports, dealing, respectively, with the Central Archives of England and Wales in the Public Record Office, the Departmental Records still in the custody of Courts of Justice and Public Offices, and the Local Records of a public nature in England and Wales. The exclusion of both Scotland and Ireland from the scope of this inquiry was opposed to earlier precedents, though in keeping with the new theories of national self-determination. It may be noted that Wales was represented by three of the nine Commissioners and that Monmouth is included in the Principality for the purpose of this inquiry.

The reports of the Commission were planned as a uniform series of tripartite volumes, one for each Report; Part I. of the volume

¹ October 11th, 1910; the Commission first sat in December.

containing a concise "Report" and Part II. an Appendix of illustrative documents, with a further Appendix (Part III.) recording the evidence and documents put in by witnesses. There is also a concise Bibliography and an extensive Index compiled by a record expert.² The dates of publication (September, 1912, and August, 1914) indicate that the preparation of the First and Second Reports of the Commission occupied a period of two years in each case. The Third and Final Report has not yet appeared, but it may be added that the original draft was dated in June 1916. As the publication of this Report was suspended by the Treasury, for financial reasons, an opportunity was given for the addition of an important section dealing with the "Departmental Records Relating to the War," a subject of much concern to archivists and historical students alike.

The plan of these Reports was also influenced by a consistent method of procedure, facilitated by the terms of reference which gave the Commissioners powers of independent investigation that they were not slow to use. In fact, they deliberately eschewed the conventional methods whereby *ad hoc* authorities have so frequently decided questions of national importance on the irresponsible and unconfirmed evidence of interested parties. The Record Commissioners took comparatively little evidence, though such as they received is fairly representative in character and is supplemented by documents put in. At the same time they verified everything by personal investigation and they obtained much valuable information from special sources.

The results of this method of procedure are striking, for the complacent testimony of certain departmental witnesses is frequently ignored in the Report itself and is completely refuted by documents printed in the Appendix. Another excellent result of these systematic investigations is that there are no "Minority Reports"; not even one dissentient or explanatory "Note." The net that politicians love to spread for inquisitive reformers had been carefully marked by the Commissioners.

The actual contents of the Reports are also arranged upon a common plan, the several sections or "Parts" (as official printers style them) being intended to cover the various methods of investigation, as well as to present an intelligent classification of the archives under consideration. The subject-matter of each Report is arranged as follows:—(1) Explanation of the procedure adopted

² It should be observed, however, that the Bibliography refers only to works used by the Commissioners, and that, for the sake of economy, many titles and cross-references set forth in the Index to the First Report are not repeated in the Index to the Second Report.

by the Commission. (2) The constitutional history of the various archives. (3) Reports on the contents and general condition of the same. (4) The distribution and transfer of the records. (5) The destruction or disposal of the same. (6) The public use of the same. (7) Record publications. (8) Archive establishments and training. (9) Special subjects of inquiry.³ (10) Conclusions and recommendations of the Commission. Under these headings the Commissioners have dealt with all the existing collections of public records, central or local. Each section of their Reports is also supplemented by a corresponding Appendix,⁴ forming Part II. of the volume, and many of these documents, especially those signed by Professor Firth, are of permanent value.⁵

A special and probably a unique feature of the Reports of this Commission is the presentment of its conclusions and recommendations in such a form as to invite the individual attention of the Government departments concerned. The conclusions and recommendations in question are not only carefully co-ordinated and addressed directly to the respective authorities, they are repeated in successive Reports and stock is taken of the practical results of every recommendation.

The conclusions at which the Commissioners arrived are various in their nature and the recommendations are both numerous and minute, as will be gathered from the method of investigation that has been summarised above,⁶ but the Reports themselves deserve the careful attention of all who are concerned with the study of our national institutions. After all, the history of our Public Records, their safe custody, arrangement and description, their systematic transfer to appointed repositories, the disposal of superfluous documents in accordance with an Act of Parliament, and the provision of due facilities for their public use are matters of real concern to historical students. It is true that we might continue to leave the survival of the official sources of historical information to chance and probably few of us would be any wiser. Indeed, we have been warned by writers on historical method to be prepared for the disappearance of a considerable percentage of these sources. We have been informed by great officers of State that we must not see certain documents

³ *E.g.*, Palatinate, Welsh, and Foreign Archives; Departmental Records relating to the War; and the Government of the Public Record Office.

⁴ In the First Report there is no Appendix to Part I. (Procedure).

⁵ The titles of individual "documents" of historical interest are too numerous to be mentioned here. In the Second Report alone 267 "documents" are printed in the Appendix, including several circulars and replies from the Courts of Justice and Government Offices.

⁶ See also *Quarterly Review* for April, 1917, p. 505.

and by minor officials that many others are not yet arranged or accessible, and we have accepted the situation with becoming resignation.

There is, however, a further and a more serious view of the situation. Statesmen and students may come and go, official policy or historical method may be changed for the better, but the gaps in the archives will remain to baulk future historians, as they have hindered our own researches for an earlier period. Nevertheless, historians and archivists had long ago found a common interest in the security of the records, and the inquiry by a new Record Commission has provided a further opportunity for an interchange of views.

It would be found that in every State the archivist is conscious of the national importance of his charge, and that he resents the political effrontery or official laxity that permits State papers to be claimed as the private property of Ministers, to be sold some day out of the country unless redeemed by a huge ransom. Possibly British archivists have been less vigilant than could be wished in the matter of the disposal of official documents, but their authority herein was scarcely recognised before the Public Record Office Act of 1877; for the temporary powers of inspection conferred by the Act of 1838 have rarely been exercised. On other questions, such as the classification and description of the archives and facilities of access to the later documents, there is also a general agreement between historians and archivists, though this might be strengthened in certain particulars.

It was perhaps scarcely necessary to suggest the existence of a bond of fellowship between the custodians and the students of records, but it may be as well that the latter should be reminded of the fact before perusing the Reports of the recent Record Commission. The Commissioners certainly showed much sympathy with the requirements of historical students and, in the interests of the latter, they found it necessary, at times, to criticise the official methods of the archivists. Possibly the susceptibilities of the Welsh members of the Commission were aroused by the somewhat contemptuous treatment of the Welsh Records which seems to have been traditional since the suppression of the Courts of Great Sessions in 1830. Anyhow, the First Report of the Commission was followed by a lively passage of arms between the Commissioners and the archivists which to many people will doubtless form a pleasant interlude in the study of archivist literature.⁷

⁷ A reply to the First Report of the Commission is contained in the 74th Report (1913) of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (pp. 12-25). With respect to this a letter was published in *The Times* of 21 May, 1913, from the

But all this was before the war. Since then the Commissioners have produced Reports dealing with the departmental archives not yet transferred to the Public Record Office, also with various classes of local records; and in both cases they have strongly recommended that these scattered and neglected archives should be placed under the expert supervision of the Record officers. So, in the end, there was peace and a serviceable alliance between them and the Record Commission.

I have ventured to touch on the psychology of the relations between these learned bodies because, after an adventurous experience of eight years, I am able to interpret, to my own satisfaction at least, certain passages in these Reports which might easily be misapprehended by the uninitiated reader. At the same time it will be obvious that these Reports, like others intended to remedy public grievances, are scarcely likely to prove entirely acceptable to all the interests concerned, though it may be thought that they contain the elements of future agreement on all material points of record policy. Probably most people would agree with a large majority of the findings of the Commission. Those in disagreement would naturally include the officials personally concerned, either as the responsible custodians or as public administrators faced with the prospect of a considerable increase in the existing establishments of the archives. On the other hand, there are a few conclusions and recommendations which, though obviously sound and logical, are not likely to be generally approved, in deference to old traditions or vested interests.

However this may be, these Reports will supply much material for serious reflection. The callous neglect and wanton destruction of public documents by some of their custodians and the inadequate provision made for advanced historical study in this country have formed the subject of some vigorous comments by the Commissioners; but the inevitable result of those laxities may also serve as a useful reminder that there is a practical side to the study of History as of other branches of science or art.

Since the beginning of the Christian era Governments have fitfully wished to know the truth about past or passing events, but they have not waited for an answer. The answer has often been supplied by devoted students of history, but it has not been marked by a new generation of statesmen. We have not yet realised that a knowledge of the true facts is necessary for the

Chairman (Sir F. Pollock), stating that the Commission had already decided not to engage in public controversies, but that it had forwarded a detailed answer to the Deputy Keeper's Report for the information of the Master of the Rolls, the Home Office, and the Treasury; and here, for the present, the matter rests.

successful conduct of affairs of State, just as it is admittedly essential to success in every private enterprise or study. It is not in the laboratory and library only that experiments or researches are indispensable. In the public departments an exact record of every transaction is carefully filed for reference; in fact, the archives are the business ledgers of Ministers, the log-books of the Ship of State.

These public records, extending back for many centuries, should be of the utmost assistance in forming a sound decision on most questions of national importance. Under a more primitive *régime* Ministers were accustomed to make their own researches in the State papers;⁸ but before the end of the eighteenth century the task had been handed over to the Under-Secretaries of State, who in turn relied on the departmental paper-keepers.⁹ These archaic conditions lasted for nearly three centuries, and the Reports of successive Record Commissions¹⁰ show that they are largely responsible for the existing departmental arrangements.

After the great European wars which preceded the Congress of Vienna the conservation of State archives and the elucidation of national history became a matter of public policy in every country which had profited by the lesson of the French Revolution. That lesson, so far as it enjoins an efficient administration of State archives, has never been forgotten on the Continent. In this country it provoked a tardy recognition of the importance of national history and of the public use of the Records, but the movement was short-lived and it engendered no consistent policy. The Public Record Office Act of 1838 is, indeed, an important event in the annals of national culture, but it stands alone. Abroad the decrees for the nationalisation of the archives have given birth to a long series of enlightened measures. Besides instituting central archives and official publications (with which our own reforms began and ended), the local archives of the several States, Departments, Communes, have been saved and made available under skilled direction. Everywhere we find "Schools of Charters," archivistic literature and periodicals, professional societies and gatherings. In point of scientific treatment the construction and fittings of the foreign archives, the comprehensive inventories of documents, the enterprising "guides" to foreign

⁸ The official registers which record these researches can be traced back to 1793 or earlier, *cf.* F.O. 95/599 and D.K. 31, Report Appendix.

⁹ See H. Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, p. 112 *seq.*, and First Report of Record Commissioners (1912), Appendix II.

¹⁰ These are set out in the First Report of the recent Record Commission (1912), Vol. I., Part 2 (Appx.), p. 166; see also F. S. Thomas, *History of Public Departments*, Appx. J.

collections, and the systematic publication of official despatches have often excited the envy of our own students.

Compared with the remarkable development of the State archives abroad our own methods and establishments may certainly appear somewhat rudimentary, but such archivists as we possess have accomplished much under great disadvantages. In any case, thanks to an insular position and exemption from civil strife, our public records are unsurpassed in point of antiquity or historical value by any other collection. For the history of our own time these records should be of exceptional interest in view of the diverse activities of this country during the war.

The history of the last four years will furnish future publicists with several obvious morals and future historians with a singularly trying task. To them, as we have premised, many books will be open that are now closed, and many well-kept secrets of diplomacy or statecraft will be revealed. They will trace the course of every political event, of every constitutional measure, and of the most important economic or social developments. They will record the great deeds of the nation with its material and moral progress, giving credit, where it is really due, to men of action or scholars; and they will also faithfully expose the neglect of duty or errors of judgment that have been responsible for national inefficiency or disaster. This prediction is based on the assumption that the public records, or such as are of permanent value, will be preserved intact, and we have received more than one shrewd warning on this point from the Record Commissioners. We may reasonably expect that many stray documents outside the State archives will be available for the use of our historians, but this source of information is at the best a precarious one. The Royal Commission has strongly recommended that all the privileged hoards of official or semi-official State Papers should be brought into statutory custody, and it is probable that they would be largely deposited in the archives if the practice were officially encouraged.

It may be asked why more use has not been made of these contemporary official records. One reason is to be found in the fact that no criterion of historical truth has been recognised by politicians, while the importance of historical method and a scientific treatment of archives has not been appreciated by the public at large and therefore has not been forced upon the attention of Governments. An organised system of "National Service for Historians" was suggested by the writer more than two years ago,¹¹ and some such system has been established in the United

¹¹ *Contemporary Review*, May, 1916, p. 603.

States of America with excellent results.¹² In this country individual historians have been usefully employed, but there has been no attempt to mobilise the resources of historical learning in the service of the State. The archives have been utilised for co-ordinating the war records of the Imperial Forces, but there is no visible co-ordination of the valuable researches of the Historical Sections or Committees concerned with various aspects of military and naval history as well as with official or semi-official intelligence and propaganda. It would certainly have been an interesting experiment in departmental organisation if the establishments of the national archives¹³ and learned societies or Royal Commissions¹⁴ could have been organised as a central department of historical research, divided into appropriate sections for the purpose of dealing with the historical problems of the war itself and the peace and reconstruction that must, some day, end the war and attempt to make good its havoc.

Such a department using the resources of these learned institutions could deal with a great variety of historical researches in a methodical and authoritative fashion and at a comparatively infinitesimal cost. The Royal Commission has printed some remarkable evidence for the purpose of demonstrating its favourite proposition, that a primitive and inexpert record service is relatively more costly than the efficient establishments provided abroad.

The above disquieting considerations are, perhaps, justified by a survey of the contemporary literature of the archives. British archivists have never been required or permitted to issue periodical reports worthy of the title or comparable with those prepared by the administrative departments.¹⁵ For this reason alone the first two Reports of the recent Record Commission came as a revelation to historical scholars. Its Third and Final Report has not been presented and published in the usual way for the reason stated above, and this decision seems to be fully justified by the state of public opinion on the subject.¹⁶ At the same time there can be little doubt that the appointment of a Royal Commission to overhaul the Public Records was generally welcomed by historians and antiquaries. This is apparent from the evidence taken by the Commissioners, and it would be confirmed by official corres-

¹² The origin of the National Board of Historical Service has been fully described in the Reports of the American Historical Association.

¹³ Including the British Museum and other institutions mentioned in American "Guides."

¹⁴ Especially the Public Records, Historical MSS., and Ancient Monuments, Commissions. To these certain universities and university colleges might be added.

¹⁵ *E.g.*, the Registrar-General and Registrar of Friendly Societies.

¹⁶ *Contemporary Review*, June, 1918.

pondence and also by the notices of the proceedings of the Commission in the pre-war Press. In future students will doubtless pay more attention to the archives; but on the whole the contemporary bibliography of the subject is singularly sparse.

HUBERT HALL.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.—Pending the publication of Volume I. of the Anglo-American *Bibliography of British Modern History*, the "Sources and Literature" of British archives will be found most fully treated in *A Select Bibliography of English Mediæval Economic History* (1914).¹⁷ Reference has been made by a learned Italian archivist to several essays dealing with various aspects of British archive economy.¹⁸ The articles mentioned above¹⁹ are included in this notice, and to those may be added a series of papers dealing with Welsh records,²⁰ several articles in the *Athenæum* on English public records, and divers reviews of the Proceedings of the Royal Commission published in this country and abroad.²¹ As previously stated, the object of this bibliographical note is to collect the titles of a few recent essays of permanent value dealing with the science and economy of our archives. Publications in the nature of texts or lists have, therefore, been excluded. Again, it has not seemed desirable to include numerous Press reviews of the first two Reports of the Commission, or the notices of record activities which have been circulated by the Press agencies.²²

¹⁷ Ed. H. Hall and others.

¹⁸ Signor Emilio Re in *Gli Archivi Italiani*, Fasc. I. (2), 1915, Archivi Stranieri (Archivi Inglesi).

¹⁹ *Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1910; Apr., 1917; *Edinburgh Review*, Oct., 1914; *Contemporary Review*, Aug., 1915, May, 1916, June, 1918.

²⁰ For English records reference may be made to two articles in the *Athenæum* (Aug. 6th and Oct. 1st, 1910); also to papers by Capt. Hilary Jenkinson in "Magna Carta Commemoration Papers" (R. Hist. Soc., 1917), p. 244; by Prof. Pollard in "Transactions R. Hist. Soc.," 3rd ed., Vol. 8; by Prof. Firth in "Transactions of the British Academy," Dec. 12th, 1917. For Welsh records see "Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion," 1914-15 and 1915-16, "Y Cymmrodor," Vols. XXII. and XXVII.

²¹ "Library Association Record," Vol. XVII., No. 5; *Athenæum*, Oct. 5th, 1912, and Sept. 19th, 1914; *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, 1912-13, No. 2; and shorter notices in the *Revue Historique*, *American Historical Review*, etc.

²² It may be of interest to mention that a Scrap Book of such notices exists amongst the archives of the Commission which will some day be available for reference.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE chief event of the last few months in the world of historical education has been the mission of Professor McLaughlin to explain to the universities of the United Kingdom the attitude of the United States towards the war and the causes of American intervention. Many of our subscribers will have had the opportunity of hearing Professor McLaughlin; all will be able to read in this number the first of the four lectures he delivered in London. His visit may have educational results extending far beyond its immediate object. For one thing, it will probably help to increase the resort of American graduates to British universities for their post-graduate work. It was, perhaps, the worst reproach to British universities before the war that, owing to their defective provision for post-graduate training and research, over ninety per cent., not merely of American graduates, but of graduates from oversea British Dominions, who went abroad to study, went to Germany for that purpose. Possibly also there may emerge a much-needed arrangement for the exchange of professors, not merely for a year on the earlier American-German plan, but for a longer period more nearly approaching the term of ambassadorial office. It would be in keeping with the more enlightened and democratic ideas which we hope will prevail in future that the great democracies of the world should maintain in one another's midst not merely representatives of their Foreign Offices but of their universities.

* * * * *

A cognate question of university politics is raised in another article we print by Mr. Hubert Hall. He refers to the American National Board of Historical Service, which was, in fact, responsible for Professor McLaughlin's visit, and complains that no such Board has been established in Great Britain. Individual historians, as some of them have good reason to know, have had their voluntary services commandeered to a large extent by the Government; but there has been no organised and co-operative system by which historical scholarship and training might be put to public purpose in the war. The reason is not far to seek. Individual historians have been often asked by various Government departments to provide answers to historical problems connected with

the war ; they might know, or they might be able to find out ; but few, if any, had at their command adequate machinery for the ascertainment of historical truth. The fact is that in British universities there are practically no Departments of History. American universities may lay too much stress upon machinery in their various departments ; we lay too much on the individual. Regius Professors of History have, as professors, not the faintest nucleus of a department, not a secretary, not a room, not even a table and chair, let alone an organisation which might have been used to satisfy the historical needs of government. Things are from this point of view somewhat better in some of our newer universities. But, as a rule, with us a University Department of History consists of one or two individual professors who give occasional lectures to audiences which mostly vanished when the war broke out. There was, therefore, not the material in Great Britain for organised assistance like that rendered in the United States by the National Board of Historical Service.

* * * * *

Whether or not our universities will come within the scope of reconstruction after the war, our schools are already in the throes ; and we are indebted to a correspondent, Mr. Osborne, now of Berkhamsted, for indicating the importance to teachers and students of history of the recent Report of the Committee on Modern Languages. Its authors give such emphatic and eloquent testimony to the value of historical studies, that we may almost be persuaded that the reason why no governmental Committee on History has been appointed corresponding to those on Science and Modern Languages is that History is already so well taught and so highly appreciated that it needed no governmental intervention to reform it or to advocate its claims. That would be a foolish optimism, and we shall need all our alertness to maintain the position, indicated in the Association's leaflet on " The Place of History in Education," that historical study requires a method of its own which no linguistic or literary training can provide. Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle knew no language but their own, and that was then a modern tongue. But no historian will deny the value of languages as means to knowledge and understanding, or the need of an *entente* between the linguist and the historian ; our point is merely that the means are not the end nor any substitute for it.

* * * * *

We are not convinced that historical education is in the least rated at its proper value by the public. How much needless

anxiety might innocent minds have been saved, for instance, had they learnt the truth conveyed in Mr. Callender's article in this number: "In 1588 Philip II. committed himself to what we can (after three centuries of experience) describe as the maddest of all maritime enterprises; *he sent a strictly military expedition over an uncommanded sea*"? An appreciation of the extreme improbability of the Germans courting a similar disaster might even have enabled sufficient reinforcements to be sent to France to prevent the German victory at St. Quentin.

* * * * *

The main subject of study at the Local Lectures Summer Meeting at Cambridge is to be the United States of America. The American Ambassador is to deliver the inaugural lecture on Thursday, August 1st, at 11 a.m.; and a number of distinguished American and British savants are to deal in the following fortnight with various aspects of American life, thought, and politics. Forms of entry and further information will be supplied by the Rev. Dr. Cranage, Syndicate Buildings, Cambridge. Letters should be endorsed "Summer Meeting."

* * * * *

A summer course of instruction in history for teachers in secondary schools is also to be held at Manchester by Mr. T. W. Phillips, under the auspices of the Board of Education, from August 19th to August 31st. In this course it is proposed to deal with such topics as the relation of geography to the teaching of history; the use of maps and charts; the function of literature as an aid to the understanding of history; the use of contemporary documents; the significance of constitutional, local, industrial, economic, and social history; the attention that should be paid to European, Imperial, and American history; the nineteenth century; and the effect of the war upon the teaching of history. It is a somewhat ambitious programme, but, as the first course of its kind to be held under the auspices of the Board of Education, it deserves, and will doubtless achieve, success.

* * * * *

Research Fellowships in History are so rare that we cannot refrain from congratulating Mr. R. H. Tawney on his recent election to one at Balliol College. We hope to print in our October or January number an article by Mr. Tawney on the teaching of history and the Workers' Educational Association.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE HISTORICAL MEANING OF "WORSHIP."

SIR,

University College, London.

To those who know Mr. Coulton and myself it will be a Gilbertian situation to find him apparently out in defence of the honour of Our Lady and myself as the object of his rebuke. Mr. Coulton takes me to task for my review of Mr. Little's English Franciscan History, in which I alluded to his words about "the worship of the Virgin" as indicating the Protestant bias of the author.

The difference between us is largely one of the exact meaning and use of the word "worship." That English word obviously possesses very different meanings in common speech: it means one thing when used in the phrase "divine worship," and quite another when used as a form of address to a Mayor as "Your Worship," though in both cases there is the same underlying conception of honour. But when we come to exact theological definition, English is a hopelessly inadequate language. In its religious use "worship" corresponds to three quite distinct Greek or Latin terms: (1) "Latria," the "worship" given to God alone (Latin, "cultus"); (2) "Doulia" (Lat., "dulia"), the "worship" given to the Saints, who can be invoked, but not adored; (3) "Hyper-doulia," the superior worship given to the Virgin above the Saints—but still quite distinct from "Latria." In a certain sense, viz., as equivalent to Hyper-doulia, the term "worship of the Virgin" is perfectly good Catholic theology. But my points are two: (1) that Mr. Little did not use the term in that exact sense or with that connotation—in other words, that it was his way of using the term, not the term itself, upon which I commented; (2) that, as a matter of fact, the average Catholic writer, whether Roman or not, is very little inclined to use the English term "worship" as regards Our Lady, because it is so liable to misunderstanding.

Mr. Coulton refers me to the article *Cultus* in the "Catholic Dictionary." The fact that he does so suggests to my mind that he is not too clear on the distinction between *Cultus* and *Hyper-doulia*, for it is precisely *Cultus* which can never be applied to Our Lady. And it is noticeable that the writer of the article on "Mary" in the same Dictionary does not once apply the term "worship" to Our Lady in his section on the Tradition of the Church on Devotion to Mary.

WALTER W. SETON.

CHURCH ENDOWMENTS.

SIR,

Esher.

Professor Tout's authority on questions of history is so well acknowledged that I am anxious that this should not be used to make me responsible for a statement which I did not make. In his review of my small book on *Church Endowments* he quotes me on

p. 49 as believing the parson to be a "sort of thane." (The quotation marks are his.) I do not find this on p. 49 or on any other page, nor is it the trend of the argument.

Probably Professor Tout knows that the theory I have expressed about the origin and disappearance of the "parson" is not here set forth for the first time. It was discussed, with more precise references than I gave in support of it, in a paper contributed to *Archæologia* (Vol. LX., Pt. II. 391 *seqq.*), by Dr. O. J. Reichel, and as it seems to be the only theory which explains the condition of things in certain kinds of Church, which is found in the contemporary records such as the local ecclesiastical ones from which I quote, the theory will, I believe, hold its ground until it be disproved.

The string of Welsh names on p. 76, to the spelling of which he takes exception, is from Bishop Kennett, a writer of the early eighteenth century, whose name is given, and I do not see what was to be gained by modernising the spelling.

Also I fail to see the point of the criticism of my mention of the Church of Loughborough. Your reviewer says it is "a not unusual case of a mediety of unequal portions." My paragraph (p. 51) says: "Another example of a divided Church was Loughborough, which was in nine parts, of which four acknowledged Hugh Despencer as patron, and the other five belonged to Philip de Corlinstog." But your reviewer infers from this that I have "misunderstood six lines of not very difficult Latin"! It is not my first essay in a work which had to do with mediæval Latin, as Prof. Tout will discover if he refers to the index to Gross's *Sources of English History*, 1915 ed.

J. K. FLOYER.

ADVANCED COURSES IN SCHOOLS.

The Municipal Secondary School for Girls,
Brighton.

SIR,

There is, I feel sure, a general unanimity of opinion in welcoming the advanced courses as a step towards raising the school-leaving age to eighteen. For my own part, I feel it is too soon to criticise the working of the scheme in all its bearings, but there is one practical difficulty to which I should like to call the attention of readers of *HISTORY*.

The course is clearly intended as a post-matriculation course, but in many cases it happens that a boy or girl who could obviously benefit by such a course does not matriculate at the age of sixteen. There are, then, three alternatives before him: (1) to postpone entering upon the advanced work for a year, which is often impossible because of the expense; (2) to abandon the advanced work altogether; (3) to take the matriculation examination during the two-year course, which is obviously contrary to the whole idea of the scheme. Would not this problem be solved if all universities would accept the second examination, taken at the end of the advanced course, for purposes of matriculation?

One of the chief difficulties in connection with starting advanced courses seems to have been the difficulty of obtaining sufficient numbers to stay the two years required. This difficulty would surely to a large extent disappear if there were some practical goal to be reached at the end of the course—a goal which would attract the future university student and also the boy or girl who is going to

enter some other sphere of work to which a matriculation certificate is the entrance.

In regard to one of the problems raised in the April number of *HISTORY*, may I point out that although the revised regulations of this Board do not admit Latin as a subsidiary subject, it is still possible, in consequence of a rearrangement of times, to retain it as a subject outside the course?

H. J. STRANGE.

THE MODERN LANGUAGES REPORT.

SIR,

Berkhamsted.

The report [Cd. 9036] of the Committee on Modern Languages is a document of very great interest to teachers of history. The Committee have not taken a narrow or specialist view of the place of modern languages in education. They have approached their task with something of that "synthetic" outlook upon the "subjects" of the curriculum, which Mr. Kenneth Richmond, in his recent book, describes as essential to "education for liberty." We are reminded at the outset of the report that "the study of languages is, except for the philologist, always a means and never an end in itself." Modern languages are worth learning, simply because they are the indispensable foundation of "Modern Studies," and these are broadly defined as "the study of modern peoples in any and every aspect of their national life."

The absence of any such inspiring and unifying ideal is the chief cause, both of the failure of Modern Sides at the public schools to devise a well-ordered "course in Modern Languages, Literature, and History that deserves to be compared with the best work done in Classics," and of the narrow syllabus and low standard of the courses in modern languages at the universities. Classical education has aimed "at an imaginative comprehension of the whole life of two historic peoples, in their art, their law, their politics, their institutions, and their larger economics, and also in their creative work of poetry, history, and philosophy." Because Modern Studies are of practical utility to the individual and to the nation is no reason why they should be starved for want of a like vision. We should, as early as possible, in teaching seek to make "some of the boys and girls understand that foreign languages are not learnt as an end in themselves, but as a means to the comprehension of foreign peoples, whose history is full of fascinating adventure, who have said and felt and seen and made things worthy of our comprehension, who are now alive and are engaged in like travail with ourselves, who see things differently from ourselves, and, therefore, can the better help us to understand what is the whole of truth. . . . We want our best pupils who specialise in Modern Studies in the higher forms of well-equipped schools to read great masses of the best authors; not only drama, poetry, fiction, but also history, travels, memoirs, letters, perhaps some philosophy, and works of general information. . . . In a school thus organised a rich, catholic, and well-selected library of modern literature, history, and auxiliary works will be the most important part of the institution," and it should include books by contemporary writers.

Such a conception of the place of modern languages in the upper forms of secondary schools requires that the study of them should be carried to a high level. It follows that "it is better to have the

full discipline of one language than a fraction of the discipline of several." The schools must in future "refuse to organise failure in three or more."

Modern Studies, then, should be "in the widest sense historical," and the Committee claim that their policy deserves to be supported by teachers of history. "We desire to extend the illuminating influence of history to a whole department of studies for which history can do much, and which, in turn, can, as we believe, render substantial assistance to history." The report disclaims any intention that the entrance scholarships hitherto awarded for history at Oxford and Cambridge should be taken away from history and offered for a combination of history and modern languages. The Government are recommended to found at the universities about two hundred new scholarships in Modern Studies. "The examination for such scholarships should not be in language alone. The syllabus might include seven subjects: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and possibly Latin—three of these to be taken, two on a higher standard, a third on more restricted lines; English, either on the higher or on the lower standard, always being one. . . . The examination on the higher standard should demand some familiarity with the broad outlines of the history and a first-hand acquaintance with a considerable body of the literature."

At the same time, the Committee "feel strongly that in the more advanced study of history a working knowledge of one or two modern languages is most valuable, if not necessary. The Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford is quoted as to the frequent lack even of a working knowledge of modern languages other than French on the part of candidates for research degrees and fellowships. And Professor Oman says that two-thirds of the candidates for the Oxford Modern History School "cannot read French or German fluently." It is little wonder, then, that, as Lord Bryce recently reminded the British Academy, "in English we have not yet any quite satisfactory history, critical, impartial, and philosophical, of France, or of Germany, or of Spain, or of Switzerland, much less . . . of Russia." "Of what foreign country," echo the Committee, "have we encyclopædic handbooks of its art, its institutions, its biography, its geography, its philosophy, such as we possess for Greece and Rome?" The Committee rightly complain that the existing language tests for scholarships in history do not carry sufficient weight in the award. Candidates, who can use "one or more languages accurately and readily for reading purposes," should receive "adequate credit for an accomplishment so directly useful in historical study." It is a pity that, perhaps from fear of arousing further suspicion of their intentions, the Committee do not go on to criticise the nature of the language papers now set to candidates for scholarships in history. Elsewhere in the report they do express their conviction "that in examinations in history literature should be regarded as one of the most important sources of historical enlightenment." There is surely room for a voluntary paper to test, for example, the reading and appreciation by a candidate, who has specialised in the history of the seventeenth century, of such authors as Molière and Saint-Simon. Such a paper might take the form of alternative questions for an essay, or of the "commentaries of texts" to which the Committee draw attention, and which, in the form of "explication," play so large a part in the higher education of France. Only by the study

of its literature can "that important part of historical knowledge which consists in familiarity with the manners, the ways of thought, the ideals, and all the atmosphere of a people" be acquired.

The Committee are, further, at pains to answer the objection that "history is one and indivisible," and that, in their scheme of Higher Modern Studies, they are in danger of splitting it up into as many fragments as they include countries. "This argument," they say, "if carried far enough to undermine our position, would discredit the teaching of English History except as a subsection of European History, and, if carried to its extreme, would forbid the study of European History without a complete survey of the history, *e.g.*, of China and Mexico." This, however, seems rather a *reductio ad absurdum* of the historians' contention. It would be disastrous if provision for the proper study of the history of countries whose language is being learnt were considered to justify the omission of that broad survey of the Outlines of European History, which is only gradually forcing its way into the syllabus of English schools.

C. H. C. OSBORNE.

BOOKS WANTED AND FOR SALE.

[The charge for notices inserted under this heading is 3d. per book to members of the Association, 6d. to non-members. Notices should be sent, with payment enclosed, to the Secretary of the Editorial Board. Answers should be addressed to the advertisers, and should state the price required or offered.]

WANTED.

Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, 2 vols. For the Library of the Association. Miss Curran, 22, Russell Square, W.C.1.

Rashdall, *The Universities of the Middle Ages; Annual Reports* of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Nos. 33 (1872), 35-40 (1874-79); Public Record Office, *Lists and Indexes*, Nos. iii., vi., ix., xii., xiv., xviii., xix.; Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, 4 vols., 1659-64. The Librarian, University College, W.C.1.

"Chronicles and Memorials" (Rolls Series), No. 98: *Memoranda de Parlamento*, Ed. F. W. Maitland. Professor Pollard, University College, W.C.1.

Spedding, *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon*. Dr. A. P. Newton, King's College, W.C.2.

Report of the Commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts, 1889. 2 vols.; Busch, *England Under the Tudors* (trans. A. M. Todd, 1895). Miss E. J. Davis, University College, W.C.1.

FOR SALE.

Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates* (23rd Edition, to 1903). F. P. B. Shipham, 38, Stanley Gardens, N.W.3.

A Compleat History of the Rebellion, from its first Rise in 1745. to . . . April, 1746. By Mr. James Ray, of Whitehaven, York: 1749. Binding damaged. Miss E. Jeffries Davis, University College, W.C.1.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

VII.—THE EFFECTS OF THE BLACK DEATH ON RURAL ORGANISATION IN ENGLAND.¹

THERE is no subject in the whole of history which stands more in need of constant revision than the Black Death and the part which it played in rural development, and there is no subject more difficult to revise, because the great mass of manorial records, upon which alone a conclusion can be based, have not yet been fully investigated, while every fresh investigator reaches a different result. The subject seems specially created to plague the teacher, if, indeed, it be not a heaven-sent reminder that the past is from one point of view as much in the making as the present. Unfortunately, the fact that the results of the Black Death are not finally established often escapes the notice of both teacher and taught. It has been usual until quite lately to represent it as a prime factor in the emancipation of the villeins in England and as having effected something like a revolution in English agrarian organisation. This view, first stated by Thorold Rogers, still holds the field in many text-books, and even so good a scholar as Professor Pollard repeated it in 1907, in words which may serve to summarise it: "Services had been largely commuted for rents, and the serfs had achieved their emancipation, though some remained in bondage as late as the sixteenth century. Then came the Black Death, which swept off so large a proportion of the population and depleted the labour market. The scarcity of labour enabled the labourers to raise the price of their labour and to demand higher wages. The landlords tried to meet this move by compelling them to return to a state of serfdom, and this attempt caused the discontent which culminated in the Peasants' Revolt."² According to Thorold Rogers, the lords, on the failure of this attempt to "put back the clock," attempted to find new methods of cultivation, which should demand less labour; and the growth of the stock and land lease system and of pasture farming was the outcome of the difficulties caused by the Black Death.

The first serious criticism of this view that the Black Death led to an attempt to reimpose villeinage upon an emancipated peasantry came from Dr. T. W. Page, in a treatise on "The End of Villeinage

¹ See (a) Introduction by C. Petit Dutaillis to *Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381*, by A. Réville [1898], and the same writer's *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, II. [1914]. (b) T. W. Page, *The End of Villeinage in England* [1900]. (c) H. L. Gray, *The Commutation of Villain Services in England before the Black Death*, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, xxix. (1914). (d) A. E. Levett, *The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester*, in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, ed. P. Vinogradoff, Vol. V. (1916).

² A. F. Pollard, *Factors in Modern History* [1907], p. 137.

in England," published in German in 1897, and in English in 1900. Dr. Page asserts that, so far from commutation having been almost accomplished before the Black Death, the process had only just begun. An analysis of the bailiffs' accounts and court rolls of eighty-one manors between the years 1325 and 1350 shows that predial services were entirely abolished on six manors, and almost abolished on nine manors only; on twenty-two the villeins performed about half the labour, and on forty-four they performed almost all the labour. On the other hand, so far from true is it that the lords tried to force the villeins back into serfdom, that when Dr Page examined the records of fifty-five of these manors for the thirty years after the Black Death, he could not find one in which the villeins were held to labour for their lords after the pestilence, if they had not done so before. On the contrary, commutation went on much more rapidly, and an analysis of the records of 126 manors during the years 1355 to 1380 shows that on forty predial services were entirely abolished, and on thirty-nine almost abolished; on twenty-five villeins did about half the labour, and on twenty-two almost all the labour. Thus in 1350 the villeins performed almost the whole of the work on 54 per cent. of the manors, and commutation was almost complete on only 18 per cent. In 1380 they did the whole work on only 17 per cent., and on 62 per cent. commutation was almost complete. This rapid increase in the commutation of services for money was in Dr. Page's view perfectly natural. The plague had destroyed half the available labour in the country and brought about an unprecedented rise of about 42 per cent. in wages. The villeins wished to profit by the high wages, and were reluctant to perform old services. The lords were almost helpless in their hands, because villeins who fled off an estate could always get employment as free labourers elsewhere, while it was impossible to enforce obedience in the manorial courts by the usual penalties of ejectment or a fine, since ejectment would simply mean another empty holding on the depleted manor, and the fines, being unalterably fixed by custom, had not risen with wages. The lords tried to coerce free labourers by the Statutes of Labourers, which fixed wages and prices at pre-pestilence rates; but they early recognised that they could not coerce the villeins. Their only chance was to accede to the demands of the villeins and to commute services, even though it were at a loss, since dear hired labour was better than no labour at all. The process of commutation was thus promoted rather than reversed by the Black Death.

Dr. Page's treatise was an important contribution to the history of villeinage, and held the field, with little in the way either of support or of contradiction, until 1914, when Mr. H. L. Gray published an article in the *English Historical Review* on "The Commutation of Villein Services in England before the Black Death." In this article Dr. Page's conclusions are criticised as being based too exclusively on manors in the South and East of England and in the hands of ecclesiastical owners, who were always conservative in methods of land-tenure. Mr. Gray's own evidence is based on an examination of the Inquisitions Post Mortem of 521 manors, situated in all counties and belonging to lay owners, supplemented by a study of 227 monastic manors and of the estates of nine bishoprics, also evenly distributed throughout the country. The documents examined belong to the decade 1333-1342, and Mr. Gray has been able

to establish the conclusion that the process of commutation had proceeded very unevenly in England before the Black Death, and that, from this point of view, the country could be broken up into well-marked geographical divisions: (1) In the North and West of England services were nearly all commuted; in the country north of the Trent and in the extreme west the process was almost complete; in Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, services, though slightly more common, were not numerous. (2) In the South and East of England, on the other hand, full or considerable services were exacted in about half the manors. (3) In Kent no services at all were exacted, but the development of Kentish land tenure had always been unique, and serfdom had died out very early. The general conclusions reached by Mr. Gray are thus summed up: "From the records of more than 900 manors or large estates, dating from the half century before the Black Death, and representing as impartially as possible the different counties of England, it appears that commutation had proceeded in much the same manner upon lay and ecclesiastical properties; that services were very seldom rendered in the territory lying to the north-west of a line drawn from Boston to Gloucester; but that south-east of this line they were to be met with in all counties [Kent excepted], and in some were the rule rather than the exception." This view effects some sort of a reconciliation between the divergent views of Thorold Rogers and of Dr. Page, since Dr. Page's statistics were taken mainly from the South-east, where commutation is now known to have been slower.

The latest contribution to this vexed question has been made by Miss Levett, in a treatise printed in the *Oxford Studies of Social and Legal History*, and a very pretty piece of iconoclasm it is. Miss Levett has examined the ministerial accounts of the manors belonging to the see of Winchester during the years 1346-1356, and in a lesser degree during the years 1376-1381. The manors which she has studied lie in two main groups, round Winchester and round Taunton, and a third group in North Hampshire and Berkshire has been drawn upon occasionally for additional evidence. Miss Levett's conclusion is that the Black Death had no permanent effect upon rural organisation. There are signs of an evanescent disturbance, followed by a swift and complete recovery, and estate management upon the Bishop's manors pursued the even tenour of its way, without any general change of system. There is no sign of an increase of commutation, a process which had begun in 1208, and was not completed in 1455; there is no sign of any difficulty in finding tenants for vacant holdings, or of any attempt to increase the burdens on the villeins; and there is no sign of any impetus to leasehold tenure. All the changes which were in time to break up manorialism had begun long before the Black Death, and were not even appreciably hastened by it. In fact, Miss Levett remarks that the process of commutation upon these estates received more impetus from William of Wykeham's need of ready money, with which to maintain New College, than from "that traditional parent of all economic development, the Black Death." As far as the manors of the see of Winchester are concerned, the pestilence left no permanent trace behind it.

These, then, are the main contributions which research has made during the present century to the question of the effect of the Black

Death upon agrarian organisation. It remains to be seen how far such divergent views may be collated and some sort of a synthesis made. All three writers are agreed that the importance of the Black Death in this direction has been greatly exaggerated, and that there was no revolution in the history of villeinage; but Miss Levett goes farther than the other writers in iconoclasm. All three are agreed that commutation was not complete before the Black Death, and that there was no general attempt on the part of the lords to put back the clock and to reimpose predial services. They differ, however, in their estimate of the length to which commutation had gone; Dr. Page and Miss Levett consider that it had not proceeded far, while Mr. Gray considers that it was almost complete in the North-western counties, and about half complete in the South-east, thus partially rehabilitating the view of Thorold Rogers upon this point. But it must be remembered, on the one hand, that it is doubtful whether Mr. Gray's statistics can be accepted as accurate (the validity of the evidence supplied by Post Mortem Inquisitions has recently been questioned), while, on the other hand, the manors studied by Dr. Page and the estates of the see of Winchester are both in the South-east, where Mr. Gray admits that labour services still prevailed. In any case, even if Mr. Gray's statistics cannot be accepted, this distinction which he establishes between the North-west and the South-east and his insistence that rural development was local and uneven are of permanent value.

In proceeding to "revise" the current conception of the part played by the Black Death, two principles must therefore be kept in mind: *first*, that there are no cataclysms in medieval economic history; the disappearance of villeinage was a matter of slow evolution and not of violent revolution; *secondly*, that there are no general truths in medieval economic history; progress was everywhere local and uneven, conditioned by geographical differences and by the difficulty of communication. The truth seems to be that the Black Death came upon a rural world which was already changing. Almost from its inception the manorial system had contained within itself the seeds of decay. The essence of the system was the self-sufficiency of each manor, and its one necessity was labour; the one care of the lord was that the villeins by whose labour services his estates were tilled, and by whose payments in kind his household was partially fed, should be retained upon his land in undiminished numbers. But isolation and self-sufficiency can exist only in a comparatively primitive society; and with the growth of towns, which provided a market for the surplus products of the manor, and the consequent development in the use of money, a change inevitably set in. The sale of stock became one of the chief sources of the lord's income, and the effect upon his unfree tenants was equally far-reaching. For their produce, too, there was a market, but, bound as they were to work upon the lord's demesne, they were at a disadvantage compared with the free tenants, who paid rent and could devote their whole time to their own holdings. So there came about three changes in the ideal manorial system, which eventually broke it up from within: (1) the labour services of the villeins began to be commuted for money payments; (2) rent-paying tenancies increased; and (3) as a result there grew up a class of hired labourers whom the lord could pay with the money thus received to perform the services once owed by the villeins.

(1) As to the commutation of labour services for money, it had been customary from quite early times to assess the value of labour services in money, even when they were actually rendered in labour, and by degrees, in Miss Levett's words, there grew up "a kind of optional commutation or rough valuation in money, of which sometimes the lord, sometimes the tenant, might take advantage." Moreover, during the thirteenth century the permanent commutation of services was slowly making way. Its progress was local and uneven. In estates where the demesne was small in proportion to the amount of land in villeinage, and where the lord would not want all the services to which he was entitled, it would obviously be resorted to sooner than in estates with large demesnes and fewer villein holdings. But both optional and permanent commutation were going on steadily, and at the end of the thirteenth century there existed simultaneously, and often upon the same manor, tenants at all the different stages; some were still paid entirely in services, some gave services or paid money according as their lord, or (more rarely) as they themselves preferred, some had entirely commuted their services for a fixed rent. Everywhere the boon works at harvest, and at other times of agrarian crisis, lingered after the regular week-work disappeared. The manorial system, however, was breaking up most quickly in those parts of the country where it had least deep roots, in the hilly land of the North and West, which had never been well suited to the three-field system.

(2) Side by side with the commutation of labour services went the increase of landholding for rent. From very early times parcels of land reclaimed from the waste (the so-called assarts) had been added to the customary land of the manor, and these new strips were always let at money rents. Farm servants, the sons of villeins, sometimes men who held strips in villeinage in the common fields, thus became rent-paying tenants for the new lands. But there had already begun before the end of the thirteenth century a practice which was far more subversive of the whole theory of villeinage. Sometimes the lord found it convenient to let out portions of his demesne at a rent, instead of keeping it in his own hands and farming it by means of his bailiff. If this happened, as Ashley points out, "his need for the services of the villeins would be *pro tanto* diminished, and he would be readier to accept commutation. The letting of the demesne would do more than any other cause to change the relations between the lord and his villagers."¹ The demesne was usually itself made up of scattered acres in the common fields, and it would make little difference to the agriculture of the manor whether a virgate were held by the lord or by a new tenant at a money rent; but to the social organisation of the manor it would make a great deal of difference, because labour services would no longer be demanded of the villeins, so far as that particular virgate was concerned. Sometimes only a very small part of the demesne would be thus let to tenants; but sometimes as much as a fourth was thus disposed of, and sometimes the whole of the demesne was leased to the tenants, whose labour dues were necessarily all commuted. Occasionally the demesne was leased to the whole community of villagers; in other words, the manor was farmed. This is rare, but as early as 1272 an instance occurs of one of the manors of the Earl of Cornwall being

¹ Ashley, *Economic Hist.*, I., 27-8.

granted to the customary tenants in fee farm.¹ More commonly the land was let to individuals, freemen or villeins; Ibstone and Gamlingay, belonging to Merton College, were so leased in 1300, Wardley belonging to the convent of Durham in 1309, Basingstoke and Walford belonging to Merton College in 1310 and 1322.² Obviously such leases would be particularly convenient in the case of manors belonging to ecclesiastical bodies and other absentee owners. Stock and land leases occur before the end of the thirteenth century, one of the earliest examples on a manor belonging to Ramsey Abbey in 1279.³ Unfortunately, we have no exact statistics from which to discover how far this process of letting demesne had gone by the middle of the fourteenth century, but it is certainly true to say that it had begun before the Black Death.

(3) The third factor in the break-up of manorialism was the growth of a class of hired labourers. Mr. Page, indeed, postulates as one of the conditions which had to be fulfilled before commutation could take place, the existence of enough free labourers to do the work formerly done by villeins. As a matter of fact it by no means follows that the lord would have to hire free labourers instead, since customary tenants would probably be willing to hire themselves out as labourers after commutation, and there had always been cottagers, whose own holdings were too small to take up all their time. But leaving aside these considerations, there were many forces working to increase the number of free labourers at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Manumission was one of these. Another was the increasing need for ready money, which made it possible for a villein sometimes to purchase freedom, if he could scrape together the sum demanded. Moreover, the flight of villeins from the manors to which they belonged added to the number of free labourers, for, though they could be reclaimed, it was not easy to track and fetch them back; the increasing number of flights recorded in the court rolls of the first half of the fourteenth century is another witness to the breakdown of the old system. The conclusion that hired labour was becoming common receives rather interesting confirmation in the Statute of Labourers itself. One of its clauses runs: "No [agricultural labourer] shall go out of the town where he dwells in winter to take service in summer if he can get work in the same town, . . . except the people of the counties of Stafford, Lancaster, and Derby and the people of Craven, and of the march of Wales, and of Scotland, and other places, who may come in time of harvest and labour in other counties, and safely return, as they were wont to do before this time." Obviously the practice of migration was well established, and the list of counties whose inhabitants thus travelled away from home to work for wages affords interesting corroboration of Mr. Gray's conclusion that commutation had been almost completed in the Northern counties.

The agrarian world, then, was changing all through the century before the Black Death, and the increased use of and demand for money during that century promoted the change. The facts that England was favourably placed for commerce, drew constant supplies of silver from Germany in exchange for her wool, and

¹ Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *Eng. Econ. Hist., Select Documents*, pp. 81-2.

² Cheyney in *Eng. Hist. Review*, XV., 35.

³ Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-81.

possessed a currency whose purity was maintained by the wise policy of her kings, all reacted upon rural organisation; and it is significant that by the beginning of the fourteenth century the Italian bankers, who had financed the crown, were being replaced by native financiers. Into this changing world there crashed the Black Death. In any parts its immediate effects were cataclysmic; there was complete temporary disorganisation and a rise of prices which brought with it a rise of wages and a serious labour problem. In other parts (as on the estates of Winchester) its effects were short-lived and there was a rapid return to old conditions. But it seems certain that, whatever the immediate results of the pestilence, its ultimate effect upon the history of manorialism was small. The lords certainly clung to their villein services where they could, but no attempt was made to put back the clock or to reimpose those which had been commuted. Nevertheless, services were now inevitably more of a grievance than they had been. Miss Levett points out that without an increase of the burdens of the peasantry, the weight of the burden on survivors would be increased owing to the decrease of population; a villein, with several sons, could with ease perform the services due to his lord and cultivate his own holding, but if the plague carried away several members of his household, the same services weighed twice as heavily. At the same time the good wages earned by free labourers increased a discontent, which had probably been growing for many years, as the villeins saw all round them assart lands, parcels of the demesne and other tenants' holdings being held by rent. Commutation accordingly went on steadily, and one of the results of the Black Death was a desire on the part of the villeins to hasten the process which had begun and an irritation with the burdens of serfdom, which seemed so incongruous with their new economic prosperity, with the high prices which they could get for their produce, and the high wages which their emancipated fellows could get for their labour. "The Black Death," says Miss Levett, "did not in any strictly economic sense cause the Peasants' Revolt or the breakdown of villeinage, but it gave birth, in many cases, to a smouldering feeling of discontent, an inarticulate desire for change, which found its outlet in the rising of 1381." Certainly, as Mr. Gray points out, the fact that "the burden of services was heaviest in some half-dozen of the counties where the Peasants' Revolt was most violent is suggestive, and should be considered in connection with contemporary peasant complaints about degrading labour."

The process of commutation which had begun long before the Black Death thus continued after it, perhaps with some increased impetus. At the same time leaseholding and the use of hired labour continued also, and more and more lords found it convenient to let out their demesne to tenants and to substitute leasehold and copyhold tenure for the old methods of bailiff farming. Other lords took up pasture farming and thus avoided the labour difficulty altogether. But none of these changes were the result of the Black Death; commutation, rent-holding, and hired labour had begun almost as soon as the manorial system had established itself, and the development of pasture farming was inevitable in a century when wool was all-important. As early as the thirteenth century English wool kept busy the looms of Flanders and pasture farming was common, especially in the commuted Northern counties. In the fourteenth century England was the chief wool-exporting, and in the fifteenth century

the chief cloth-exporting, country of Europe. Both exports presuppose grazing farms, and if there had never been a Black Death at all, enclosure for pasture farming would have been a feature of the age. All these processes, working slowly through three centuries, gradually broke up the manorial system from within; the growth of a money economy was its great solvent; neither the Black Death nor any other cataclysm worked a revolution in its history. The decay moved more quickly after the Black Death, partly because it was gathering impetus from its own movement, partly because the increased amount of money in circulation, compared with the population, and the rise of wages helped it on. Moreover, the Black Death gave rise to a general discontent, which was favourable to change. The effect of the pestilence was greater in some parts of the country than in others, just as manorialism was already disappearing more quickly in some parts than in others. Again, we must repeat that in medieval economic history there are no revolutions and no general truths. But in so far as it is possible to generalise we may say that the world was changing and that into this changing world the Black Death came and gave it a slight push in the direction along which it was already travelling. The push was probably repeated by the four other great plagues of the fourteenth century, which the chroniclers mention as comparable with the Black Death. If it be admitted that the terrible pestilence has a subordinate place in the broad course of rural development, it is unnecessary to deny that its immediate effects were startling, as they undoubtedly were. But a portent often looks different when seen in perspective; it depends which end of the historical telescope we apply to our eyes. As a factor in the disappearance of villeinage, the Black Death is something of a myth; but it remains in itself one of the most picturesque episodes in history. Also it has for the teacher a certain perverse charm, in that it refuses to be permanently "revised"; so much investigation yet remains to be made among manorial records, that a new scholar may at any moment materially alter the accepted view by some new conclusion which has to be collated and fitted in. It is unlikely, however, that the revolutionary theory will ever be reinstated.

E. E. POWER.

REVIEWS.

A Short History of England. By G. K. CHESTERTON. Chatto and Windus. 1917. 241 pp. 5s.

MR. G. K. CHESTERTON is well known as a writer of tales and articles in which he sets forth what may be termed the boisterous philosophy of life, a philosophy "where life becomes a spasm" in the words of Mr. Lewis Carroll; in his *Short History of England* he has gone further in the same path, and, in the words of the same author, has made "History a whiz." In 241 pages of breathless hurry he has discussed the whole history of England from the Roman domination to the present day, and has also included any comments on things in general that happened to occur to him during this wild career through time. For mere narrative, for the determination of fact, for patient investigation, he has had neither leisure nor inclination, and, in consequence, we have here an amorphous collection of confident judgments without a word to show that Mr. Chesterton possesses any critical faculty, or has ever thought for one moment on the theory of the limits of historical knowledge. A basis of fact, or what he conceives to be fact, he doubtless possesses, and some idea of method. But the reader is left to discover for himself what facts Mr. Chesterton believes to be established and the sources from which he has obtained them, and to discern through a mass of irrelevant and violent language what are Mr. Chesterton's views on historic method. So far as a mere reviewer can guess, Mr. Chesterton has obtained his facts from Mr. Green's *Short History of the English People*, a work which he invariably derides, and from various unnamed text-books which he very properly contemns; and he has applied to these the method of the higher criticism, which he solemnly anathematises. If he has used any other authorities, he has carefully concealed the fact from the reader, unless, indeed, his denunciation of all German scholarship may be taken to imply that he has studied the chief German works on English history, and found them wanting. In his next edition he will be well advised to add a few footnotes that the reader may be able to understand the origin of his more novel and startling assertions.

His main position is stated with unusual clearness in his introduction. It is that popular histories have neglected the mediæval period of English history, and have not noticed the revolution that took place between the time of Stephen and that of Mary. "This revolution should be the first thing and the final thing in anything calling itself a popular history. For it is the story of how our populace gained great things, but to-day has lost everything." At this point the experienced reader will probably murmur to himself, "Ah, yes! of course, the guild system and the peasants' revolt; Brentano and Thorold Rogers." Nor will he be disappointed, though he will possibly be surprised to find that Mr. Chesterton mentions neither of these writers. But he will be still more surprised as he proceeds through the book and discovers scattered fragments of the views of Fustel de Coulanges, Kemble, Von Maurer, Gneist, Gross, and

others, all served up in shapes that their authors would hardly recognise and would assuredly repudiate. It is, of course, open to Mr. Chesterton to assert that he has never read a word of any of these authors, and that his native ingenuity is alone responsible for his views. In the absence of any references the reader can only guess at his sources and may easily guess wrong.

Let us take a typical instance or two of Mr. Chesterton's method. On p. 4 he tells us that in popular histories "a working man has been taught about the Great Charter; . . . he was not taught that the whole stuff of the Middle Ages was stiff with the parchment of charters. The carpenter heard of one charter given to barons, and chiefly in the interest of barons; the carpenter did not hear of any of the charters given to carpenters, to coopers, to all the people like himself." An innocent reader must suppose that the chancery rolls of the mediæval kings bristled with charters conferring privileges on powerful communities of artisans organised into guilds. Now the rolls are mostly printed or calendared, and Mr. Chesterton can easily produce chapter and verse in support of his assertion; it would be amusing to see him looking up the charters to coopers, for instance. In his next edition we may hope to see the result of his search for these charters, and his analysis of their contents. He will find that the passage here quoted will have to be re-written. His fundamental error is that he has confused the chronology of the history of the guilds. He says that "a guild was, very broadly speaking, a Trades Union in which every man was his own employer." How far this may have been the case in the early and obscure period of the twelfth century, when the craft-guilds were the objects of suspicion, tolerated or suppressed by the central government, and disliked by the trading community of the towns, it is hard to say. But it is profoundly untrue of their period of prosperity and power, the fifteenth century, so untrue that at that time we can note the rise of other organisations specially devised for the actual craftsmen, who were practically excluded from the guilds of masters. Mr. Chesterton must turn to his authorities again and find out what is known to-day, and what was not known when Brentano and his followers wrote.

It is the same story when Mr. Chesterton comes to the "peasants' revolt," though he deserves commendation for not using that phrase. He accepts in its entirety the whole theory of Thorold Rogers. It is in vain that André Réville has written and printed documents; in vain that Messrs. Powell and Trevelyan have added to the store; even Professor Oman's popularisation of their work is unknown to Mr. Chesterton. All he can do is to give us once more the old story that the result of the Black Death was that the lords "appealed to a rule already nearly obsolete to drive the serf back to the more direct servitude of the Middle Ages." He is utterly unaware of the actual grievances of the people, and knows nothing of the conflicts at Bury St. Edmunds, St. Albans, Beverley, and in other important boroughs. What he does know, is that an insult was offered to Wat Tyler's daughter; he believes that for two reasons: the first, that there is no contemporary evidence for it; the second, because "an inspector" to-day "need only bring a printed form and a few long words to do the same thing without having his head broken." No one need suppose that this sentence is intended as a statement of fact; it is only intended as a mild criticism of the government of England and as a considered expression of a belief that all Englishmen are no

better than slaves. It may be coupled with the last sentence of the book which contains a qualified hope that the wave of Teutonic barbarism should wholly destroy the English nation and all its works, unless the nation is prepared to plunge into a healing bath of anarchism.

Like all democrats who despair of their cause, Mr. Chesterton has occasional leanings towards a benevolent despotism. According to him Richard II. or Henry II. might have saved England if they had had a mind to do so. It would have been difficult to pick two men less likely to fill the part, the one a man delighting in crooked intrigue and rash devices, the other the type of the family whose ability and virtues, whose follies and vices suggested to their contemporaries the theory of a diabolic origin. "Non tali auxilio," any believer in democracy would reply if he happened to be a journalist. And yet, in spite of the fundamental blunder of his point of view, in spite of his persistent misinterpretation of facts and his tendency to prefer the worst authorities and to misunderstand the best, Mr. Chesterton shows here and there some signs of a historic faculty. The book before us can profit no reader, except as a collection of warnings. But some things he knows. He knows, for instance, the value of literature to the historian, though he supposes that Chaucer represents the popular point of view, and makes no mention of Langland. He knows that the mediæval Church is an important factor, though he mis-states the controversy between Becket and Henry II., and curiously supposes that Cobbett was right in thinking that the tenants on ecclesiastical lands were uniformly well treated. He knows that the modern theory of the divine right of kings had its root in a bad title to the throne, and he can see that Strafford and Richelieu were alike. And one could pick out other passages of the kind. A course of reading in the best French historians might teach him the value of a restrained and lucid style and the advantages of logical thought. As it is, one can only quote his amusing description of Nelson as "the man who burnt his ships, and who for ever set the Thames on fire," and add that as an historian Mr. Chesterton has doubtless done the first, and has emphatically failed in the second achievement.

C. G. CRUMP.

Norman Institutions. By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS. Harvard University Press, 1918. 11s. 6d.

At intervals during the past fifteen years Professor Haskins, of Harvard, has published in England or America a series of articles dealing with the organisation of the Norman State in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These articles were founded on a prolonged and minute investigation of the relevant material existing at Paris, in departmental archives, and in other French collections; they have now been expanded into a history of Norman administrative methods from the time of the Conqueror to that of Henry II. The results of this laborious work do not invite any drastic revision of the accepted course of Norman administrative development, but at many points they correct or supplement the conclusions reached by earlier writers. The book is an admirable illustration of modern methods of historiography: the transference of two documents of moment for the history of the Norman jury from Henry II. to his father Geoffrey which

follows from the recovery of a marginal initial in the *Livre Noir* of Bayeux is a good example of the important results which may be produced by the minute scrutiny of a manuscript. Students of diplomatic should be grateful to Professor Haskins and the Harvard University Press for facsimiles of eight original or quasi-original charters of Richard II., Robert I., William I., and Geoffrey of Anjou. But the whole book may appropriately be described as an application of diplomatic to the reconstruction of history. The absence of any trace of an established chancery routine in the thirty-nine charters which have survived from the reign of Robert II. confirms in an interesting way the statements of chroniclers as to the weakness of the duke's government. Conversely, the formal regularity to be observed in the long series of Henry II.'s writs illustrates, as every fresh piece of evidence does illustrate, the detailed organisation and efficient administration which permitted the achievements of his illustrious reign. The greatest obstacle to the employment of diplomatic in history is the difficulty of making a tolerable synthesis of a body of material preserved by accident and scattered in many places. But Professor Haskins has not only provided the student with a large collection of new facts; he has established the main features of one of the most interesting experiments in government achieved in all the early Middle Ages.

A good book always suggests the possibility of future work in related fields. Professor Haskins, in the present book, and Professor Powicke, in his brilliant *Loss of Normandy*, have supplied the student with a modern and critical description of the continental side of the Anglo-Norman State of the twelfth century. The copious sources of diplomatic information respecting English history in the narrower sense await detailed investigation. In particular, it remains for someone to use the unrivalled body of private charters of the twelfth century to connect the age of Glanville with the age of Domesday. When this work has been done, it will become possible with a new certainty to approach the darkest period in English history, the centuries which lie behind the landing of William of Normandy.

F. M. STENTON.

The Later Middle Ages: A History of Western Europe, 1254—1494.

By R. B. MOWAT. The Clarendon Press, 1917. 4s. 6d. net.
(Oxford Text-books of European History.)

ALL students of history read Gibbon, but few nowadays follow him in treating history as primarily a narrative of events. Among these few is Mr. Mowat, who in this little book has written of *The Later Middle Ages* as a series of stirring episodes grouped round a few great—or at least prominent—men. There is much to be said for this method of treatment as the one most likely to arouse in boys and girls an interest in the Middle Ages for their own sake; but it has its drawbacks, and Mr. Mowat's narrative, which is spirited enough, though somewhat overburdened with dates, disappoints us by ignoring the deeper meaning of the events dealt with. Thus, it is disconcerting to find the Revival of Learning disposed of in four rather small pages, no more than is given to the career of Castruccio Castracani; and it is almost as startling to find the Hussite Wars, the Swiss Cantons, the Hanseatic League, the Teutonic Knights, and the Turks dealt with altogether and in this

order, after the Council of Constance. Mr. Mowat has illuminated his narrative with numerous extracts from contemporary and other writers, all of them well chosen save one, Pater's interpretation of the *Monna Lisa*, which is surely above the heads of the children for whom the book is apparently intended. There are some useful maps, but the use of a broken line for boundaries makes them less clear than they might be.

R. R. REID.

Charles I. By A. E. McKILLIAM. Harrap and Co. 191 pp. 2s. 6d. net.

IN preparing such a book as this it is always something of a problem to decide to what extent contemporary events should be allowed to intrude upon matters of a more purely biographical nature. On the one hand, it is desirable to surround the central figure with the necessary atmosphere and to show, to some degree at least, the influences to which he was exposed; on the other, there is always the danger—as exemplified in Spedding's *Life of Bacon*—of losing the main thread of interest in a maze of contemporary detail.

In this life of Charles I. the author has, unfortunately, erred in both directions. The work is really little more than a description of a few of the dramatic events that occurred while Charles I. happened to be alive. One whole chapter is given up to an account of the Gunpowder Plot, which took place when Charles had reached the mature age of five; and when events really had a serious influence on the King's character or activities, no attempt is made to show their relevancy; the murder of the Duke of Buckingham is quite completely described, but nothing is said of its significance in the life of Charles I.

On the other hand, while we are regaled with conversation between James I. and his son's nurse, much that we feel we have a right to expect in a biography is omitted; nothing is said of Charles's personal character, of the value of his rule, of the blame or praise which he may merit at the hands of posterity; Laud's execution is described in detail, but there is no mention of the King's campaign of Cropredy and Lostwithiel.

Nor, unfortunately, is the work free from positive error: the Emperor is referred to as the Emperor of Austria (p. 40); Cottington is throughout spelt Collington (pp. 43-4); fugitives from Edgehill are said never to have drawn bridle till they reached London (p. 129)—a little matter of seventy-five miles—while an infantry regiment on the side of the Parliament is stated to have deserted to the King in that battle (in reality one troop of cavalry under Sir Faithful Fortescue went over); Cromwell is placed in command of the troops of the Eastern Association at Marston Moor, and Rupert's cavalry is routed towards the end of the battle instead of at its very commencement (p. 141); finally Prince Charles went from the Scilly Isles to Jersey in 1646 and not *vice versa*, as is stated (p. 153).

The frontispiece is a remarkably good example of colour-printing, while the paper wrapper is a sheer delight.

E. R. ADAIR.

A History of Poland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.

By MAJOR F. E. WHITTON. London: Constable and Co., 1917. 8s. 6d. net.

MUCH has been written upon Polish history for the instruction of the Western public. Albert Sorel gave us, over twenty years ago,

a brilliant sketch of the first partition; more recently Sig. D'Acandia has treated "the Polish question" in Italian, and Lord Eversley has described in English the triple dismemberment of the Polish kingdom, once the third largest country in Europe. Now English readers have a further popular account of a nation whose restoration is one of the aims of the present war.

The most interesting part of Major Whitton's book is his analysis of the causes which led to the downfall of so considerable a State. Besides the constitutional evils of an elective monarchy and of the *liberum veto*, in themselves a sufficient handicap to a country surrounded by powerful, autocratic, and unscrupulous neighbours, the social conditions of Poland accelerated her decline. The absence of a middle-class, the monopoly of politics by the nobles and of trade by the Jews, the rooted aversion from all fiscal burdens, the lack (with a few notable exceptions) of strong rulers and of good, natural frontiers, and the religious prejudices of Protestant Prussia and Orthodox Russia against the Catholic kingdom, which they coveted, were all doubtless elements in Poland's fall. Several of them no longer exist, so that the history of a reconstituted Poland would scarcely be a repetition of her unhappy past. Moreover, the growth of the respect for nationality, despite certain notable diplomatic lapses, would not tolerate such acts of international brigandage as the partition of a weak nation by three strong monarchies. The weakness of the Polish movement for unity has in modern times rather been due to the privileged position of Austrian Poland, to which the late Dr. Lueger alluded in the epigram that Austria was "a Hungarian country, governed by Poles." The present author, however, wisely abstains from forecasts of the future map of Europe, and confines himself to the useful task of compiling a readable summary of Polish history. He gives, however, no bibliography, and such few references as he makes are mainly to modern, second-hand authorities. It is useful, too, in a book of this kind to emphasise the comparatively modern date of the Prussian claim to Poland, showing how, as late as 1657, the Great Elector of Brandenburg was still a vassal of the Polish Crown for the Duchy of Prussia, how Frederick II. was not "King of Prussia" till 1772, and how Danzig and Thorn did not become Prussian till 1793, and not definitely so till 1815, if the artificial creations of that Congress could be styled as "definite." The utility of the book is increased by three maps, showing Europe and Poland at various periods.

WILLIAM MILLER.

Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace and their Teaching. By the RIGHT HON. SIR W. G. F. [now LORD] PHILLIMORE, BART., D.C.L., LL.D. John Murray, 1917. 7s. 6d.

THIS book brings under review the most important treaties made since 1648, with a *résumé* of the events of the period. It has a full index and chronological list of treaties, as well as a bibliography; and the story of the Schleswig-Holstein troubles, of the growth of Germany and Italy, of the extinction of Poland, and of the Eastern question make it very useful to all those who are anxious to see the bearing of the past on the problems of the present. The author begins by laying down certain maxims to be observed if a permanent peace is to be obtained. These may be summarised as a modified

recognition of nationality, the avoidance of conditions that take long to fulfil and that impair the independence of a state, and the recognition that no terms can be looked upon as binding in perpetuity; and these points he illustrates from the period under review. The Congress of Vienna naturally receives considerable attention, and he gives five instances in which the arrangements were faulty. In dealing with treaties about the laws of war the writer points out the difficulty of enforcing them except by reprisals. In suggesting terms for a satisfactory peace he passes in review the answer of the Allies to President Wilson in January, 1917; but there will be considerable disagreement with some of his own proposals with their insistence on the balance of power and on military frontiers. In his opinion France must have a new strategic frontier, but the neutralisation of states is useless, nor is he hopeful of the efficacy of buffer states, while the League of Peace smacks too much of the unsavoury Holy Alliance. He does not think the limitation of armaments possible, as it is easily evaded, and no suitable *criteria* exist. Arbitration is much more in favour with him, if it can be enforced, as it would give time for passions to cool.

W. J. HARTE.

The American Revolution in our School Text-books. By CHARLES ALTSCHUL. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1917.

THIS valuable little book is (to quote from its sub-title) "an attempt to trace the influence of early school education on the feeling towards England in the United States." Mr. Altschul (who is, we believe, a hard-worked business-man) has made an exhaustive examination of ninety-three most popular history text-books used in the elementary schools of the U.S.A. Forty of these were in use more than twenty years ago, fifty-three are books in present use—in a few cases, simply later editions of those in the first list. All these books are classified according to their treatment of the War of Independence. The first class contains those which not only show the American point of view but also make some reasonable allowance for British difficulties, and for the extent to which the best British opinion backed the colonists up; and so on down to class 5, where the text-books emphasise British injustice and make little or no allowance for counterbalancing facts. It is satisfactory to find that the more modern group shows a much better record than the earlier; but the author remarks that there is still room for a good deal of improvement. In the earlier group of twenty years ago, not only were the more impartial books less numerous, but they were less popular. The first two classes contain only eight books, used in fifteen of the great towns covered by this inquiry; the three inferior classes contain thirty-two books used in 119 towns. When we come down to those in present use, we find twenty in the first two classes, and thirty-three in the last three, used in sixty-eight and 123 towns respectively. From this the author inevitably concludes: "the public mind must thereby have been prejudiced against England; . . . the improvement is by no means sufficiently marked to prevent continued growth of unfounded prejudice against England." To cite a concrete instance which Mr. Altschul does not himself note, but which transpires from the very full texts which he gives from the histories examined, only four out of the whole list of text-books explicitly state that the British claims were, at their worst, the ordinary claims of mother countries upon their

colonies in that day, while four more imply this without emphasising it. To at least nine schoolboys out of ten, therefore, the tyranny of George III. is presented as something exceptional; and this must enormously increase the false perspective which (as Mr. Kipling points out) results already from the unlucky fact that Britain has been the only formal enemy of the U.S.A., and therefore the only convenient whipping-block.

The moral is obvious. Let us be grateful to Mr. Altschul for his reforming efforts, and let us make sure meanwhile that we are clear ourselves from the guilt of similar injustice. G. G. COULTON.

SHORT NOTICES.

IN *Voyages and Discoveries: Tales of Queen Elizabeth's Adventures retold from Hakluyt* (S.P.C.K., 4s. net), Miss Alice Greenwood has chosen seven of Hakluyt's stories, and has "retold" them. The selection is a good one, in that it gives geographical variety. The best known of the stories are: "Drake's Voyage Round the World," the "Discovery and Settlement of Virginia," and "Martin Frobisher's Search for the North-west Passage." The others are concerned with adventures in the East, in South America, in the Azores, and in the Eastern Mediterranean. One cannot help regretting that the author was not content to edit the stories instead of "re-telling" them. There is already an excellent edition of Hakluyt in *Everyman's Library*, quite suitable for children of twelve and onwards, and even younger children can appreciate the simple direct narrative of Hakluyt with its wealth of detail. Had the author given us a collection of the stories with her preface, but preserving Hakluyt's language, we should have had a useful addition to the junior school library. The size and expense of the present volume make it of less general use than it would otherwise have been. There are some good illustrations from drawings of ships of the period; the more imaginative illustrations are of no special value. E. M. C.

EDISON is, without question, an inventor of remarkable genius, perseverance, and stamina, with a highly developed commercial instinct coupled with a determination to "adapt himself to the clearly expressed needs of the public," or, vulgarly, to things that pay. So much the anonymous author of *Thomas A. Edison: The Life Story of a Great American* (Harrap and Co., 3s. 6d. net) has brought out with remarkable clearness; but he has entirely overlooked the fact that great inventions are never the work of one man, and, by ignoring the achievements of all, or nearly all, the other workers in the fields which Edison has helped to explore, has made the educational value of his book very small indeed. Moreover, probably as much, in aggregate, as one-third of the whole space is occupied by gushing comments and fulsome flattery, which cannot but prove both irritating and repulsive to English readers. There is evidence that the book is a translation from the French; if so, the translator must have been someone devoid alike of good taste and good sense.

D. O. W.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in The Times Literary Supplement, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

EARLY BABYLONIAN Letters from Larsa (c. 2000 B.C.). By H. F. Lutz. xii+41 pp., 57 plates. Yale University Press (Milford). 21s.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY of India: Annual Report, 1915-16, Pt. 1. 51+vi pp. Calcutta. 3s.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY in Western Europe. By H. J. Fleure. viii+260 pp. Williams and Norgate. 5s.

FRONTIERS. By C. B. Fawcett. Clarendon Press. 3s.

THE WAR and the Baghdad Railway (Historical Struggles for Asia Minor). By Morris Jastrow. 160 pp. Lippincott. 6s. (p. 158.)

A SHORT HISTORY of Rome, 754-44 B.C. By G. Ferrero and C. Barbagallo. vii+510 pp. Putnams. 10s.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE. By F. Waterton. 191 pp. Drane. 2s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 159.)

THE TREASURE of the Magi (Zoroastrianism). By J. H. Moulton. xiii+273 pp. Milford. 8s. 6d. (p. 149.)

THE HISTORY of European Philosophy. By W. T. Marvin. xiii+439 pp. Macmillan. 8s. 6d.

THE EVOLUTION of Early Christianity. By S. J. Case. ix+385 pp. Chicago University Press (Cambridge University Press). 9s. 6d.

ESSAYS ON THE Early History of the Church. Ed. H. B. Swete. xx+446 pp. Macmillan. 12s. (pp. 249, 289, 301.)

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY: the relations of Christianity and Paganism in the Roman Empire. By R. M. Pope. vii+163 pp. Macmillan. 4s. 6d.

THE DESCENT OF MANUSCRIPTS. By A. C. Clark. xv+464 pp. Clarendon Press. 28s. (p. 260.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE. By V. Duruy, translated. (Everyman's Library.) 2 vols. xix+528, viii+569 pp. Dent. 3s.

A SHORT HISTORY of France, to 1815. By Mary Duclaux (Robinson). viii+349 pp. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. (p. 159.)

NORMAN INSTITUTIONS. By C. H. Haskins. xv+377 pp. Harvard University Press. \$2.75. (p. 136.)

OUTLINE SKETCH of English Constitutional History. By G. B. Adams. 208 pp. Yale Univ. Press (Milford). \$1.75.

BENEDICT IX and GREGORY VI. 37 pp. 3s. IMPERIAL INFLUENCES on the forms of Papal Documents. 13 pp. 1s. By R. L. Poole. The British Academy.

AN ABBOT of Vézelay. By Rose Graham. 136 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT and Heresy in the Middle Ages. By F. W. Bussell. xiii+878 pp. R. Scott. 21s.

A SHORT HISTORY of Science. By W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler. xv+474 pp. The Macmillan Co. 12s. 6d.

AN EAST ANGLICAN SOKE: studies in original documents. By C. M. Hoare (Mrs. Hood). Bedford. The Beds. Times Co. (p. 184.) £1.

FINANCE AND TRADE under Edward III. By members of the History School. Ed. G. Unwin. xxx+360 pp. Manchester University Press. 15s.

DIOCESIS LINCOLN: Rotuli R. Gravesend (1258-79). Pars 2da., pp. 97-197. DIOCESIS LONDON: Registrum S. de Sudbiria (1362-75). Pars 2da., pp. 65-128. DIOCESIS HEREFORD: Registra E. Lacy (1417-20), et T. Poltone (1420-22). vii+128+iv+25 pp. Canterbury and York Soc.

THE REGISTERS of Richard Beauchamp (1449-50), Reginald Boulers (1451-3), and John Stanbury (1453-74). 2 Parts. ii+17+iv+26 and xiii+203 pp. Ed. A. T. Bannister. Cantilupe Soc.

THE HERRING: its effect on the history of Britain. By A. M. Samuel. 199 pp. Murray. 10s. 6d. (p. 193.)

THE OLD GUILDS of England. By F. Armitage. 226 pp. Weare. 6s.

THE ENGLISH MIDDLE-CLASS. By R. H. Gretton. xii+238 pp. Bell. 8s. 6d. (p. 204.)

THE DAWN of the French Renaissance. By A. Tilley. xxvi+636 pp. Camb. University Press. 25s. (p. 293.)

RABELAIS in his Writings. By W. F. Smith. viii+230 pp. Cambridge University Press. 6s.

PROTESTANTISM in Germany. By K. D. Macmillan. viii+282 pp. Princeton University Press. 6s. 6d. (p. 180.)

TRADE AND NAVIGATION between Spain and the Indies. By C. H. Harling. xxviii+371 pp. Harvard University Press. 10s. (p. 270.)

ENGLISH HISTORY IN SHAKESPEARE. By J. A. Marriott. v+298 pp. Chapman and Hall. 10s. 6d. (p. 171.)

THE TRUE STORY of Alsace-Lorraine. By E. A. Vizetelly. xii+311 pp. Chatto and Windus. 10s. 6d. (p. 135.)

MEMOIRS of CARDINAL DE RETZ, translated. (Everyman's Library.) 2 vols. xi+440+357 pp. Dent. 3s.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, 1700-1763. By F. W. Pitman. xv+495 pp. Yale Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. (p. 167.)

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGAL, 1772-4. By M. E. Monckton Jones. (Oxford Hist. and Literary Studies, Vol. IX.) xv+360 pp. Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. (p. 261.)

MEMOIRS of Wm. Hickey: Vol. II., 1775-82. (Jamaica and Bengal.) x+406 pp. Hurst and Blackett. 12s. 6d. (p. 183.)

THE LAST INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENT of Ireland. By G. Sigerson. xxxv+207 pp. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 5s. (pp. 227, 254.)

REINE AUDU (Oct., 1789). Par Marc de Villiers. Emile Paul Frères. 5f. (p. 137.)

SELECT CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS illustrating S. African History, 1795-

1910. Ed. G. W. Eybers. lxxxvii+582 pp. Routledge. 21s. (p. 239.)

LEGISLATIVE METHODS in the United States), c. 1750-1825. By R. V. Harlow. xi+269 pp. Yale Univ. Press (Milford). 10s.

AMERICAN LITERATURE. Ed. W. P. Trent. (Supplementary to the Cambridge History of English Literature.) Vol. I., xix+584 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 15s. (p. 237.)

MEMOIRS of the Comte de Mercy-Argenteau. Trans. and ed. G. S. Kellman. 2 Vols. xcii+178+xi+212 pp. Putnam. 50s. (p. 250.)

THE GREAT EUROPEAN TREATIES of the 19th Century. Ed. Sir A. Oakes and R. B. Mowat. Intro. Sir H. Erle Richards. xii+403 pp. Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. (p. 179.)

WAES AND TREATIES, 1815-1914. By A. Ponsonby. 100 pp. Allen and Unwin. 2s.

THE EXPANSION of British India, 1818-1858. By G. Anderson and M. Subedar. xii+196 pp. Bell. 4s. 6d. (p. 140.)

HISTORICAL RECORDS of Australia: Governors' Dispatches, vol. xi., 1823-5. xxvi+1039 pp. Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament.

THE READJUSTER Movement in Virginia (c. 1878-1885). By C. C. Pearson. ix+191 pp. Yale University Press (Milford). 8s. 6d.

EMINENT VICTORIANS: Cardinal Manning, F. Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, Gen. Gordon. By L. Strachey. xiii+310 pp. Chatto and Windus. 10s. 6d. (p. 230.)

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ANCIENT LAW. By Sir H. Maine. Intro. J. H. Morgan. (Everyman's Library.) xviii+237 pp. Dent. 1s. 6d.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, 1917. xii+225 pp. Longmans. 24s. (p. 190.)

FINAL REPORT of the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales. 1s. MINUTES of Evidence, Appendices and Index. 2s. 6d. H.M. Stationery Office.

CURRENT HISTORY AND POLITICS.

THE TIMES DOCUMENTARY HISTORY of the War. Vol. IV., Naval, Pt. II., xi+535 pp. Vol. V., Military, Pt. I., xii+512 pp. 21s. each. 15s. to subscribers. (p. 251.)

REPORT of the War Cabinet for 1917. H.M. Stationery Office. 1s.

NELSON'S HISTORY of the War. By John Buchan. Vol. XIX. 295 pp. 1s. 6d.

KINGDOM OF BELGIUM, Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs. Reply to

the German White Book of May, 1915. H.M. Stationery Office. 5s.

GERMAN LEGISLATION for the occupied territories of Belgium. Ed. C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer. 13 ser., Oct.-Dec., 1917. 544 pp. 15s. INDEX to Series VI-IX. 70 pp. 5s. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

THE GERMAN TERROR in France. By A. J. Toynbee. xv+212 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 1s.

ON THE FRINGE of the Great Fight. By Col. G. G. Nasmith. Toronto: McClelland. \$1.50. (p. 134.)

THE BRITISH FLEET in the Great War. By A. Hurd. xxv+250 pp. Constable. 7s. 6d. (pp. 215, 232, 245.)

ORDEAL BY SEA. By A. Hurd. 22/ pp. Jarrold. 5s.

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RÉFLEXIONS d'un Danois sur la Guerre. Par O. Jespersen. Bologna: N. Zanichelli. (p. 284.)

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THE PAN-GERMAN Programme, 1915. Trans. Edwyn Bevan. 32 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s.

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SECRET AGREEMENTS (1915-1917). Pref. C. R. Buxton. 22 pp. National Labour Press. 6d.

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THE WORLD in Chains: War and Trade. By J. Mavrogordato. 165 pp. Secker. 2s. 6d.

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THE WORLD PERIL. By Members of the Faculty of Princeton Univ. 250 pp. Princeton Univ. Press. 4s. 6d. (p. 258.)

THE LAW relating to Trading with the Enemy. By C. H. Huberich. xxxiii+485 pp. New York: Baker, Voorhis. \$5.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By F. N. Thorpe. xiii+279 pp. Putnams. 9s.

THE IRISH ISSUE in its American aspect. By Shane Leslie. 207 pp. Scribner. \$25.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS (formerly the Danish W. Indies). By L. K. Zabriskie. xvii+339 pp. Putnams. 20s. (p. 283.)

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Nos Alliés d'Extrême-Orient. Par A. Gérard. Payot. 4.50/. (p. 283.)

THE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA, 1911-1916. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s.

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LETTERS to the People of India on Responsible Government. By L. Curtis. xx+211 pp. Macmillan. 3s. 6d. (p. 271.)

THE GOVERNANCE of India. By Govinda Das. vii+359 pp. Madras: Nateson. Rs.3.

INDIA under Experiment. By G. M. Chesney. xi+192 pp. Murray. 5s. (p. 282).

INDIA in Transition. By the Aga Khan. xii+310 pp. The Medici Soc. 18s. (p. 295).

EAST AFRICA: an Address. By General Smuts. 20 pp. Royal Geog. Soc. 1s.

A BELGIAN MISSION to the Boers. By E. Standaert. 286 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d.

CANADA. By P. Hurd. (International Information Series.) 64 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s.

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DOMINIONS ROYAL COMMISSION: Memoranda as to Harbours and the Suez and Panama Canals. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s.

THE COMING Economic Crisis. By H. J. Jennings. 136 pp. Hutchinson. 3s. 6d.

THE ECONOMICS of Progress. By J. M. Robertson. ix+298 pp. Fisher Unwin. 12s. 6d. (p. 294).

THE WAR and Liberty. By the Rt. Hon. H. Samuel. 128 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 1s. 6d.

MARXISMUS, Krieg und Internationale. Von K. Renner. Stuttgart: Dietz nachf. (p. 166.)

LE SOCIALISME contre l'Etat. By E. Vandervelde. Berger-Levrault. 3.50f. (pp. 166, 209, 245.)

LABOUR AND CAPITAL after the War. Ed. S. J. Chapman. x+280. Murray. 6s.

THE AIMS OF LABOUR. By Arthur Henderson. 82 pp. Headley. 1s.

THE OTHER WAR: some causes of class misunderstanding. By J. Hilton, P. H. Kerr, etc. 107 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s.

PAST AND FUTURE (Industrial Organisation). By Jason. xi+192 pp. Chatto and Windus. 3s. 6d. (p. 191.)

BRITAIN after the Peace. By B. Villiers. 263 pp. Fisher Unwin. 8s. 6d. (p. 158.)

THE LAND or Revolution. By R. L. Outhwaite. 114 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s.

VILLAGE LIFE after the War. Ed. W. Draper. v+118 pp. Headley. 1s.

THE FUTURE of Agriculture. By H. W. Wolff. vii+503 pp. P. S. King. 12s. 6d. (p. 203.)

LOCAL HISTORY.

ANNUAL REPORT of the Soc. for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 1917, and Index, 1878-1916. 28 pp.

CARTULARY of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. Ed. H. E. Salter. lvi+520 pp. Oxford Hist. Soc. 21s.

LANCASHIRE Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1590-1606. Ed. James Tait. xxxv+332 pp. Chetham Soc.

PARISH RECORDS: Devon, Vol. I. vii+226 pp. E. Dwelly, Fleet, Hants. 10s.

BATH in History. x+86 pp. Murray. 2s. 6d.

HORNCHURCH: An Historical Hand-

book. By C. T. Perfect. 154 pp. Colchester: Benham. 1s. 6d.

LONDON TOPOGRAPHICAL RECORD, Vol. XI. ix+95 pp. London Topog. Soc.

CORDWAINER WARD in the City of London. By A. C. Knight. 111 pp. Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d.

CRIPPLEGATE, Finsbury, and Moorfields. By E. K. W. Ryan. 31 pp. Adams and Shardlow. 2s.

JUBILEE HISTORY of South Canterbury. By J. C. Andersen. xvi+775 pp. Christchurch, N.Z.: Whitcombe and Tombs. 25s.

E. J. D.

HISTORY

OCTOBER, 1918.

THE ORIGINS OF FRANCE.

SHORTLY before the war of 1870, when he was still a student, Monsieur Jacques Flach chose as his life work the history of French law. The ambitious plan was soon modified, but, in its new form, has been none the less the chief task of M. Flach's life. When he succeeded his master, Laboulaye, as professor of comparative legislation at the *Collège de France*, he had already convinced himself that a knowledge of the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries was the key to a right understanding of his subject, and especially to the comprehension of French legal history. Accordingly, he read without faltering, between the years 1872 and 1883, all the original documents, dating from these two centuries, upon which he could lay his hands. He ransacked the archives in the search for cartularies and the lives of saints. The first volume of his *Origines de l'ancienne France* appeared in 1886. It contains a plan of the whole work, and also a summary of the general conclusions at which M. Flach had already arrived, and which he proposed to display in the six or seven volumes still to come. He has kept his plan in mind ever since, and in the preface to his fourth volume, written thirty-one years later, he claims that, after labours pursued throughout a generation memorable in the record of French scholarship, he sees no reason to change his earlier opinions.¹

M. Flach describes his fourth volume as the centre of his work, "the nave of the building." Its publication, therefore, affords a fitting opportunity for a brief appreciation of a noteworthy achievement.

¹ *Les Origines de l'ancienne France, Xe et XIe siècles. Volume IV. : Les Nationalités régionales. Leurs rapports avec le Couronne de France.* Par Jacques Flach. Paris, Librairie de la Société du Recueil Sirey. 1917; pages xi, 655. Price 12fr. 50. The three preceding volumes appeared in 1886, 1893, 1904 respectively, price 10fr. each.

I.

M. Flach takes a great deal of trouble to make his theme intelligible. He defines his position at every turn. His style possesses clearness and force. Yet his book is not an easy one. The truth in these matters is, of course, not easy. At the period in their national development when, to adapt a saying of Coleridge, men were more than usually in the dark about themselves, we are unlikely to find their history neat and systematic. At the same time the difficulties of M. Flach's readers are not due altogether to his admirable determination to let the facts speak for themselves. In the course of a generation his method has naturally been altered. The aim and conclusions are the same, but the emphasis is different. The first volume was a treatise, rather in the manner of Maine, upon the various forms of early medieval protection—the *mundium*, the vassal relation, forms of personal jurisdiction. The fourth volume is a piece of pure historical criticism. Again, the point of view changes with the passage from one influence to another. Thus, in the first volume, where M. Flach relied mainly on capitularies and charters, the stress is laid on protection, while in the later part of the second volume, under the influence of the *chansons de geste*, the stress is all on companionship.² The book has been written in very different moods. And, yet again, as the evidence has accumulated, the work has somewhat outgrown its earlier form. M. Flach tries at times to maintain the legal note, to arrange and interpret the evidence in accordance with the earlier mood, but the details do not readily submit. The old formulas seem somehow less satisfactory.³

In M. Flach's devotion to his main theme there is no hesitation, no inconsistency. Throughout he is seeking to explain a living society, and is concerned with the relations between them:—

“Chercher au premier moyen-âge un système absolu, un système juridique, c'est chercher la quadrature du cercle. Les seuls principes généraux qui se dégagent sont des principes d'ordre naturel, tels, notamment, que le besoin de protection avec ses ramifications infinies, tels encore que l'instinct de sociabilité qui se fait jour dans l'organisation féodale et communale, tels enfin que les aspirations religieuses qui feront de l'Eglise un centre si puissant de renaissance.” (4)

² Vol. ii., pp. 427–577.

³ This point will be touched upon later.

⁴ Vol. ii., p. 3.

The influences of geography and race are of extraordinary interest and importance, and M. Flach, particularly in his fourth volume, devotes to them many of his best pages, but he subordinates them all to the force of those impulses which compel men to express their relations to each other in legal forms: the desire of the weak for help, the sense of companionship which both underlies and transfigures the sense of obligation, and, giving direction to these, the urgent force of tradition, of the complex of memories and associations, which are themselves the outcome of early companionships. The Empire of Charles the Great itself was a fusion of Roman, Gallic, and Frankish traditions. It expressed the undying sense of the unity of Gaul, without which it could not have existed,⁵ and its traditions in their turn shaped the growth of modern France:—

“Des figures presque surhumaines, comme celles d’Alexandre, de Charlemagne, de Napoléon, creusent dans l’âme des peuples un sillon que rien n’effacera plus et y déposent des semences indestructibles. Alors même que la féodalité eut mis l’Etat en pièces, l’empreinte persista. Le prince et le seigneur apparurent comme des images réduites et subordonnées de la majesté royale, le compagnon ou le communier comme un concitoyen de l’ancien empire des Gaules. Et ainsi, du roi et du prince au peuple, à tous les degrés de l’échelle sociale, sous les formes infiniment variées de la fidélité, de la *foi*, l’idée unitaire et la conscience nationale se conservèrent dans leur germe et évoluèrent à travers tous les obstacles jusqu’au plein épanouissement.”⁽⁶⁾

In M. Flach’s view the dissolution of Charles’s Empire involved no real breach with the past precisely because it was so complete. This paradox has perplexed many of his readers, and it must be admitted, is at times beyond its author’s control. Although it would be hardly fair, one feels now and then that his view might almost be put in this way—that nothing artificial remained. During the tenth and eleventh centuries a new public law developed, the new counts and seigneurs translated their newly formed personal jurisdiction into a new kind of territorial rule within new boundaries. But the springs of this new society were essentially old. There is no break between the Germanic *comitatus* and the circle of vassals. The Gallo-Roman *villa* emerges from the harrow of new petty despotism as the medieval village community, or develops into the town.⁷ Yet clearly this

⁵ Compare iii., 205; iv., 304–8.

⁶ iv., 315; for a similar passage, see ii., 568.

⁷ ii., 64 *passim*. The first part of the second volume, on the growth of village and town communities, stands apart from the rest of the book, and deserves special attention.

distinction between the natural and the artificial is not a sharp one, and in any case does not fit all the facts as described by M. Flach. If the area subject to the Carolingian count disappears, the office retains more than its title, and carries to the adventurer who assumes it something of its old dignity. The robber in his fastness, who styles himself *comes* and gives parcels of land to the devoted ruffians who serve him is a great deal more than a savage in a top hat. The dues which he exacts when he administers justice or makes the tour of his neighbourhood are perhaps new and onerous, but many of them are called by old names, and have a certain sanction in the traditions of Frankish statecraft.⁸ Nature and art are inextricably combined. Indeed, M. Flach allows great weight to the influence upon the new France of the ancient artifices of royalty, of the complicated traditions which had gathered about its religious character, and the ceremonies of the Court.⁹ He probably exaggerates the importance of this element in the society of the tenth century.¹⁰ But, so far as it did continue to exist, it stamps that society as self-conscious and sophisticated; it suggests a doubt whether the dissolution of the Carolingian State had, after all, proceeded so very far.

Perhaps it is better to hold to the distinction between personal and territorial as the clue to the new age. For M. Flach's point is that the feudalism of the law books, being essentially territorial, and defining the functions of the State and of its elements in terms of tenure, marks the close of a long period of development. The principles of the feudal State—for example, of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—were not *guiding* principles, but attempts to formulate the experience of centuries. Some writers speak of feudal relations as though they were Kantian categories, existing in juridical thought before feudal society itself, and the conditions of its being; whereas it would be nearer the truth to say that they never reached full expression, and, when the legists began to define them, had already begun their transformation into the relations of the national State. The Master of Balliol has shown how, in a similar way, the Papal system had begun to break under its own weight at the very time when that great canonist, Innocent IV., was teaching Christendom to realise all that it involved. Or, to take a modern parallel, the "feudal system" of the thirteenth century may be compared with Blackstone's *Commentaries*, the classical exposition of a British Con-

⁸ i., 380 *seq.*

⁹ iii., 429 *seq.*

¹⁰ Halphen, in the *Revue Historique*, vol. lxxxv., (May–August, 1904), p. 283.

stitution which never existed. M. Flach will have none of this theorising. He holds that the history of feudalism must be sought in the history of the men who made it, just as we study the history of the canon law in the lives of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. It was the outcome of personal relations, and its logical expression in terms of tenure was only possible in a strong centralised State which, by its very nature, was more than feudal. France was not really feudalised until the reign of Philip Augustus, when France became fully conscious of herself as a national State.¹¹

Hence it is impossible to separate the growth of feudalism from the story of painful social change in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Feudalism is no extension of the Salic law, much less the creation of a foreign aristocracy from the other side of the Rhine;¹² it is the sum of the cravings, the traditions, and the loyalties of a much-divided people, Gallo-Roman, Burgundian, Frankish.

One such craving was the desire for justice. M. Flach believes that the "justice territorial" of feudalism was not the outcome of the judicial system of Carolingian times, not a shaking together, so to speak, of the authority of the Court, the privileges of the immunist, and the judicial rights attaching to the ownership of land. The process was much more violent. There was a general dissolution of public justice, so that men turned from it to the protection of their more powerful neighbours. Hence justice became personal, a thing which could be bought and sold; the persons who exercised it could divide their rights and distribute them as though they were coin, by inheritance, concession, usurpation. In this uncertainty and agony the principle of territorial justice asserted itself. The need for order and security was satisfied by it.¹³ The multiplicity of judicial rights, and the endless variety of customary payments, with fragmentary survivals from earlier Frankish usage, became privileges of tenure—a crystallised medley which the feudalists afterwards tried to reduce to a system. For the historian they have a deeper significance. They show how institutions are formed from a few simple elements, indestructible, and combined in an infinite variety of ways:—

"Leur diversité naît de leur emploi. La science de l'histoire consiste à dégager ces éléments, à les isoler, et puis à les suivre dans leur combinaisons infinies. Leur essence reste indestructible, leurs propriétés changent et se renouvellent au gré des événements." (A)

¹¹ Among other passages, see iv., 108. For Flach, as for Freeman, the battle of Bouvines is one of the turning points in European history.

¹² i., 12, and the preface to vol. iv.

¹³ i., 308-9.

¹⁴ i., 313.

The feudal tenures to which these judicial rights were attached and in part gave meaning were the outcome of personal relations of a still more intimate kind. Feudalism was made possible by personal loyalty. In his second volume, published in 1893, M. Flach made use of the *chansons de geste* to explain the reconstitution of society. The chivalry of a later date was the sap, not the flower, of feudalism, and can be traced in the devotion of the barbarian *comitatus*. Three years earlier, in 1890, Fustel de Coulanges had issued his volume on the origin of the feudal system, in which any connection between the fief and *le compagnonnage* was denied. The fief, in Fustel's view, is the benefice, a temporary grant of land; the feudal oath is the expression of a contract, military service only one of several incidents to tenure; there is no trace here of self-surrender, of devotion till death. Flach urges that this is to begin at the wrong end. Homage is essentially personal—it precedes the gift of the fief and issues from the oath of fidelity; the vassal enters a family, *la parenté fictive du chef*; his lands are gifts, just as his horse and arms, and are his so long as he remains in the *clientèle* of his lord; his military service is not limited, but is one of his duties to the family. Only gradually did the conception of homage become distinct from that of fealty and give rise to the limited feudal contract, largely under the influence of ecclesiastical tenures.¹⁵ All this is clear, if we go behind the charters which reveal only the mechanism of the fief and of its concession, and in the pages of the *chansons de geste* learn how the vassal lived and felt. Even in its classic period feudalism depended upon companionship, which survived in full vigour *comme un organe de vie du régime seigneurial*.¹⁶

In obedience to what impulses did these family groups come to form principalities and States? In answering this question Flach explains the ruling idea of his thesis. Some scholars still hold the view that during the troubled period which preceded the firm establishment of the Capetian house the unity of the French monarchy was maintained by ties of homage. However feeble the royal power might be, the juridical nature of the relations existing between the sovereign and the dukes or counts who were his vassals was unchanged.¹⁷ But if, as Flach contends, the feudal relation of lord and vassal was the last stage in a long process, and could be traced but rarely before the middle of the eleventh

¹⁵ ii., 492-4, 537 *passim*.

¹⁶ ii., 433.

¹⁷ Lot, *Fidèles ou Vassaux* (Paris, 1904). The publication of this important essay has forced M. Flach to give a controversial character to his latest volume.

century,¹⁸ some other explanation must be found. Flach finds the answer in the formation of ethnic groups under the guidance of princes who, while politically independent, often belonged to the Carolingian family, and in any case felt that their wellbeing was bound up with that of a wider whole. In other words, a twofold body of tradition was powerfully at work in the western parts of the Frankish Empire. The *mundium*, or extended family circle of relations, dependents, and officials of the old Frankish chiefs became the monarchy to which all men owed the duty of faithful service. It absorbed the traditions and ceremonial of the later Roman principate; and through the teaching of the Church was invested with the religious symbolism of kingship. After the division of the Empire of Charles the Great, the monarchy, richly endowed though it was both in conception and for action, lost its power. But it never lost its hold upon the minds and hearts of men; indeed, it gained in spiritual content, for it was gradually recognised as the expression of the unity formed by the mingling on a common soil of Gallic, Roman, Frankish traditions. The *principes*, who brought order out of chaos in the great province of France, and slowly welded these "regional nationalities" into compact feudal States, sought and found prestige in their connection with the house of Charles the Great. They were peers, of whom the king was first. But, on the other hand, they were far away, and these kings of a day were very weak. Except when they obeyed the call to join forces against an invader, they took their own course.

These developments are described at length in M. Flach's third and fourth volumes. M. Flach, needless to say, does not think that the strong national State which we find in France in the thirteenth century was the creation of family sentiment. The French monarchy was not a vague federation of feudal States subdued by the patriarchal principle. The lawyer, steeped in the Austinian tradition, may trace the modern doctrine of sovereignty in primitive ideas of patriarchal authority;¹⁹ but the historian cannot find it in the much more sophisticated traditions of

¹⁸ See especially iii., 87-99, and vol. iv., *passim*.

¹⁹ See the argument of the Lord Advocate on behalf of the Chartered Company's claim to the ownership of unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia. (*The Times*, May 3rd, 1918.) "These tribes, like most other savage tribes, had their social life organised on tribal principles, and at the root of it all was the patriarchal system. The rights of the natives were rights of dependence, not of independence. Lobengula was the patriarch . . . and it was clear that Lobengula disposed of the use of the lands. If that was so they were a long way from anything in the nature of ownership. The power of Lobengula was destroyed, and with him the patriarch disappeared—nothing was left of the patriarchate, of the kingship, of the chiefship."

Frankish royalty. We have seen how M. Flach will have nothing to do with the juristic conceptions derived from the *feudistes* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—that the growth of the Capetian monarchy was due to the extension of ties of homage. He elaborates the judgment already expressed by Guizot that the king was something more than any suzerain. Yet to identify the royal power with the authority of a vastly extended *mundium* would be a juristic generalisation even more difficult to defend than that of the feudists. M. Flach finds the solution of the problem in the distinction between *Francia* and the rest of Gaul. Over Gaul as a whole the Carolingians could claim supremacy, over the lands of the Franks in Lorraine and the valleys of the Seine and Loire they could claim the oath of fealty—service of the most complete kind.²⁰ The Capetian kings succeeded to this authority in western *Francia*. The source of their power lay, not in the office of *Dux Franciæ* (which was not, as the feudists thought, territorial), nor even in their lands in the Ile de France, but in the fact that they controlled the most important “ethnic group” of all. However divided this group might be, no authority could be exercised in it which did not in the end rest in the king, the chief of the clan, the head of the *mundium*. This was no hard and fast sovereignty, but the expression of national unity.²¹ Added to the supremacy over all the princes of Gaul, invested with the trappings of Roman power and the sanction of the Church, and wielded by a succession of powerful men, such authority was irresistible.

At the same time, other ethnic groups found unity and consciousness within the limits of Gaul. Their administrative forms became more complicated. Churches and monastic orders were founded, and avenues of trade were opened. Feudalism passed inevitably from the personal to the territorial stage; and became most marked and firmly knit when the power of the prince was greatest. In all these States the king had a footing, through the possession of lands or by reason of the close relations between the Crown and the Church. The claim to supremacy was translated into a claim to feudal homage as the traditions of one regional nationality after another were merged in the sense of national unity. France became a single feudal State when she became a nation.

F. M. POWICKE

²⁰ M. Flach calls it “natural lige homage.”

²¹ iii. 217.

(To be continued.)

AN ITALIAN HISTORIAN.¹

THE death on the 7th of last December of Pasquale Villari, the historian of Savonarola and Machiavelli, in his ninety-first year, was probably regretted nowhere outside Italy more widely than in England. For over sixty years he had been in touch with our life and thought and an appreciative student of our political and social history. In 1855 John Stuart Mill, during the same Italian tour in which, while mounting the steps of the Capitol, he conceived the plan of a volume *On Liberty*, also visited Florence and spent an evening with Villari, thus originating a correspondence which ended only with Mill's death.² Seven years later Villari represented Italy in the Education Section of our International Exhibition and observed with courteous surprise "a world completely new," where, as he wrote fifty-two years later,³ without a system, without a Minister, schools arose by a sort of "spontaneous generation," from private funds and initiative; where, visiting a "ragged school, a kind of school completely new to me," he found a girl (the sister of a peer), seated alone in an upper room in the middle of a class of youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, all of them thieves or pickpockets and "with countenances far from prepossessing," who were quietly listening to a lesson on the Bible. This to Villari was indeed a new world: "How possibly could this young lady trust herself here?" "Our plan," was the answer, "is to trust and to show that we trust." "I still remember," continues Villari, "how profoundly this visit impressed me. I felt that I was now

¹ Baldasseroni, *Pasquale Villari* (1907), with elaborate bibliography; Pistelli's essay, prefixed to *L'Italia e la civiltà* (1916; 1918, 2nd and largely augmented edition), a catena of extracts from Villari's writings woven so as to form a history of Italian civilisation; *Pasquale Villari*, by Gaetano Salvemini in *Nuova Rivista Storica*, March—April, 1918; *Pasquale Villari*, by E. Armstrong, in *The English Historical Review*, April, 1918; *Pasquale Villari*, by C. Rinaudo, in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, January—March, 1918; *Pasquale Villari*, the memorial number of *Il Marzocco*, December 16th, 1917; G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians* (1913), pp. 440–1; V.'s own reminiscences, especially in *Lettere meridionali* (1885), *Scritti Vari* (1894), *Discussioni* (1905). For V. and the organisation of research, A. Panella, *Gli studi storici in Toscana* (1916); for V. in the Ministry of Education, C. Fiorilli in *Nuova Antologia*, October 16th, 1907, pp. 583–603. For estimates of V.'s separate works, see the bibliographical list *infra*.

² Mill's Letters (1910), i., pp. 194–6 *seq.*, where fourteen letters from Mill to V. are printed.

³ *Nuova Antologia*, June 1st, 1914, pp. 385–94.

on the track of the secret of England's greatness." Villari's report was the first of many writings in which he described his educational tours in various countries from Sweden to Italy.⁴

In October, 1875, he was again in England on another and still more characteristic errand. In the spring of that year he had in *L'Opinione* described and denounced the slums of Naples; which some of his critics declared to be a figment of his own imagination, while others told him that, if he were not blinded by anglomania, he would know that the London slums were infinitely worse. He therefore set off for London, and, presenting himself and his credentials, was allotted the assistance of three detectives in a nocturnal visit to the East End. "Show me everything that is most squalid and repulsive in London"; so he was escorted to lodging-houses, opium dens, and pot-houses. "Worse than this you cannot find," said the detective, before a group of hovels; but even here Villari found something to admire in the independence of the Briton, and the "incredible considerateness" of the official, when the door was shut in their faces and the detective quietly remarked: "We must try another, we must not intrude on the home." Returning to Italy he was able to assure his countrymen that "the man who says that the London poor are in worse plight than those of Naples knows nothing of the one or nothing of the other."⁵ Three months later he married the daughter of an English M.P., the Linda Villari well known to English readers as his accurate and idiomatic translator and to the Florentines as Donna Linda; while their son, Cavaliere Luigi Villari, has written several books in excellent English and, like his father, has contributed amply to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

In the spring of 1884 Villari was one of the delegates at the tercentenary of the University of Edinburgh, where, along with Freeman, Seeley and Bryce, he received the LL.D.; and also succeeded in doing a good stroke of business for the Italian Treasury by securing the Italian MSS. of the Ashburnham collection at, as he was afterwards able to remind the Chamber of Deputies, a price twenty per cent. under that estimated by French and English experts—which the Italian Government was quite ready to pay. Evidently there was something persuasive in the Southern gestures and Neapolitan consonants of this courteous little gentleman; and perhaps in Italy there was no more con-

⁴ E.g., *Nuovi scritti pedagogici* (1891), containing, *inter alia*, his inquiries into manual instruction in elementary schools, and into German secondary education.

⁵ *Lettere meridionali* (1885), pp. viii., 80-3.

tented man than Professor, now Senator, Villari, when on the morning of the 3rd of December he delivered to the Laurentian Library 1,903 manuscripts, including several early codices of Dante and the earliest known MS. of Dino Compagni.⁶ In the last year of the century Lecky, paying his last visit to Florence, saw a great deal of Villari and was much impressed with his ability.⁷ On June 22nd, 1904, we see him in the Commemoration procession at Oxford, stepping briskly (he is only seventy-six) and trailing his too ample gown behind the waving plumes of General French and the chivalrous figure of George Wyndham.⁸ With what apt Latinism Dr. Goudy presented the new D.C.L. I do not know; but probably Villari would have been content with *Homo est; humani nihil a se alienum putat*.

Not that he was a cosmopolitan sentimentalist; his centre was in Italy, but his heart was too large and his appreciation of the interdependence of peoples too keen to make the Alps his periphery—"the civilisation of one is the essential complement of the others; the dangers with which modern society is menaced are such that to avert them the combined forces of all nations are none too great."⁹ Not long before his death the words "our war" elicited a flash of the eyes and a gesture of dissent: "This is not, not, our war, it is the war of all; the war of the Entente, the whole Entente; it is a war for the world's salvation. What do you mean? People who talk of our war know nothing about it."¹⁰ But of all nations it was to England, with her traditions of liberty and justice, her tentative and measured progress, her contempt for nostrums and "patent syrups," the public spirit of her nobles, the self-reliance of her people that he looked, though, perhaps, before the war with some doubt and apprehension, as an example for his own people. Of individual Germans he speaks in terms of warm attachment: of "the immortal edifice of German science," of the work of Ranke almost in reverence; but when he deals with social questions it is from England that he usually borrows his examples, even when he addresses Germans in German and in a German review.¹¹ Fifty-three years ago, after his first visit to Germany, he analysed what he called "the logic of Germanism":

⁶ *The Times*, May 22nd and 23rd, November 29th, December 4th, 1884; *Nuova Antologia*, October 16th, 1907; *Il Marzocco*, December 16th, 1917; Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni*, vol. ii., pp. xix-xxii.

⁷ Memoir of Lecky by his wife, p. 335.

⁸ *The Times*, June 23rd, 1904. Photograph in Baldasseroni, p. 36.

⁹ *Nuova Antologia*, June 1st, 1914.

¹⁰ *Il Marzocco*, December 16th, 1917.

¹¹ See the article reprinted (in Italian) in *Lettere meridionali* (1885), pp. 228, 231, 245, 249.

"With their patriotism has grown up a strange notion that all the modern world must be Germanised. Humanity has run its long course through India, Greece, Rome, to become at last Teutonic. . . . In short, the modern man must Germanise himself. *Ecco tutto*. . . . The more civilised absorb the less civilised nations; and nothing can be better for a nation than to be Germanised, and the sooner the better. In this crude form, Germans may disclaim any such tenet; but very often this is the undisclosed postulate, without which you cannot follow their reasoning. 'You must go and hear the trial of the Poles,' said to me a cultivated, gentlemanly doctor in Berlin, 'over a hundred gentlemen in dress clothes and white gloves.' 'What will they get?' 'The prosecution asks death.' 'What! over a hundred for a political offence?' 'Perhaps only twenty of them.' 'And that's nothing?' 'Oh! but remember, *they are not Germans*.'" ¹² "Let Germany not delude herself," he wrote in 1870, when France was prostrate, "or delude us too far with her spirit of peace, justice, freedom, when the demon of war is abroad, and the history of her past is full of long wars and ruthless conquests. Let her not say, 'God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are.' The curse of war falls alike on victor and vanquished, and perhaps Germany will one day feel the heavy hand of those aristocrats who now are fighting her battles so bravely.'" ¹³ In the last article which Villari wrote for the *Nuova Antologia* (June 1st, 1914, p. 387), while dealing with the alleged decadence of England, and presciently warning his readers that the growth of armaments and the clash of interests were sweeping Germany and England to war, he recalled the reply which he had received in Sicily, when he asked why the people there preferred the English: "The English prosper and help their servants to do the same; the Germans prosper, but do not trouble themselves about others." "And this," Villari adds, "if you think of it, is not only one of the finest traits of the English people, but is also one of the reasons why they have prospered." Even when, as President of the Dante Alighieri Society, which aims at keeping alive the Italian language among the children of Italy beyond her borders, he had to discuss the action of Joseph Chamberlain with regard to the Italian language in Malta, he closed on a note of lofty trust: "After all that has been said, we must still hope that, by the aid of English public opinion, those old and glorious traditions of liberty and justice will once more triumph, as in the past they

¹² *L'istruzione secondaria in Germania* (1865), reprinted in *Nuovi scritti pedagogici* (1891), pp. 63-71.

¹³ Quoted by Salvemini, *ut supra*, p. 138.

have been the source of her strength and can alone in time to come preserve and replenish it.¹⁴

Villari was born in Naples on the 3rd of October, 1827, the son of an able lawyer, who died of cholera before the child was ten years old, leaving him to the care of his mother, a woman of noble character and keen intelligence, as we may judge from her portrait and from her son's almost lyrical tribute to "the heroic self-effacement of Neapolitan mothers." He did not enter the university, which was almost empty at this period of the Bourbon *régime*, but after some sound training in mathematics and physics, and a grinding in Italian literature and composition from pedantic "purists," he passed to the Studio (a name then given to private schools of university standard) of Francesco de Sanctis, the famous literary critic. To his influence we can probably in part trace Villari's dislike for aimless antiquarianism in history and literature; while to the influence of Domenico Morelli, the artist, his close friend and future brother-in-law, we may partly trace his interest in art and his taste for a picturesque and illustrative anecdote.¹⁵ The sincerity of his defence of the classics, in or out of the Italian Parliament, is attested by his own exertions to repair the omissions of his school-days.

Then came the barricades of May 15th, 1848; Luigi La Vista, Villari's very dear friend, was, as he cried surrender, shot down by the Swiss of the Bourbon and his corpse pierced with bayonets; one wretch had his eyes gouged out and was forced to trample them, and Villari himself saw a soldier drinking the blood of a wounded prisoner; Morelli received a bayonet-cut on the eye, Villari and De Sanctis were arrested.¹⁶

On his release he determined to seek the freer air of Florence, where he arrived about Christmas, and where he supported himself, while working at *Savonarola*, by giving Italian lessons to the "forestieri." Having in 1856 contributed his valuable review of Perrens' and Madden's *Lives of Savonarola* to the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, he was appointed extraordinary professor, and, after the publication of the first volume of his *Life of Savonarola*, ordinary professor at the University of Pisa. In 1862 came his visit to England, his direction for a time of the Normal School in Pisa, and his appointment as professor of history at the university, or, as it is called, Institute of Higher Studies, at Florence,

¹⁴ *Discussioni critiche e discorsi* (1905), pp. 442-3.

¹⁵ See Villari's essays on Morelli, De Sanctis, La Vista, etc., *passim*.

¹⁶ *Discussioni*, p. 200; *Scritti Vari* (1894), pp. 429-30. Salvemini, p. 124, describes Villari's imprisonment as quite unknown till after his death; but, apart from Villari's own allusion, it is mentioned in both Brockhaus' *Lexicon* and in *Wer ist's?*

which by reason of its autonomy and non-professional ideals fulfils more closely than others our conception of a university.¹⁷ This position he held till, or almost till, his death;¹⁸ while from 1898 to 1911 he acted also as professor of social science in the Istituto di Scienze Sociali. In the summer of 1869 he was appointed secretary to the Ministry of Education and carried out many reforms, granting aid towards improved elementary school buildings and stiffening the standard of examinations in secondary schools; but on the fall of the Ministry, finding his views ignored by their successors, he resigned on some proposals as to the professoriate.¹⁹ In 1873, after being twice disqualified on technical grounds, he took his seat in the Chamber of Deputies; re-elected the following year and in 1880, he ceased to be a member in December of the latter year. Raised to the Senate in 1884, of which he became a vice-president in 1897, he was Minister of Education in the Di Rudini Ministry from February, 1891, till May, 1892—an office which in higher education and such matters as the fine arts, as well as in initiation and administration of details, far outruns its English analogue. Villari, although he worked with feverish energy, did not achieve a memorable success. This caused much surprise in Italy; in England, if a professor with “a cross-bench mind,” a sworn foe of both “lobbying” and red-tape, entered Ministerial life at sixty-three under a wobbling Premier, with a shaky Cabinet, pledged to economise “to the bone,” which collapsed after fifteen months’ office, our surprise would be that the Minister had actually effected some improvements and had by his speeches and otherwise sown the seeds of many others.

Meanwhile, the second volume of *Savonarola* (1861) had been followed by *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (1877–81–82); *I primi due Secoli della Storia di Firenze* (1893–4); *Le invasioni barbariche* (1901); *L'Italia da Carlo Magno alla morte di Arrigo VII.* (1910)—the two latter being volumes in the *Collezione storica Villari*, a series which he enthusiastically promoted for the study of not merely Italian but not less of foreign history among readers who hitherto in Italy had little choice between antiquarian treatises and school manuals.²⁰ Villari must have raised the hair on the

¹⁷ *Storia, politica e istruzione* (914), pp. 417–26; Panella, *Gli studi storici*, pp. 337–8.

¹⁸ A letter in my possession asks me to excuse him for writing in haste, “being very busy with examinations”—in his eighty-third year! It is in excellent English, and dated July—July in Florence! For vivid pictures of Villari’s lectures, see Pistelli and also the article by Lazzerini in *Nuova Antologia*, January 1st, 1917, p. 68.

¹⁹ *Nuova Antologia*, October 16th, 1907, pp. 583–5.

²⁰ Preface to *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy* (1902).

heads of some eminent scholars when he wrote that "undeniably the true object of ransacking the national archives is to assist the production of narratives suited for the general mass of readers"; but, at least in this country, many will heartily support his claim that history should be "not only a means of instruction, but likewise of national education, by serving as a real factor in the formation of the moral and political character of our country," as many have re-echoed G. M. Trevelyan's eloquent plea in *Clio, a Muse*: "In short, the value of history is not scientific. Its true value is educational. It can educate the minds of men by causing them to reflect on the past." Besides these, Villari had for years been producing articles, letters to journals, reprints of speeches, which if of permanent value were collected into volumes, dealing with historical, artistic, literary and, above all, social and educational subjects. The bibliography of his writings large and small amounted in 1907 to over four hundred items.

This account of Villari's activities suggests two observations. He was not merely a scholar but a man of affairs: as an Italian phrased it, "not so much a man of the chair as a man of life." Not that he was a good "parliamentary hand," a party man. As another Italian puts it: "An idea which is embodied in a party cry at once becomes to him suspect." He almost seems, like the great Florentine poet of six hundred years before, to have deemed it "*bello Averti fatta parte per te stesso*"—a goodly thing to make a party for yourself. His interests lay in the social welfare and still more in the moral ideals of Italy. Wherever he found a social evil, he attacked it with courage—the sweating of boys in the Sicilian sulphur mines, the *pellagra* of Northern Italy, the slums of Naples, the Camorra, the Mafia, the condition of the Simplon navvies, emigration, bureaucracy, and, perhaps above all, abuses in education. When, in 1866, the reverses of Custoza and Lissa unchained a storm of recrimination, he published his famous pamphlet *Di chi è la colpa?* ("Who is to blame?") to show that it was neither North nor South, Right nor Left, that it was Italy who had forgotten herself and her social duties. This was indeed to dig down to bedrock, and Villari could only end with an appeal for "sanity, self-reliance, work." But when he found a definite abuse, much as he believed in the slow growth of national character and institutions, he pressed for a definite remedy. He would not hear of *laissez-faire*, "give plenty of time to time" (*Date tempo al tempo*).²¹

²¹ *Lettere meridionali* (1885), pp. 304, 246—where *Di chi è la colpa?* is reprinted.

Here we may seem to be far from the historian of Machiavelli and the Renaissance. Yet not so far. Villari was spurred to research by the hope not merely of unveiling a brilliant chapter of Italian history but also of finding "an explanation of the vices against which we contend to-day and of the virtues which aided our regeneration."²² No two historians could be in most respects more unlike than Villari and Carlyle; yet the words in Professor Firth's introduction to *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* are *mutatis mutandis* equally apt for the Italian: "The condition of England weighed upon him. The misery of the poor; the apathy of the rich; the indifference of the rulers were always before his eyes. . . . 'Eleven thousand souls in Paisley alone living on three half-pence a day.'"

The other point to be noted is that Villari, a Neapolitan, wrote about Florence: a sufficiently exceptional circumstance in Italy, where history, owing mainly to partitions in the past, runs to antiquarian detail and is inspired by parochialism (*spirito di campanile*). The Tuscan spirit, keen, positive, analytical, is more attracted by facts than by their correlations, and in Mamiani's blunt phrase, "abhors purely speculative ideas"; while Naples, from the days of Giordano Bruno and Campanella to those of Vico, and in our own day of Benedetto Croce, has been the breeding-ground of speculation. Here we have the conflict between what the Italians call the "*analitico*" and the "*sintetico*" methods of historiography: and it is noteworthy that Villari rarely contributed to the great Florentine historical journal, the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, the organ of facts and documents rather than of problems, although he was a "vital element" of the Committee (*Deputazione*) which controlled its publications, and in 1898 became its president.²³ Not, indeed, that he was what we should call a synthetically speculative thinker. His lengthy essay on the question: "Is History a science?" is disappointingly discursive, as is natural enough since he concludes by admitting with characteristic candour that the purport of his essay is merely to call attention to the social question.²⁴ To show his strength he must come to closer quarters with fact, as in his lecture on "The teaching of History,"²⁵ and in various parts of his *History of Florence*. What constitutes him a *sintetico* historian is his sym-

²² Niccolò Machiavelli (1895), i, pp. xxiii-iv. I quote from the second Italian edition, the English translation having been made, with a few additions, from the unrevised first edition.

²³ Panella, *Gli studi storici in Toscana* (1916), pp. 319, 332.

²⁴ *Studies*, p. 114.

²⁵ *Arte, storia e filosofia* (1884), pp. 191-219.

pathy, wide interests, concretely generalising power and his power of psychological analysis and reconstruction.

On the other hand, though a professor of history and scientific in his methods, he can hardly be called a professional historian in the strict sense. For the future biographer of Savonarola or Machiavelli he has indeed probably left little of importance to glean—even Tommasini in his truly monumental *Life of Machiavelli* has added little of consequence—and Villari's accuracy has not been impugned. But to him the document was a means, not an end. So far as details are concerned, Villari's researches into the two first centuries of the history of Florence have probably produced less than the microscope of the German Davidsohn, but he claims that he has accomplished the task which he set himself—"to find a clue through the mazes of a history which had hitherto seemed so intricate and obscure"—and that his conclusions have been generally confirmed by subsequent discoveries.²⁶ This attitude towards history is familiar enough to us; hard as Grote and Macaulay worked at history, they were rather "historians by accident," they rather belonged to the class of what Mr. Gooch calls "brilliant amateurs." It is to Prescott that these words are applied, and perhaps in style Villari recalls Prescott more than any other. The death of Montezuma is a companion picture to the death of Savonarola. On the whole, however, the nearest analogue in English is Lecky, who was not by predilection an archivist, and was more attracted to the evolution of intellectual and social progress than to detailed research. Lecky's style and thought flowed, it is true, over a wider field and with a more periodic and at times platitudinous sweep; but both were interested in the evolution of religion as a moral force, both acknowledged their debt to Vico, and both, it may be added, were accorded a lonely eminence of respect rather than influence in political life. If with Benedetto Croce we classify the histories of the mid-nineteenth century into diplomatic, philological, and positive, we must place Villari in the last compartment. He was a positivist in a sense and a sociologist, but also a ruthless anti-materialist—"in life there is nothing more real than the ideal," he said in his first Dante Alighieri address—and above all a moralist. He has been charged by a German critic with employing English standards in morals and religion, just as he has been applauded by another German for applying German standards to Machiavelli, "not, indeed, because they are German

²⁶ *Storia di Firenze* (1905), pp. xiii., xv.

but because they are the right ones."²⁷ Well, well, in Italy someone has called Villari "the conscience" of his country, so perhaps his English morals are not so far wrong, after all.

Sometimes, indeed, as in the case of Lord Acton, his moral judgments have disturbed his historical impartiality. It was the moral attraction which drew him to Savonarola. Savonarola's words sound at times—"your reform must begin with spiritual things, for these are higher than material things, of which they are the rule and the life"²⁸—like an epitome of Villari's own teaching. The historian's scorn for those who would condone the misdeeds of Lorenzo de' Medici out of regard for his patronage of letters and art is no doubt justifiable; but to attribute to the efforts of a single man "the diabolical corruption" and "the religious indifference" of the whole city of Florence is to commit the same error, with which Villari more than once reproaches Machiavelli, of regarding the subjects of a ruler as clay in the hands of a sculptor, which can be moulded well or ill as he chooses.²⁹ When he comes to the much-discussed death-bed of Lorenzo and tells how, while "the dying prince lay cowering with fear in his bed, Savonarola seemed to soar above his real stature, as he said: 'Lastly, you must restore liberty to the people of Florence,'" he realises so vividly the duel between good and evil, as depicted in the traditions of the Savonarolan hagiographers, that he forgets to ask himself the simple question how Lorenzo on his death-bed could, in Mr. Armstrong's words, "give back a liberty which he had not stolen and which he was powerless to restore," and does not observe that he is stultifying his hero by placing in his mouth what Creighton bluntly calls "clap-trap."³⁰ The scene, if enacted as described by the authorities whom Villari follows, does no great credit, many will think, to either the head or the heart of the great friar. But Villari has

²⁷ *Athenæum*, January 19th, 1889; Hartwig in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Vol. 40 (1877), pp. 619–24. As bearing on the important question of international ethics, it is noticeable that, while English writers have accepted Villari's morality as a matter of course, continentals have frequently commented on it: Hobohm (*Machiavelli's Renaissance der Kriegskunst*, i., p. 179), calls him the austere scholar—"der sittenstrenge Gelehrte"; Tommasini (*Machiavelli*, ii., p. 69 note 2), refers to "un giudizio morale alquanto artificioso"; Croce (*Filosofia della pratica*, p. 286), speaks of Villari as guided by "ragioni di carattere moralistico"; and no doubt the implication is the same when Passy (*Un ami de Machiavel, François Vettori*, i., p. 47), refers to "ces lettres de Vettori qui révoltent l'historien de Machiavel."

²⁸ *Savonarola* (English, 1888), i., p. 263.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, i., 39; ii., 86; Niccolò Machiavelli (1895), ii., p. 332, etc.

³⁰ *Savonarola*, i., p. 149; Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici* (1883), ii., p. 442; Armstrong, *Lorenzo de' Medici* (1896), p. 312; Creighton, *Papacy* (1897), iv., p. 342.

accomplished two feats of genius—he has explained in an intelligible way the fall of Savonarola in a few months from the spiritual dictatorship of Florence to be the butt of hooligans; and he has constructed a psychologically comprehensible fellow-man, so that a great pity is the feeling with which we close the book.

In the readers' book of the Laurentian Library in Florence can still be found, under the 14th of February, 1850, the entry: "*Pasquale Villari, venni a studiare sul Savonarola.*" He had begun with the friar's poems several years before in the exaltation of his Neapolitan boyhood; and impressions on his brain and heart were at all times singularly persistent. His article of 1856, in which he criticises Perrens for having made of Savonarola not one but two inconsistent human beings, differs little in style and cogency from his preface of 1913,³¹ in which he convicts Dubreton's Rabelaisian reconstruction of Machiavelli of precisely the same offence. He now in the more critical air of Florence began his researches on Machiavelli, who had stepped into the light of history two months after the death of Savonarola—not as a poor and unknown hero-worshipper, but as a mature and responsible professor. The antinomy lay now not between religion and politics but between politics and morality. The question has been raised which of these great works is Villari's masterpiece. Armstrong inclines towards *Machiavelli*, Salvemini apparently against; while educated opinion in Italy and England, if we take Pistelli and *The Times'* summary of the year as respective representatives, dubs him "the author of *Savonarola*." Pistelli also justly remarks that in *Machiavelli* the parts are better than the whole, which is hardly a fault in an historical work as such, but is fatal to a work of art. Whatever controversial books on Savonarola may continue to be produced, it is hardly likely that another work of art like Villari's from his standpoint will soon appear. But Machiavelli is "not a vanishing type but a constant and contemporary influence" (Acton), "the Florentine Secretary's orb never quite sets" (Morley)—even to-day, if Machiavelli's unity, nationality, objectivity of the State has set behind the Russian steppes, it flames in meridian splendour on the Spree—and Villari has a formidable rival in Tommasini's *Life and writings of Machiavelli, in their relation to Machiavellism*, a mine of fifty years' patient research and an encyclopædia of usually quite relevant quotations (though none, curiously enough, from Treitschke) on every phase of his subject. But in measure, proportion, vividness, clarity this book is certainly inferior to Villari's; and it is typical of the hotch-

³¹ *Machiavelli*, vol. iii. of third edition (1914).

potch (*colluvie*) style of history, of which Italians have complained, that Tommasini's longest chapter, of a hundred thousand words or over, is devoted to the evolution of religion from Roman times, in the first half of which Machiavelli is not even mentioned.

Villari himself has been reproached with a want of proportion; and, indeed, it is hard to regard as relevant the chapters devoted to the neo-Platonism of Marsilio Ficino, or to Italian art, with which admittedly Machiavelli had neither tie nor sympathy—two of the best works on the Italian Renaissance, those of Burckhardt and Philippe Monnier, exclude art from their purview. The *Machiavelli* is less consistent, complete, and convincing than the *Savonarola*, partly because the wit of man is helpless before the Machiavellian paradox, the appalling candour of "the least Machiavellian man that ever lived" (ii., 349); partly because Villari surveyed the entire field of Machiavelli's activity—as no one before Macaulay had attempted to do—as thinker and worker in politics and national defence, historian, dramatist, official, and patriot; and partly because Villari's gratitude to the father of Italian unity and liberation was in conflict with his allegiance to the moral law. There is some uncertainty in the touch, the distinctions at times seem wire-drawn; there are apparent inconsistencies. If "Aristotle's conception is theoretical and scientific, and Machiavelli's a practical treatment of political procedure" (ii., 406), how can *The Prince* have "a triple character, theoretical, practical, personal" (ii., 376)? If "man has one conscience and cannot have two" (ii., 267), what becomes of Villari's theory that there are two moralities, one of individuals, the other of States in war and diplomacy; which, though starting from the same principles to reach a common goal, are for us practically irreconcilable (ii., 346–8; ii., 403)?³² In reading Villari's book, one sometimes feels that a respectable case may be made for every view of Machiavelli. And yet this is one of its outstanding merits: such is Villari's candour and so closely does he identify himself with the conflicting solutions of the Machiavelli problem that we hardly know where the critic stops and the author resumes. In *Savonarola*, he is an advocate with a passionate trust in the soundness of his brief; but in *Machiavelli* he is "the magistrate of history," the Judge of Appeal on a plea of misdirection of the jury.

Villari's books have been more successful here probably than in any other country. *Savonarola* has had two distinct translations, and has been reprinted ten times; *Machiavelli*, thrice; the

³² There is a fuller statement of the theory in *Discussioni*, pp. 24–8, and in Lord Morley's *Recollections*, ii., pp. 59–60.

History of Florence twice. *The Barbarian Invasions* has also been reprinted; and these four, obtainable at half-a-crown each, must presumably have a "popular" sale. In fact, as Villari's pupil, Pistelli, remarks, his works have been read in England at least as much as in Italy: Germany coming second and France a poor third. Florence has always attracted us—there are in English more voluminous histories of Florence than of London; Savonarola has excited our sympathy—in the last three-quarters of a century there have been at least ten biographies in English and three dramas. Villari came at a fortunate period, when Ruskin, *Romola*, Garibaldi were firing our enthusiasm. The ease, vivacity, lucidity of his style were to our taste. But to Italy he has been much more than a literary influence, he has been the homely, fearless, earnest, candid mentor. A distinguished colleague wrote some years ago to Pistelli: "The old guard is thinning fast; Villari is one of the few veterans to whom we can offer a new medal. Let us then forget the light shadows which our critical inclinations make us see, in our own despite, on every luminous object, and let us recall the many virtues of this little man with the spacious brow, that makes his way to the front of the crowd like a small boy, scrambles on the first bench he finds and preaches like a hero!" More than that, he is a record of his period; Mr. Armstrong suggests that the next generation may regard him as the surest authority. His tomb on San Miniato may well be a symbol of the friendship which England and Italy are forging afresh in the fires of war. Florence has showered her lilies—*manibus date lilia plenis*; it is not unfitting that England should drop an English rose. Dante has said it: *Non gigli; Anzi di rose e d' altri fior vermigli*.

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The following is a bibliographical list of the English translations of Villari's works:—

- I. *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de' suoi tempi*, 2 vols., Florence, 1859-61.

The history of Girolamo Savonarola and of his times, transd. by Leonard Horner, F.R.S.; 2 vols.; Longman, 1863.

"I have given a selection only of the numerous documents" (Translator's Preface).

- La storia di . . .* new edn., augmented and corrected; 2 vols.; Florence, 1887-8.

Life and times of Girolamo Savonarola, translated [from the new edition] by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1888.

"The documents are purposely excluded" (Translator's Foreword).

[*English Historical Review*, July, 1889 (E. Armstrong); *Athenæum*, Jany. 19th, 1889; *Saturday Review*, Jany. 26th, 1889.]

Life and times of . . . 2nd edn. [containing, pp. xiii.-xxx., reply to *Athenæum* and *Sat. Review*]; 2 vols.; 1889.

II. *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi*, 3 vols.; Florence, 1877-81-82.

Niccolò Machiavelli and his times, translated by Linda Villari; 4 vols.; Kegan Paul, 1878-83.

In vols. 3 and 4 "two entire chapters and every document suppressed" (Author's preface to 1892 translation, p. v.).

The life and times of Niccolò Machiavelli, transd. by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1892.

"Revised by the translator"; "a few corrections in historical details" inserted by the author; "accompanied by all the more important documents" (Author's preface, p. vi.).

Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi, 2nd edition, 3 vols.; Milan, 1895-95-97.

Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi, 3rd edition, 3 vols.; Milan, 1912-13-14.

[The 2nd edn. is revised throughout; the 3rd edn. has some additions and re-arrangements, mainly in Vol. ii., as well as replies to Dubreton and Hobohm.]

[There are apparently few reviews, and no English, of the entire work; I have seen only that of Geffroy in *Séances et travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales*, vol. 119, 1883, pp. 729-37, and of Bertolini in *Nuova Antologia*, Nov. 1st, 1878; May 15th, 1881; Nov. 15th, 1882. Of Vols. i. and ii. (2nd edn.), by L. Arthur Burd in *English Historical Review*, April, 1896, pp. 366-90. Of Vol. i., *Athenæum*, July 28th, 1877 (A. de Gubernatis); *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Vol. xl., 1877, pp. 619-24. Also, on the biographers and critics of Machiavelli, R. Mariano, *Scritti Vari*, Vol. ix., pp. 77-165.]

III. *I primi due secoli della storia di Firenze*, 2 vols., Florence, 1893-4.

The two first centuries of Florentine history, transd. by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1894-5. [Each volume contains a special preface, written for the English edn, that to Vol. ii. being a rejoinder to criticisms.]

[*English Historical Review* (Armstrong), Vol. ix. (April, 1894), pp. 352-8 and Vol. x. (April, 1895), pp. 355-9.]

I primi due secoli . . . new edn., completely revised; one vol.; Florence, 1905.

[*Eng. Hist. Review* (A. M. Allen) Vol. xxi. (April, 1906), pp. 360-2.]

IV. *Le invasioni barbariche in Italia*, Milan, 1901.

The barbarian invasions of Italy, transd. by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1902.

[*Athenæum*, Aug. 23rd, 1902; pp. 241-2.]

V. *L'Italia da Carlo Magno alla morte di Arrigo VII.*, Milan, 1910.

Medieval Italy from Charlemagne to Henry VII., translated by Costanza Hulton; Fisher Unwin, 1910.

[*Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 27th, 1910, and Villari's reply, Nov. 24, 1910.]

VI. *Studies, historical and critical*, transd. by Linda Villari; Fisher Unwin, 1907. (Is History a Science? Youth of Cavour, Settembrini, De Sanctis, D. Morelli, Donatello, Savonarola and the present day.)

[*Athenæum*, Nov. 2nd, 1907; pp. 544-5.]

[These seven papers do not reproduce any one Italian volume; they are collected from various volumes of miscellanies:—1, 2, 4 from *Scritti Vari* (1894); 3 from *Arte, Storia* (1884); 5, 7 from *Discussioni* (1905); 6 from *Saggi storici* (1890).]

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS.¹

It is coming to be almost a commonplace, in academic discussions, that no subject has increased so much in importance in recent years as history.² Its significance as leading to a correct understanding of the present has been the theme of historians for more than a generation. The Dominions have, indeed, been somewhat out of the main stream of academic thought. Yet in few countries is the systematic study of the past so urgent a matter as it is in South Africa, and there are signs that this is beginning to be realised. Comparatively brief as it is, the history of South Africa is momentous in its sidelights on Imperial policy, and is a prolific record of racial and economic issues, for the most part still unsolved. The average British schoolboy is acquainted with the dictum that British administration in the nineteenth century "is seen at its worst in South Africa." Teachers further desire that he should be acquainted with some of the reasons for this breakdown of Imperial policy. How much more important is it for the South African boy that he should have some understanding of the process through which South Africa came to be what it is to-day, confronted by two problems of exceptional magnitude—that of the relations between the two dominant white races, and the scarcely less critical native problem?

Conditions in South Africa have militated against serious historical study. To a large number the past is associated with unpleasant recollections. The problems of the present are exceptionally acute, and need undivided attention. The great industrial growth of South Africa has focussed attention on material needs, and on education as subserving those needs. According to one history teacher, owing to the economic and social conditions of life in a new country, "cultivation of and retention of

¹ The writer has been in communication with history teachers in all parts of the Union; but is particularly indebted to Mr. L. L. Pienaar, of Grey College School, Bloemfontein, for detailed answers to specific questions; and to Mr. H. Bryan, for the loan of school bursary papers for previous years.

² Compare HISTORY, New Series, II., 33, 96 and 144.

interest in non-reproductive studies are practically impossible to the majority." This is, however, probably a transition stage. An interest in past industrial, if not past political, development is bound to be created to explain forms of social co-operation and to correct the tendency towards one-sided progress.

The absence of uniformity in educational conditions has been a further drawback. Even now no central organisation can impose a programme of studies on the Union as a whole. The difficulty is not so serious as in America, but education is still a provincial matter. On the other hand, until April 2nd, 1918, there has been but one university to draw up syllabuses; and, though three universities came into existence on that date, the regulation of matriculation and school certificate examinations is still in the hands of a single authority. Perhaps more serious, from the point of view of the history teacher, is the fact that no society exists to organise effort and give official backing to the opinions of the historical expert.³ Historical associations, if they could only be organised, would not merely represent the interests of the history teacher, but would be in close touch with local conditions—a matter of no small importance in a country of so wide an area. It has been a not uncommon complaint that university legislators are entirely ignorant of conditions in the heart of the country. One may anticipate great progress in the efficiency of history teaching, when the education departments and universities are definitely linked up with associations of history teachers throughout the country.

Conditions are, indeed, altogether different so far as the teaching of history is concerned. In the first place, no scholarships exist in history, or, indeed, in any other single subject, as stepping-stones from school to university college. The headmaster of a prominent school in the Transvaal gave his opinion that "scholarships in any subject are so few that they are almost negligible, as an incentive to study in a South African school." There is a general feeling that there is no scope for scholarships in history under present educational conditions. One teacher thought that special proficiency could be encouraged by endorsing matriculation certificates, in cases where a special distinction standard had been attained. A second point is that the machinery for training historical experts is utterly inadequate. There are no historical seminars, and even university professors have little opportunity for individual research. It is perhaps inevitable that, under

³ There is, it is true (or was) a historical society, under the wing of Prof. Cory of Grahamstown; but, with all due respect to this society, it is scarcely capable of the work which should be done for history in this country.

such conditions, the majority of history teachers should be amateurs. It is not merely, as one teacher pointed out, that "whereas science and mathematics require some technical knowledge, anybody with a degree in arts is considered good enough to teach history." The root difficulty is that the whole teaching profession is unattractive, and is used by the best men as a stepping-stone to law and the other professions. Much has still to be done for the teacher in Britain, but the matter is more serious in South Africa.

As an introduction to the problem of efficient history teaching in schools, all agreed that it was necessary to consider what were the qualities and habits of mind which were chiefly desired for the welfare of South Africa, and which might be brought out by the right kind of historical training. A number of teachers laid stress on the habit of suspended judgment, as particularly necessary in a country where feeling runs high on political and social questions.⁴ The study of history ought to be of great value if the pupil only learnt through it to accept and make use of facts with a certain amount of discrimination. History, as a method of determining facts, would at any rate do much to dispel the blind worship of the printed page, which is a natural tendency in a new country without intellectual traditions. Other teachers valued the subject, from the point of view of cultivation of taste. Everyone agreed that history in South Africa should be largely a study for guidance in the problems of the present; and that courses would have to be carefully chosen so that conclusions could be drawn from the facts studied (so-called organisation history). Given the possibility of better equipped teachers it was agreed that, even in the elementary school, history could be made to explain how society, in its political, economic, and social aspects, has slowly evolved; and also how it works at the present time. At least, the fundamental ideas of continuity and change, and of the dependence of the present on the past, could be impressed. It is felt by teachers that the main thing is to make the world of South Africa, as it exists in the second decade of the twentieth century, intelligible to all classes of children.

Criticism of existing methods of teaching must take into account the opportunities (or absence of opportunity) for anything better. The time problem is more serious than in Britain, as school hours are normally shorter. One headmaster wrote that: "Three periods a week are hardly sufficient to produce any strikingly good results; but it is difficult to give more in view

⁴ And even on questions, that are mainly educational, e.g., the vexed question of the language medium in schools.

of the number of other subjects which have to be studied." At Durban the experience is that "very limited time means a study of school textbooks only." The expense of railway travelling further militates against historical studies. School excursions to places of historical interest cannot readily be arranged. Then, there has been comparatively little study of local history. It is difficult to relate history in an interesting way to the immediate locality of the school. Lastly, though this is not peculiar to South Africa, teachers are tied down to examination syllabuses and are bound to devote the greater part of their time to textbook study.

The method most commonly applied in teaching history in South African schools is to work through an elementary textbook, filling in the outline by questions and problems designed to give the boy something definite to think about. The learning and reciting of passages is fairly common; and attempts are made, by discussions and writing work, to give the pupils practice in the effective use of knowledge obtained from the textbook. The pupil is sometimes asked to analyse a paragraph, point out the most important facts, and sum up in his own words. This refers primarily to the elementary schools, and the junior standards of secondary schools. In the higher forms of the latter the usual plan is for the teacher to deliver more or less formal lectures, whilst the pupils take notes. In order to make sure that the facts are understood, he will, at regular intervals, question the class on the work done. Questions, however, tend to be fewer in the higher than in the lower standards. In general, it seems that history suffers, as compared with other subjects, through lack of preparation on the part of the pupil. The teacher has to do what he can in the hour at his disposal. He is not expected, as in mathematics and Latin, to set definite tasks to be prepared before the lesson. This means that the pupil is largely passive in his attitude towards history; he is not sent to other books to find out facts for himself, and he obtains little or no insight into the historical method. To a large extent the process is one of the stacking of the memory with textbook facts.

In the choice of subjects and periods for study, the concentric method has been in favour.⁵ Modern history from the Renaissance, with principal stress on Colonial and South African history, has been the field, which is surveyed with increasing minuteness in the different stages. The syllabuses of the late University of the Cape of Good Hope provided for a study of modern history

⁵ Personally, the writer is in agreement with the views on the concentric method, expressed in *HISTORY*, I., 121-2.

on the concentric plan for the matriculation, intermediate, and B.A. examinations.

The concentric plan has not, in the opinion of the writer, worked well in South Africa. It involves in the early stages a very wide, often loosely-connected study of history. The old syllabuses for the matriculation and junior certificate examinations attempted to cover too wide a ground. In the opinion of a historical expert at Durban they were "an attempt to learn a little bit of everything, which may be useful memory training, but as history is absurd." The new 1918 matriculation syllabus has been generally welcomed by history teachers. The considerations which led to its being framed are set out in a memorandum, which frankly admits the defect of the old syllabus—the lack of co-ordination upon some definite plan, in order that the pupil might "more easily see a continuity in history." It is stated that the chief aim should be to provide the pupils "with historical knowledge essential to their understanding of the world as it now is." Such an understanding "should be the main goal of the teaching." The syllabus is, briefly, European and Colonial history from 1713, studied so as to bring out the essential differences between the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods. Details of Colonial history were considered less important than such subjects as the industrial revolution or the political and social results of the great upheaval in France at the close of the eighteenth century.

It is, perhaps, too early to criticise with profit this syllabus. The memorandum indicates that a considerable choice of questions will be given, but even so the course seems very lengthy. A more serious objection is that "very few teachers have sufficient knowledge of the subject to do justice to the syllabus." The lack of an adequate textbook is a serious present difficulty, which would at least not have been so serious had South Africa a large number of properly trained teachers.

A point on which specific questions were addressed to teachers by the writer, was the use of the source method. It seems clear that this method is scarcely employed at all, even in the form of reading to the pupils illustrative extracts from sources. The reply from Bloemfontein was "not at all"; and from the Transvaal "hardly at all." A few teachers, indeed, endeavour to make the past real to the pupils by quotations from contemporary letters, diaries, etc., but the majority consider that there is no time for excursions beyond the sphere of the textbook. The writer has not heard of any experiments in the "source method

proper"—that is, exercises in historical construction, the determination of facts, etc., from given sources. The question of how we know is not put before pupils in South African schools as it should be.

Closely related to the study of sources is the matter of the historical method. The young history student requires definite training in the collection and arrangement of facts. In the higher forms of secondary schools it is essential that he should be taught how to look for material on a given subject, and, in particular, the use of bibliographies and tables of contents. The habit of making an orderly record of his reading, with personal impressions of books studied, needs to be cultivated under direction from the teacher. Is the pupil taught to criticise his book and to appreciate differences in points of view? Is he encouraged to develop certain lines of thought, by independent collateral reading? These questions have, in the case of the majority of South African schools, to be answered in the negative. Most schools use one textbook only, and very few have efficient historical libraries. There is little or no time for problem questions, illustrating the historical method.

The character of the teaching in any subject will obviously depend to some extent on the type of question set in examinations. Questions that ask for inference and comparison, and aim at testing power to use knowledge effectively rather than mere extent of knowledge, will stimulate serious and critical study of history in schools. A great number of history test papers, however, seem to be designed simply as exercises for the memory. Thus, the first two questions in the junior certificate examination of 1916 ask for "an outline of the leading events during the reign of Henry VIII. of England or Philip II. of Spain," and "a brief account of the exploration of the New World during the sixteenth century, naming the chief settlements formed there between 1492 and 1608." Such questions encourage the teacher to cram the pupil with unprofitable lists of names and dates. Education Department bursary papers are proportionately better. Though the majority of the questions are necessarily of the narrative or descriptive type (the average age of the candidates is only 13 or 14), there are some questions which encourage individual thought and power of emphasis, *e.g.*, in the Natal bursary examination, 1917, the last question in the history paper was as follows: "Explain clearly why the wars known as the Crusades were waged. Why were the European Powers unsuccessful in them? What were the principal results of these wars?"

The papers set in the matriculation examination of the old Cape University were not, as a rule, satisfactory. A number of questions of the critical type were included; but they were mostly such as were answered at length for the pupil in the textbook. In the instructions circulated by the university it was pointed out that higher marks were awarded for questions in Part II., "which will require independent thought," than in Part I., where the questions set "will depend on knowledge of fact." But the average question in the second part is very much the same as the average question in Part I. Thus the question in Part II. of the 1916 paper: "Estimate the value and importance of sea-power in the struggle against Napoleon," is dealt with fully in the textbooks; whilst it is difficult to see what independent thought can enter into the question: "What powers and duties have the Provincial Councils under the Act of Union? How is the administration of the Provinces to be conducted under that Act?" Very few of the questions encourage collateral reading or demand a recognition of probabilities. A map test is usually included, but all that is required is the fixing of the positions of a certain number of places on an accompanying outline map. It is not necessary that a pupil should be able to interpret a map or explain geographically historical relations.

The last question which the writer referred to history teachers was: "What degree of spontaneous interest in history is aroused in the upper standards?" Was there any enthusiasm for historical studies? One teacher replied that he doubted "whether five per cent. of South African schoolboys acquire a permanent interest in any subject of their school curriculum." A second found that "enthusiasm was, as a rule, strictly limited to a desire to get through the matriculation examination." A third, from the Witwatersrand, replied that very few showed such interest, "perhaps owing to the commercial atmosphere of Johannesburg."

It would, however, be wide of the mark to suppose that the prospect is, in any degree, black. An interesting degree of attention is being paid to education by the Union Government; the position of teachers is being carefully inquired into, and scholarships and bursaries are being multiplied, with a view to assisting would-be teachers to secure the most thorough training. Moreover, syllabuses are steadily improving and better textbooks are appearing. The new matriculation syllabus has justly aroused some degree of enthusiasm. The statement of policy contained in the appended memorandum is altogether admirable. Pupils

are to "possess some ability in placing South African history in its proper setting both in world history and in the narrower range of the history of the Empire," and teachers and pupils are to be "allowed more scope in choosing periods and topics for more concentrated study than can be given to the syllabus generally." The situation is indeed hopeful. Teachers will nevertheless be well advised to concentrate their efforts on organising the opinions and efforts of those engaged in teaching history. Much good work may be done, as suggested from Bloemfontein, by agitation aiming at making the teaching profession more attractive and better paid, with a view to the eventual appointment of specialists in history, at least, in the larger schools. But agitation, to be effective, must be organised. South Africa needs a recognised Association of history teachers, to undertake propaganda work, tender advice with regard to courses and methods of study, issue leaflets, and look after the interests of history teachers generally. The main difficulty is one of space; but there is no reason why the organisation of branches of the Historical Association in the larger towns should not be begun at once. Surely "the understanding of the world, as it is now," is a goal worthy of a little common effort on the part of professional and amateur historians in South Africa, who, it must be admitted, at present know very little of one another's work.

ALAN F. HATTERSLEY

NOTES AND NEWS.

CONGRATULATIONS upon the enactment of Mr. Fisher's Bill are universal, and every teacher will echo them with or without mental reservations. But education is not a battle that is won or lost in a given time; it is a perpetual effort, and even an Act of Parliament is by itself but a scrap of paper. Its value depends upon the spirit and way in which it is worked by the community as a whole. Nor, as the *Journal of Education* reminds us, should we indulge in premature jubilation. Fifty years ago optimists prophesied that the new school rates would soon be saved out of the decrease in police and poor rates. But there would be less forgery were it not for the spread of elementary education, and less burglary but for the development of mechanical ingenuity; and no one needs reminding of the destructive capacity of science in irresponsible hands. The supreme problem of education is how to develop that sense of moral responsibility without which every advance in the power which knowledge gives is an unmitigated evil.

* * * * *

MEANWHILE, we are happy to note that under the auspices of the Council for Humanistic Studies humanists and scientists are burying the hatchet of internecine strife in order to co-operate in the advancement of education and to urge that we shall need a greatly increased output of highly-trained workers. For this purpose we require a much larger income for our universities and university colleges, the reduction of fees, the multiplication of scholarships, and the increase of maintenance grants for schools. No student, it is suggested, should embark on a university course below the age of seventeen, the course should extend over three years at least, and no examination passed at school should reduce it. We might add that those three years should also be kept free from the intruding claims of technical training for the teaching profession. In support of this programme we are reminded that the proportion of the population in universities and higher technical institutions was in 1913-14 sixteen per 10,000 in Scotland, thirteen in Germany, ten in the United States, six in Ireland,

and five in England and Wales! The statistics give point to the Highlander's query in *Punch* as to where the rest of us would be if Scotland made a separate peace.

* * * * *

WE hear excellent accounts of the results of the Board of Education's experiment in holding a summer school of history at Manchester, to which we referred in our last number. Admirable lectures were given by Mr. Stanley Leathes, Mr. J. W. Headlam-Morley, Dr. Morris, Mr. Jenks, Mr. H. de Havilland, and Mr. Abbott, while the reception accorded to Mr. Callender's demonstration in naval history seems to indicate that that aspect of history, so vital to us, is coming to its own. We hope that some of the literary effort produced by the gathering may find its way into HISTORY.

* * * * *

AN influential deputation, introduced by Lord Bryce, representing the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute, the Victoria League and the League of Empire was received early in July by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher at the Board of Education. Its object was to encourage the study of Imperial history and geography in schools and universities. With that object the Historical Association has every sympathy. So far as schools are concerned the main difficulty, of course, is that of time. But greater emphasis in the ordinary school teaching of British history could and should be laid on its Imperial aspect; and the new "Advanced Courses" afford an additional opportunity for some detailed study of this important branch of history.

* * * * *

WE trust that steps may be taken to give practical effect to the suggestions contained in the article, which Mr. Hattersley sends us from Natal, on the teaching of history in South African schools. Membership of the Historical Association may seem a humble means to union, but association for the purpose of historical study and teaching is the best corrective of sectionalism and partisanship in politics; and quite apart from this service to the community, unity among teachers gives them and the cause of education a strength they cannot otherwise attain. Incidentally we may remark that the Historical Association knows no geographical limits less extensive than those of the British Empire, and that membership thereof, or of any of its branches, enables the member to obtain this JOURNAL for a sum that is far below cost price.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Eastbourne.

WARREN HASTINGS.

SIR,—

Professor J. W. Neill appends to his spirited defence of Warren Hastings in your April number a note impugning Macaulay's correctness in one of the very few points on which he was unquestionably right. The charge of ostentation was one constantly brought against Hastings, both during his Indian career by Francis and his partisans, and his journalistic henchman the *Bengal Gazette*, and after his return home by the pamphleteers of the opposing party, who found one infallible proof in the fact that he rode an Arab horse with a long tail! In his dress and personal habits he was the simplest of men, but he considered a certain amount of state as due to his office. His retinue of servants was large, his bodyguard well appointed, and on occasions of ceremony he was attended by his eight *aides-de-camp*. In my novel, *The Great Proconsul*, I have pointed out the curious error into which Dr. Busteed has fallen with regard to the couplet quoted by Bishop Heber. The Bishop is held up to scorn as having mistaken an expression of derision for one of admiration, but in reality he, and he alone, gives the original form of the couplet:—

"Hat'hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeen,
Juldee bah'r jata Sahib Wārren Husteen!"

or, as it may be roughly rendered:—

"Caparisoned elephants, horses to ride,
Forth Mr. Hastings sped with pride."

In Dr. Busteed's day merely the parody survived, thus:—

"Ghore par howdah, hathi par zin,
Jaldi bhag giya Mester Husteen!"

or, roughly, again:—

"Saddle on elephant, howdah on steed,
Away Mr. Hastings fled with speed."

Any reader of Hodges' account of the confused flight to Chunar will realise that the transformation of the words was irresistible, and it is quite likely that they may have been applied to Colonel Monson in similar circumstances—if the association of them with his name is not merely due to Dr. Busteed's desire to explain that which needed no explanation. A detailed account of the Benares affair, from the original sources, will be found in my edition of *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

BOOKS WANTED.

[The charge for notices inserted under this heading is 3d. per book to members of the Association, 6d. to non-members. Notices should be sent, with payment enclosed, to the Secretary of the Editorial Board. Answers should be addressed to the advertisers, and should state the price required or offered.]

Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, 2 vols. For the Library of the Association. Miss Curran, 22, Russell Square, W.C.1.

"Chronicles and Memorials" (Rolls Series), No. 98: *Memoranda de Parlamento*, Ed. F. W. Maitland. Professor Pollard, University College, W.C.1.

Spedding, *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon*. Dr. A. P. Newton, King's College, W.C.2.

History, Vol. II., No. 7 (Oct., 1917). 2s. each copy offered, if clean and in good condition. Miss E. J. Davis, University College, W.C.1.

No. 11.—VOL. III.

M

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

VIII.—“NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.”

IN a recent letter to *The Times* the present writer ventured to suggest that there was common ground between American resistance to taxation, and Irish resistance to conscription, by the Imperial Parliament; and he was corrected in an editorial note which pointed out that the Irish are represented in that Parliament, whereas the American colonists were not. A similar correction would hardly have been forthcoming had the letter been written by a chemist on a point of chemistry; but it is well-enough understood that history, unlike natural science or classical scholarship, requires no particular training and no specific research to qualify anyone for the expression of opinion upon its problems; and, moreover, abundant historical textbooks could be quoted in support of the fiction that the American colonists revolted because they were taxed without being represented in the Imperial Parliament. The prevalence of that notion, and the comprehensive ambiguity which envelops the famous maxim “no taxation without representation,” justify some attempt at revision, although the subject is so vast and complex that little more is possible than a few notes of interrogation and suggestions for further inquiry.

It may at once be premised that the implied grievance was no more the origin of the American War of Independence than Edward III.'s claim to the French throne was of the Hundred Years' War. Indeed, there was less connection, because Edward III. could hardly have continued his war had the French offered him their crown, whereas the American colonists had no logical difficulty in continuing their war after they had been offered representation in the Imperial Parliament. Such an offer provided, they said, and said quite rightly, no remedy for their particular grievance, and it is to be noted that so inadequate was such a solution generally felt to be three-quarters of a century later, when Canada and Australia were pressing for self-government, that no one ventured to put it forward as a possible answer to their demands. The American colonists had been in the habit of granting their taxes in their own colonial assemblies. Their demand was that the practice should be continued and should not be supplemented or supplanted by the imposition of taxes by the Imperial Parliament; the presence of a score or so of American representatives, outnumbered by ten to one, in that Parliament would not in the least have removed their objection to the imposition, and when representation was suggested by Governor Pownall the idea was almost unanimously scouted by the colonists.¹

They did not want representation in the Imperial Parliament, and when they adopted the phrase “no taxation without representation”

¹ See Lecky, *History of England*, 1892, iv. 122.

they meant that they were only to be taxed as hitherto in their own representative assemblies, and not in assemblies in which they would form but a fraction of the representation. The fact that they were not represented at all in the Imperial Parliament was, naturally, used as an added constitutional objection to the authority of Parliament to tax them; and it had the further advantage of enlisting sympathy in Great Britain, where large sections of the community were also taxed without representation. It was, in fact, the echo which the phrase provoked in Great Britain that gave it its vogue in British politics and historical text-books. The advocates of parliamentary reform adopted it as their watchword, and pointed to the American War of Independence as the natural result of the repudiation of what they regarded as a fundamental principle. Thus the legend arose that it was the cause for which the Americans had fought.

The real origins of that schism go back, of course, to separatist tendencies which surrounded the colonies from their birth, and it is doubtful whether any statesmanship could have overcome them. But it is worth while pointing out that even Grenville did not deny the colonists' right to tax themselves, nor resort to the theory of Imperial taxation until the customary local methods had broken down. Nor did the colonists repudiate their liability for taxation to meet their share of the expenses of the Seven Years' War, and the actual difficulty arose out of the inadequacy of the existing machinery to meet an admitted obligation. Had there been a united parliament of the colonies, the problem might conceivably have been settled on an amicable basis; but each colonial assembly was independent of all the others, and taxation by themselves meant taxation by thirteen discordant bodies. Grenville was concerned to get the money rather than with the method of getting it. He was quite willing that the contributions should be voted in colonial assemblies, but when he asked what guarantee there was that each assembly would vote its proper quota, the colonists themselves admitted the impossibility of an answer. There were difficulties enough on that score in the colonists' own efforts to provide for the War of Independence, because there was no common authority to determine what each colony's proper quota was. It was the absence of a common responsible authority in America that drove Grenville into his invocation of that of the Imperial Parliament.

Now, that invocation raised a constitutional issue which has a deeper significance than is usually attached to it, and extends over a much wider period than the eighteenth century. It carries us back, like all other constitutional issues, ultimately to the Middle Ages. We know how taxes such as tenths, fifteenths, and subsidies were "granted" then: each of the various estates offered something for itself, but the offer of each estate bound no other. The knights of the shires could not bind the borough members, and both together could not bind the clergy or the lords. These taxes were gifts, and the sanction was the goodwill of the giver. They came to be made *in* parliament, but they were not imposed *by* parliament, and were not at first given the form of parliamentary legislation. But by a process, which has not been properly traced, as parliament attained cohesion and developed the conception of a sovereignty vested in "the Crown in Parliament," legislative form was gradually given to the grant of taxation by the various estates. The sanction for any tax ceased to be its grant by an estate, and became its

enactment by Parliament. Incidentally this gave rise to our modern problems of taxation. Could two estates bind a third? Or, in the more paradoxical form which we have now adopted as constitutional truth, could a third estate bind the first and second, and the Commons tax the Lords? They could not in the Middle Ages, when the emphasis was rather on the diversity of estates than on the unity of Parliament. But that growing unity is a fundamental content of our constitutional history, and without it there could have been no sovereignty of Parliament.

This sovereignty of Parliament was the modern constitutional dogma that was challenged by the American colonists; and it is interesting to note in the writings of American publicists of to-day that the challenge goes much farther than the contention of the colonists in 1765. The sovereignty of Parliament, says Professor McIlwain,² is an attempt to erect into an eternal and universal truth a temporary expedient of English politics, and, at any rate, is a dogma unsuited to the American mind and constitution. In 1765 the colonists reverted, with regard to taxation as well as with regard to many other things such as the rights of man, to mediæval ideas. Taxation should not be imposed by any sovereignty whatever; it should be granted, and each grant should be made for and by the group which paid it. An American colony was just as much a group entitled to determine its own taxation as a mediæval estate; no one else could bind it, and Parliament had no right to impose sovereignty invented by itself on those who had never consented thereto. This was, of course, an expression of the lack of imperial solidarity and a reaction to mediæval particularism. Nor were the colonists more logical in matters of taxation than in their combination of the rights of man with property in slaves. Nevertheless, we are in a better position to-day to appreciate alike the value of their protest against the sovereignty of the State, and the need of adjusting general dogmas to the circumstances of the case. Generalisations are useful and necessary methods of political controversy; but they all contain elements of historical falsity and confusion. Down to the present day we have taxed women without representation, and we shall continue to tax without effective representation children, lunatics, peers, and possibly parsons of the Church of England. It is time that "no taxation without representation" disappeared from our text-books, unless it is accompanied by adequate warnings against its ambiguity. The real American objection was to the absolute sovereignty of Parliament, and we shall always be liable to misunderstand our constitutional history unless we study therewith the history of political ideas.

A. F. POLLARD.

² *The High Court of Parliament*, pp. 355-7. He points out that it was this strict adherence to the theory of Parliamentary sovereignty that "rent asunder the English race" (*ib.*, p. 366 n.). It may be added that its practical abandonment preserved the unity of the British Empire in the nineteenth century. The form has, of course, been preserved; but unity in substance has been approached through the subtler idea of the sovereignty of the Crown in Council rather than through the sovereignty of the Crown in Parliament, and the reason is that the Crown in Council has preserved a greater elasticity than the Crown in Parliament. The American colonies might have been retained, had it been possible to tax them by the Crown "in counsel" with them, and our new Imperial Cabinet is the Crown "in counsel" with the Crown's Dominions.

REVIEWS

Human Geography in Western Europe. By H. J. FLEURE. Pp. viii + 263. Illus. and index. London: Williams and Norgate, 1918.

THIS is a volume in "The Making of the Future" series. It is a very interesting and in some ways a charming book, but one which may tempt the Philistine to rejoice, for it gives a slight impression of affectation, it often verges on the far-fetched, and its data are scanty and at times questionable. This is all the more to be regretted because it is precisely the humanistic aspects of geography that need special attention just now, and the straining after an ultra-humanistic terminology may affect the influence of a book which embodies much valuable work.

In his preface Dr. Fleure describes the book as "an early draft of an attempt to appreciate the *genius loci* of some human groups in Western Europe"—"an effort towards closer contact with the ever-flowing stream of experience . . . working for the enrichment of the life of humanity." He begins with a sketch of Man in Western Europe, which is described as a core of great highlands set round with peninsulas; it forms specially the lands of Romance and Germanic languages, and in it the distribution of Man was determined largely by the physical history of the area. The porous limestone and seasonal drought of the southern belt were more favourable to early settlement than the glaciated and forested lands to the north. In the hot valleys of the south, too, sexual maturity was hastened, and so the period of growth was shortened. Between the two zones Broadheads drove a wedge along the highlands, from which they drifted down into forest-clearings, and became associated with cultivation and co-operative life. In France, where alone all three zones meet, "almost every stock is found which has ever influenced Europe."

Dr. Fleure develops this thesis by a classification of the zones as zones of Increment, or easy life—of Effort, or life of rewarded work—of Difficulty, or life of unrewarded work; *e.g.*—to take maritime examples—Crete, the Frisian Islands, Norway. France, of course, included parts of all three zones, and had the further advantage of developing her industrial system out of foci in the zones of Increment or Effort—*e.g.*, where there was an old market-town with strong civic sense and historic associations, not—as in England—on barren and uninhabited wastes in the zone of Difficulty, where there was no civic sense nor any association with the past.

These general ideas are worked out in half-a-dozen chapters, concerned with France, Iberia, Italy, Central Europe, the small peoples (set round Central Europe—from Denmark via Luxemburg to Bohemia), and Britain. The chapter on France—though rather spoilt by extravagant language about "The Way of Light," "The City of God," "Spiritual Life"—is perhaps the best, with much interesting architectural detail. It brings out clearly how the civic and idealistic influences of the Mediterranean heritage found easy

lodgment here, while the militarist and bureaucratic influences were pushed up to the Roman frontiers in the lands of what was to be the Holy Roman Empire.

The contrasts in Iberia were due mainly to the fact that, while in France all the elements met and mixed which have gone to make Western thought, Iberia was the salient battleground of Europe and Africa, and the outpost had to sacrifice much, especially the opportunity for developing a trading middle class, to the outpost duty performed for the rest of Western Europe. But just because the need for further self-sacrifice of that kind is gone for ever, there is much hope for the future of the peninsula.

In the chapters on Italy and Germany we have a somewhat detailed analysis of town-sites, emphasis being laid in Italy "on the more recent phases of human work," especially the forging of effective unity in a land of marked divisions and strong contrasts. In the chapter on the small peoples the emphasis is on the influence of common effort, military or otherwise, in developing "that group self-consciousness which seems to make a nation"; and a strong contrast is drawn between the relatively "high spiritual common measure" of such small peoples and the relatively low common measure of the large peoples, whose very largeness is also often a danger to humanity.

The book is stimulating and suggestive, especially of problems to be worked out—*e.g.*, the cause and effect of the apparent absence of the great Beaker peoples from Central Europe—the value of foothills as a human boundary—the probable difference in the fate of Germany if Leipzig, not Berlin, had become its capital. It is in no way intended to be a text-book of geography, but essentially a collection of lectures and discussions to a class in human geography; and its aim is as soundly geographical as its method is—sometimes unfortunately—ultra-humanistic. The making—or, at least, the suggesting—of important generalisations from historical and other data that are often insufficient and sometimes unsatisfactory renders the book a dangerous one to put into the hands of a young student.

X.

From Pericles to Philip. By T. R. GLOVER. Methuen, 1917. 8s. 6d.

DR. GLOVER's twelve studies of Greek—mainly Athenian—life and thought between the Persian Wars and the coming of Philip will find their place among the sanest and most illuminating products of recent English scholarship. If they do not contain much that is new, established or widely accepted opinions are set out with an abundance of apt illustration and parallel, and with a breadth and freshness of outlook that make most excellent reading.

In this way of writing history the writer has the great advantage that he can concentrate his attention on the things and persons that interest him most. There is not much about Æschylus or Sophocles in this volume; little about constitutions or agriculture (Dr. Glover shies at farming), or the details of warfare; not very much about Plato, even, or Demosthenes; less mention of Epaminondas than in Xenophon, but a great deal about Herodotus and Thucydides and Euripides—the chapter devoted to the last is by no means the least valuable part of the book—and most of all about Xenophon. Xenophon is almost the hero of quite half of the whole. Dr. Glover is a

fervent admirer of the man and author, but he does not, like Mr. Dakyns, spoil a good case by indiscriminate praise—and, after all, whatever may be said against him by persons of superior cleverness, we owe to Xenophon an intimate knowledge of many sides of Greek life, and, if not an intimate knowledge of Socrates, at least that of a very excellent Athenian gentleman.

I have been long, though intermittently, occupied with Xenophon; and, presuming that it is on this ground that I am asked to write this necessarily brief and inadequate notice, I will add a few detailed comments on the chapters that deal with him.

The chapter called "The Youth of Xenophon" is mainly a study of the influence of Socrates on his companions, but it includes the usual speculations on the part that Xenophon may have taken in the later stages of the Peloponnesian War. He shows in the *Hellenica* a singularly close and intimate acquaintance with some great transactions of these latter years. For instance, the suspicious story of his captivity cannot outweigh the strong evidence afforded by his narrative that he witnessed the triumphant return of Alcibiades in 408. The animated account of the landing and progress to the capital (Dr. Glover justly praises Xenophon as a first-rate storyteller) is intended to form a counterpart to Thucydides' narrative of the banishment and of the events that led up to it. It is highly probable, again, that Xenophon was one of the knights who sailed with the 110 ships for Lesbos, and that he took part in the battle of Arginusæ. His report of the battle is in marked contrast with the meagre notices that he gives to other naval fights—to Cnidus, for example. Doubtless he was present at the proceedings against the accused generals, and quite likely he was among those who gave evidence on their behalf.

It is strange that Dr. Glover makes no reference to the *Cyngeticus*, Xenophon's youthful work, in this chapter. The delightful study of the *Anabasis* should certainly be read by everyone who has the same dreary memory of it as Dr. Glover—and the reviewer. The praise errs a little, perhaps, on the side of generosity. Some of Xenophon's speeches really are tedious, in spite of their cleverness; and nothing is said here about the controversial character of the work. Dr. Glover wonders why Xenophon remarks that he went on the expedition neither as general, nor captain, nor soldier! Well, he had been a soldier before, but was not the man to take service as a mercenary. What an admirable stroke is the concealment of his name until the *début*, except in the case of his question to Cyrus before the battle—a significant exception! In II. i. he artfully altered Xenophon to Theopompus (cf. Glover, p. 248 n.).

In the chapter on "Country Life" much material is drawn from the *Economicus* and *Memorabilia*. I note with satisfaction that Dr. Glover accepts the *Agésilæus* as genuine. As he urges the name Diodorus as an additional proof that Gryllus and his brother were twins, he should dispose of their reputed grandmother Diodora in his second edition. To the list of Xenophon's heroes Lycurgus should be added to complete the picture of his mind. The occasional renderings of his slipshod sentences are admirably done.

Many special points in other chapters would prompt a comment, did space allow. Students of ancient history should certainly not omit to read and ponder on these brilliant essays.

E. C. MARCHANT.

Guide to the Study of Medieval History. By L. J. PAETOW.
Berkeley: University of California Press. 1917. \$2.

A SLIGHT initial prejudice arising from the statement that this book has grown out of "mimeographed syllabi" is soon dispelled by an inspection of its contents. The bibliographical part of the work at least meets a real want, and meets it well. There are in the English language few more useful, succinct, and practical bibliographies of general European history than this carefully and accurately compiled list. Our chief regret is that British history is to a considerable extent excluded from its purview on the ground of the existence of Dr. Gross's book. But that indispensable handbook is on a much larger scale than the present work, and hardly makes the wide appeal to the "students, teachers, and libraries" addressed in Dr. Paetow's book. Particularly useful to the beginner is the list of general books in Part I. When Dr. Paetow gets more elaborate, he becomes a little more difficult to follow, and some blemishes of arrangement, and even execution, slightly impair the value of his scheme. His greatest mistake, we think, is not limiting himself to his bibliography. He has, however, split up each of the thirty-five sections, into which he divides the main part of his book, into three parts: "'A,' Outlines; 'B,' Special Recommendations for Reading; 'C,' Bibliography." Part "A" "presents the subject-matter of the section in orderly fashion," and is in substance a useful but rather commonplace analysis or date-book. It will be of little value to the serious student, and its substance could well be found elsewhere. Even Part "B," "Special Recommendations for Reading," shares with Part "A" the limitation of addressing a wider and less instructed public than that which will find most use in the elaborate bibliographies. It was doubtless all right to include these sections when Dr. Paetow was delivering the courses of lectures at Berkeley which were the source of the book. But the combination of material of such varied appeal in a single volume suggests hesitation as to the standard to be attained or the public to be addressed. The ambitious Part "C" on "Medieval Culture," contains much useful information, but also shows similar limitations. Occasional faults of omission, commission, and repetition are inevitable in the first edition of such a book, but are infrequent. There is a good index.

T. F. TOUT.

Illustrations of Chaucer's England. Edited by DOROTHY HUGHES.
(Univ. of London Intermediate Source-books of History, No. 1.)
Longmans. Pp. xiv + 302. 1918. 7s. 6d. net.

WE are accustomed to think of Geoffrey Chaucer as a great poet who incidentally made an income from various civil offices, for some of which he was allowed to employ a deputy. To his contemporaries, and largely, no doubt, to himself, he was a servant of the Crown, who had played his part in war, had been employed on several diplomatic missions, knew the meaning of office work in his various controllerships, had to ride on the King's business, and account for money of which he was robbed—and incidentally wrote pleasing poetry. Much of this poetry, notably the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, is itself an historical document of great importance in so far as it helps us to reconstruct the social life and temper of his times,

but for reasons which it is not difficult to guess Chaucer did not concern himself greatly in his writings with politics, external or internal, though we may be sure that a man so full of vitality had his own views on national ideals and on all the political questions of his day. In thinking of him, however, we naturally think of what he put into his poetry, not of what he left out of it. Hence the comparatively small space in this book which is allotted to social subjects comes as a surprise after a glance at its title, "*Illustrations of Chaucer's England*." The poet himself, we are sure, would have regarded its proportions as entirely right, and as a hardworking minor administrator would have been as pleased and amused at being chosen as the typical Englishman of his half-century as we may guess that another and far greater administrator would have been had a vision dawned upon him of the title "*Pepys's England*" being bestowed upon a similar volume for the Restoration period.

While the title of the book may thus be defended it would perhaps have been better if it had been called, in old-fashioned manner, after Edward III., whose ideals, and methods of working them out, and the fruit they bore, give to the volume a unity akin to that of a great tragedy. Historians have narrated this tragedy, well or feebly according to their powers, in the prose of their day. It is the merit of Miss Hughes's selection from contemporary books and documents that the living freshness which these impart, will leave on the sympathetic student, as he closes the volume, an impression as if he had been reading great poetry. A single passage from Froissart (strangely omitted by Lord Berners) describing how the king sailed to intercept a great Spanish fleet off Winchelsea gives all the glitter of his personality quite unforgettably:—

"The king took his stand in the prow of his ship, dressed in a black velvet jacket, and on his head he wore a black beaver hat, which became him well. And he was that day, as I was told by those who were with him then, as joyous as ever he was in his life. And he made his minstrels play on their horns a German dance, that Sir John Chandos, who was there, had lately brought back; and for entertainment he made the same knight sing with his minstrels, taking great delight in it. And from time to time he looked up to the turret at his masthead, for he had set a watch there, to tell him when the Spaniards were in sight. Whilst the king was thus amusing himself with the knights, who were all glad to see him so gay, the watchman who had caught sight of the Spanish ships, said 'Ho! I see a ship coming, and it seems to me a Spaniard.' The minstrels were silent, and he was asked if he saw more than one; a little after he said 'Yes, I see two, now three and four'; and then, when he saw the whole fleet, 'I see so many that, God help me, I cannot count them.' Then when the king knew that they were the Spaniards, he caused the trumpets to sound, and all the ships came together, and ranged themselves in good order for the fight, for they knew that they would have battle, since the Spaniards had such a great fleet. The king had wine brought, and he and all his knights drank, and then put their basinetts on their heads. The Spaniards soon drew near, and when the King of England saw from his ships their order of battle, he said to the helmsman of his vessel, 'Lay me alongside that Spaniard who is coming towards us, for I will have a tilt with him.'"

We know Edward III. from that quotation as we know Malory's

King Arthur, and the gain to the student of having a whole period made alive for him in this way is immense. The book, indeed, throbs with life, from beginning to end. Because it throbs with life it attains with extraordinary success the two chief objects at which such a selection must aim: it leaves certain impressions quite unforgettably vivid, and it must inspire anyone with a trace of the spirit of studentship to seek in continuous history the links which bind these vivid passages together.

Very nearly half of Miss Hughes's book is devoted to the war with France, which is admirably illustrated. The eighth allotted to Social History deals mainly with the Black Death, the economic conditions which arose from it, and the abuses of purveyance. Ecclesiastical affairs take only about a twelfth, but the space is particularly well used, and the English difficulties in remaining obedient to a Pope, who lived "in the sinful city of Avignon" under the influence of the French king, are clearly brought out. The remaining quarter of the book deals with political and constitutional developments at home, the reaping of the whirlwind where the wind had been sown.

A curious speculation on Time which I read a few weeks ago contended (to translate the general into the particular) that in the nature of things there is no reason why Chaucer, with some added capacities, should not have been able to read Miss Hughes's book. I am quite sure that had he possessed these uncanny capacities, after he had got over his amazement at its title, he would have sat "as dumb as any stone" until he had finished it.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643-1647. Edited by CHARLES SANFORD TERRY. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1917.

PROFESSOR TERRY has added another to his many valuable contributions to Scottish history. These papers, tantalising as they are in their limitations, yet add largely to our knowledge of the circumstances in which Scotland, after a century of peace, and in spite of internal divisions, raised and equipped an army which was a redoubtable fighting force. We have just witnessed a similar exploit in our own time, though on a much larger scale, and it would be possible to draw an interesting parallel. The experience possessed by our own old standing army was invaluable for the training of the British Army as it is to-day, and the Scots had a similar advantage in the return of many Dugald Dalgettys who had fought in the German wars. The organisation, then as now, was territorial, and the religious impulse of 1643 was not more potent than that which was called into being by the German treatment of Belgium.

The documents themselves consist of the Articles and Ordinances of War issued by the Committee of Estates in 1644 (which, by the way, forbid murder and other crimes, the firing of houses, the cutting down of trees, and the wasting of the country), a list of arms and ammunition supplied from the Scots and English magazines, and eight accounts rendered by Sir Adam Hepburn, the treasurer of the Army, between 1644 and 1646. There is a certain amount of interesting matter which could be extracted from this large mass of

figures and facts, but the quarrying has been done by the editor, to whose 100 pages of Introduction the real value of the publication is due. He has not only made full use of the not too numerous opportunities afforded by his text, but has also brought much extraneous learning to bear upon the topic, giving a narrative history of the army, with lists of regiments and information about their origin, identifying officers and establishing the use to which various pieces of artillery were put. Perhaps the most interesting section of his work is that which deals with equipment. Unfortunately, there is no information about uniform, and we cannot even picture the Scottish soldiers who fought at Marston Moor as clad in the grey cloth and wearing the blue ribbon which were characteristic of the Scottish armies of 1639 and 1640. Professor Terry has, however, been able to unearth a tailor's account which shows that an officer wore grey or buff breeches of Spanish cloth, a skirted red coat with white facings, ornamented with satin, and a broad-brimmed beaver or felt hat.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

Rousseau. Du Contrat Social. Edited by C. E. VAUGHAN. Manchester University Press. Longmans. 5s.

Bolingbroke. Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism and on the Idea of a Patriot King. Edited by A. HASSALL. Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d.

IT is a pleasure to welcome Professor Vaughan's admirable edition of the *Contrat Social*, a work which, despite its brevity, requires a great deal of skilled elucidation, and needs to be brought into relation with the earlier and later utterances of its eloquent author. The complete collection of the political writings of the great Genevese publicist, sponsored by the same editor and published by the Cambridge University Press in 1915, however indispensable to the specialist, is beyond the resources of the man in the street; and both old and new students will turn with gratitude to this cheap, handy, and well-printed edition of the French text, enriched as it is by a valuable introduction, appendices, and copious notes. It is not too much to say that even those who have devoted considerable time and attention to the celebrated treatise will find novelty and instruction in these pages.

Professor Vaughan is not only a learned and conscientious commentator, but a man with a message. To his admiring eyes the *Contrat Social*, "despite omissions, inconsistencies, and exaggerations, remains the greatest work on political philosophy that has appeared since the *Politics* of Aristotle—the most original in conception, the richest in speculative ideas, and the most fruitful in results." This handsome testimonial, he is aware, will come as a surprise to most of his readers; but that, he argues, is because the system has been imperfectly understood. To most Englishmen Rousseau stands out as the revolutionary iconoclast, the ruthless disintegrator of society, the inspired emancipator of the individual from the yoke of political and ecclesiastical tyrannies. This, however, is only the teaching of the early essays which brought him fame, and is superseded by the work of his maturity. "The distinctive and original strain in his contribution to political philosophy lies in his exaltation of the State." The gulf between the earlier and

later doctrines is at first sight too wide to bridge, but the professor contends that it is more apparent than real.

"The State which Rousseau disparages in the *Discourse on Inequality* is not the ideal State of the *Contrat Social*, but the actual State known to us from experience and history. What excites his mislike and suspicion is not the State but Society. His ideal, alike in the *Discourse* and in *Emile*, is, no doubt, individual freedom; freedom, however, not in the sense of immunity from the control of the State but in that of withdrawal from all the oppressions and all the corruptions of Society. In both treatises alike it is not the State but Society which is the enemy. Society once given, the State is bound to follow as the only possible remedy for its abuses. And the only form of State which can hope to achieve this end is that which has absolute power over all its members, strong and weak, rich and poor alike. So far from pleading the cause of individualism, he is its most powerful assailant. Before the *Contrat Social* the whole tide of things, both in thought and action, had flowed strongly in favour of individualism. Since that day—England is the one marked exception—it has set steadily in the opposite direction."

Some readers may perhaps think that Professor Vaughan has pressed a little too far in his crusade against the legend of Rousseau's individualism; but his arguments, which are marshalled with skill and stated with rare vigour, must at any rate be carefully weighed before they are rejected. The discussions of other fundamental problems, above all whether the contract was regarded by the author as a concrete transaction or a symbolic presentation of an ideal, are no less admirable, but raise less controversial issues. The introduction is followed by two long and scholarly notes on the theory of contract and on Rousseau's relation to the successive constitutions of France during the Revolution. The volume ends with a bibliography and a brief survey of the disciples, the rivals and the interpreters who have followed one another in rapid succession for the last century and a half.

Mr. Hassall's edition of Bolingbroke's *Letters on Patriotism* and the *Idea of a Patriot King* is naturally a much slighter performance, for they scarcely touch the fundamental issues of political philosophy, and their influence has been small. The introduction provides a brief and readable sketch of the career and teaching of the man denounced by Macaulay as a "brilliant knave" and eulogised by Disraeli as "one of the ablest men who ever lived." Mr. Hassall, himself the author of a life of Bolingbroke, is to be congratulated on producing a handy and well-printed edition of a classic; but in a second edition he should correct the spelling of the names of Mr. Sichel and Mr. Monypenny, whose writings are included in the brief list of "Books for Reference."

G. P. GOOCH.

Oxford Historical and Literary Studies. Volume IX. Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774. By M. E. MONCKTON JONES. Clarendon Press, 1918. 12s. 6d.

The Expansion of British India, 1818-1858. By G. ANDERSON, M.A., and M. SUBEDAR, B.A., B.Sc. G. Bell and Sons, 1918. 4s. 6d.

THESE are two excellent books on the history of British India, differing in kind, and dealing with different periods, but either of them valuable; the first, for minute first-hand research into two difficult but most fruitful years in India, the first two years of

Warren Hastings' Government of Bengal, before his statesmanship was thwarted and crippled by the Council called into existence by Lord North's regulating Act, and by the venomous opposition of Philip Francis; the second, for a sketch of the growth of the British Empire in India during the momentous forty years from the end of the Maratha Wars in 1818 to the end of the Mutiny in 1858, consisting mainly of extracts from standard books and published minutes and despatches.

The title of Miss Monckton Jones's book adds: "with Appendixes of hitherto unpublished documents"; and she tells us in her Preface that the aim of the book is to present an account of Hastings' "economic, civil, and judicial measures for the relief of the distressed natives, . . . in the words of the company's servants themselves, adding in the introductory chapters no more than was necessary to connect the documents on one thread." She has put into print, and thereby made easily accessible for the first time, a large number of MS. documents at the India Office and the British Museum, and has achieved with infinite care and labour a first-rate piece of original work. She does not do justice to her own writing. The introductory chapters are much more than merely connecting links; they are very clear and able expositions of highly technical and most complicated matters. Her book follows very opportunely on Professor Neill's "Historical Revision" of Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings, which appeared in the April number of *HISTORY*. It is the latest and assuredly one of the most substantial and effective of the many writings which have controverted Macaulay and done justice to Hastings. Not that Miss Monckton Jones enters the lists against Macaulay, whose name appears only to be once mentioned in the book. Nor does she discuss questions round which controversy has raged and attack and defence of Hastings have gathered. Thus she contents herself with only a few lines of reference in her own words to the Rohilla War, to the effect that "a joint expedition to subdue the Rohillas, and by annexing the territory they had seized to secure Oudh on the north-west, was also planned at this time"; that it was heartily approved both by the Council at Calcutta and by the Court of Directors; that Hastings had two motives for it; first, and from his own point of view foremost, to safeguard the strategic position of Bengal; secondly, to effect economies; and that the double aim was "the inevitable result of his anomalous position as vicegerent, not for a king, but for a company of merchants." In speaking of the territory which the Rohillas had seized she implies what Professor Neill has stated explicitly, that Rohilkhand was a State with a Hindu population, which had been overrun and appropriated not very many years previously by Afghans; and it was these Afghan invaders, not the children of the soil, who were warred against and driven out.

But Miss Jones is not concerned to argue back and fore the moral rights and wrongs of this or that transaction. She is out to show and to prove verbatim by first-hand documents what was the bedrock of Warren Hastings' policy, and what was his legacy to the English in India and to the natives of India in after ages. The short passage about the Rohillas occurs in a chapter on "Initiation of Reforms"; and among the documents in the appendix to the chapter is a very interesting letter from Hastings to Lord Clive, whose work he was undoing "as much in external engagements as

by the overthrow of the dual system of internal Government." The letter is dated November 12th, 1772, and in it Hastings states as his guiding principles: "It will be my study to confirm without extending the power of the Company in this country, to cultivate the arts of peace, to establish a regular administration of Justice, to reduce the enormous expenses of the Company to fixed bounds, and to prune them as much as possible from remote wars and foreign connexions." Miss Jones compares him to the younger Pitt, in that he "became famous for his conduct of inevitable wars, but was as averse from them in Asia as Pitt was in Europe." He was a lover of peace as essential to the well-being of the people, and his heart was most of all with the down-trodden and long-suffering peasantry, the cultivators of the soil. In his constructive work during these two years Miss Jones holds that he laid the foundations of the system which has endured and borne rich fruit down to the present hour, of clean administration, equitable collection of revenue, assured land tenure, courts of Justice adequate and easy of access; and yet again she likens him to Pitt, as having been at pains to build up the new order on the basis of the old, to revive and restore native institutions, so far as they were intrinsically sound, to govern not merely with a single eye to the welfare of the governed, but by machinery with which the governed were familiar. Whatever blemishes there were in the career of Warren Hastings, assuredly he was a great, far-sighted, sympathetic ruler of the best English type.

In *The Expansion of British India* Professors Anderson and Subedar have given us the first of a series of three books, of which the general title is *The Last Days of the Company*; the other two volumes will deal with the same period, 1818-1858, but from different points of view. The series is defined as a source book of Indian history, and is intended primarily for the use of Indian students. To judge from this first book of the three, the trio should have a wide circulation and be largely used in schools at home as well as in India. There can be no better way of teaching to the coming generation the main outlines of the history of India, in the most critical and history-making years of the nineteenth century, than by grouping together passages of the best authorities, in addition to State documents, and by giving, in their own words, the views either of the actors themselves or of standard authors whose judgments are recognised as trustworthy. The extracts have been admirably diversified. We have, for instance, Sir William Napier's account of his brother's victory at Miani, which settled the fate of Sind; a portion of Sir Robert Peel's speech in the House of Commons on Sir Henry Hardinge's policy towards the Sikhs; Lord Dalhousie's minute enumerating the territorial acquisitions in India during his term of office; Sir Edwin Arnold's account of the Koh-i-Noor diamond. Moreover, the two authors or compilers have done their own part of the work skilfully and well. Their writing is clear, concise, and temperate; and they have succeeded in giving such continuity as was required to make the book interesting to general readers, as well as to students. Those who read the book will derive from it a sound and accurate impression of Indian history during the years which it covers, and a just judgment of those men who played the foremost part in that history. There is one drawback to the book, that it has no index.

C. P. LUCAS.

A History of South Africa. By DOROTHEA FAIRBRIDGE. Oxford University Press, 1918. 3s. 6d.

Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795-1910. Selected and Edited with an Introduction by G. W. EYBERS. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1918. 21s.

It would be impossible to find books standing at more opposite poles of method and of aim than the two here bracketed. The one point that they have in common is that they are both, in their own way, highly to be commended. Miss Fairbridge's volume calls for little comment. It is a singularly vivid and well-written sketch of South African history, from the Glacial epoch to the enactment of the Union. It is accompanied by some admirable illustrations and maps, and, to those who have not the necessary time at their disposal to make a detailed study of South African history, this little volume can be strongly recommended as giving a clear, well-proportioned, and accurate outline of the past from the point of view of a writer who combines loyalty to the British Empire with loyalty to the "youngest of the nations."

Mr. Eybers's task has been of a wholly different character. With no little ability and industry he has made a collection of constitutional documents which will be of the utmost service to serious students of South African history. The subject is dealt with under the five separate headings of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Orange Free State, the South African Republic, and the Union. Some of the matter in the first two chapters, dealing with local government and the administration of justice, might perhaps have been omitted without great loss; but the material relating to the republics is of exceptional value; most of the Free State laws, here printed in Dutch and in English, having been hitherto inaccessible to the ordinary English student. It should be added that several papers relating to the Great Trek are here included, which have hitherto remained unknown except to a few officials and historians.

There being so much for which to give thanks, it seems a little churlish to adopt a note of complaint; but it does seem that the subject of the Union is most inadequately dealt with. The chapter relating to it consists of the bare text of the South Africa Act, 1909. How much would its value have been enhanced by extracts from Sir George Grey's suggestive dispatches, by first-hand authority relating to Lord Carnarvon's ill-fated attempt to settle the question, and by the text of the Act of Parliament which was its outcome. The omission of passages from Lord Selborne's memorable State paper is yet more regrettable. Again, mention should, surely, have been made of the publication by the South African Government in 1911 of the *Minutes of Proceedings of the South African National Convention* that framed the Union, which, in spite of their limitations, throw considerable light upon the history. In the Introduction we could have spared the writer's not very helpful lucubrations on the subject of Imperial Conferences and the future of the Empire, wherein he has not taken the trouble to understand the point of view of either the advocates or the opponents of Imperial Federation, in return for a fuller discussion of the subject of the Provincial Councils, wherein, so far as British precedents were concerned, the South African Constitution broke new ground. On such a subject the views of a cultivated and wide-minded Afrikaner would be of special interest.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that what to the dull Anglo-Saxon intellect seems to be the localism and particularism of the Orange Free State farmers is to our author their "unimpaired idealism," the destined "bearer of ideas to the other communities in the present century." Yet more startling is the following *obiter dictum* upon the American Constitution, wherein the author, after pointing out the supremacy of the Transvaal Volksraad, as of the British Parliament, naively goes on; "The absence of a similar provision in the United States Constitution has in past years led to much trouble." Lastly, the causes of the Great Trek, as set out in Nos. 92, 100, 106, and 107 of the Documents, should be carefully considered before accepting blindly Mr. Eybers's interpretation of them, which, to our mind, reflects too closely a more modern point of view. Still, on such a subject Mr. Eybers can claim to speak with fuller knowledge, and whether we agree or disagree on questions of opinion, we shall be at one in offering Mr. Eybers heartfelt thanks for an honest and laborious piece of work, such as does not often gladden the eye of a teacher of Colonial history.

H. E. EGERTON.

Portugal Old and Young: An Historical Study. By GEORGE YOUNG. Oxford Univ. Press, 1917. 5s.

AFTER reading through Mr. Young's book, I feel that a notice would only be justified if it served to warn readers that fancy too often takes the place of fact in his strange philosophy of Portuguese history. To explain why Portugal is fighting with the Allies, the author goes back eight centuries, though if he had inquired in Lisbon he would have been told by five out of six educated men that the immediate reason was the determination of the Democratic Party to advance its own interests; and it is quite incorrect to identify President Arriaga's *coup d'état* with hostility to England. Had King Manoel or Dr. Sidonio Paes been in power, Portugal would have entered the war all the same, but on conditions that safeguarded her dignity and rights, and the German ships would never have been ceded almost *en bloc* and without a proper contract. When Mr. Young lived in Lisbon, he was in touch with Dr. Theophilo Braga and other friends of the party which for its tyranny was overthrown in December last, and, intelligent though he is, he has been woefully misled by his mentors.

He asserts that the Republic showed no inclination to suppress religion, forgetting that Affonso Costa publicly prophesied that his Separation Law would bring Catholicism to an end in two generations—a law, by the way, which prohibits the teaching of Christianity, even in private schools. Mr. Young explains this drastic measure as being a reaction against the "political oppression" of the Church, a piece of stock rhetoric without foundation, because since 1834 the Church has been in complete bondage to the State. Indeed, the chief cause of Portuguese decadence in the nineteenth century was probably the small influence of religion on the national life. In his reading of earlier history Mr. Young is no more reliable, and his novel statements, unsupported by evidence, recall those of Dr. Braga, the least accurate of scholars—*e.g.*, Madrid and Rome conspired to use religion as a means of riveting their foreign yoke on Portugal; the Spanish Inquisition brought in the Spanish occupation (pp. 25, 26);

and the account of the Revolution of 1640 is very erroneous (p. 163 *et seq.*).

Pombal laid all the ills of Portugal to the charge of the Jesuits, and Mr. Young has a like bugbear. To the "betrayal of nationalism by ecclesiasticism and of Christianity by the Church," he attributes in part the Moorish, Spanish, and French occupations. He discovers the modern Portuguese intellectual (an anti-clerical) to be the heir of the Crusader, and gravely asserts that it is necessary to understand King Affonso Henriques, builder of monasteries, if one is to understand Affonso Costa, their destroyer. The specimens of democratic historiography are too many to quote. Young Portugal was "alive and kicking" in the time of D. Diniz; John II. executed "some hundred or so leading nobles," though there were not so many, leading or otherwise, until the Liberal *régime* sold titles; Philip of Spain succeeded in conquering Portugal because he had "collared the machine" (pp. 75, 108, 140).

Alliterative generalisations are dangerous and usually untrue, like the following: "The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in Portugal were dominated by a virulent theocracy, a vicious aristocracy, and a vapid autocracy." Mr. Young is not content to let facts speak. Now and then, however, he rises above his prejudices and sees clearly. He does justice to the Jesuit missionaries, but he thinks the Society was an instrument of the Inquisition, though, in fact, the two bodies were either rivals or foes, and under Pedro II. the Holy Office was suspended for six years by the efforts of Father Antonio Vieira. He also recognises that a religious ideal recruited the Portuguese for imperial enterprise, souls, not profit, being their aim, in marked contrast to the English and Dutch. Though Mr. Young is an ardent nationalist, he does not object to the wild proposal of British Labour to found an international state in Africa, which would rob Portugal of her colonies, but he may be sure that this would unite all Portuguese against England. The later part of the book shows much thought, and is undeniably clever, but, to sum it all up, it is a political pamphlet, in conversational style, by an admirer of the Russian Revolution, in which history is made to justify a body of ignorant and not over-scrupulous demolishers, who translated into action some of the discredited ideas of 1789.

EDGAR PRESTAGE.

The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans. By R. W. SETON-WATSON, D.LITT. London: Constable and Co., 1917. 10s. 6d.

DR. SETON-WATSON is the leading champion of the Southern Slav cause in Great Britain, and has deservedly won by his writings an European reputation as an authority upon the complex problems of Austria-Hungary and the Near East. The present volume, in which he gives a rapid review of the Eastern question down to the eve of the Treaty of Bucharest in August, 1913, shows a profound mastery of the historical literature of this difficult subject. Practically no point of importance has been omitted in his masterly survey of South Slavonic and Roumanian history during the nineteenth and present centuries; it is in respect of Greece alone that his narrative is somewhat lacking, scarcely doing justice, for example, to the great figure of Trikoúpes, the former of the two first-class statesmen produced by modern Hellas. No one but a specialist could have written such

a clear and succinct sketch of the evolutions and the revolutions of the Balkan peoples; it is only to be regretted that the call of public service prevented him from putting the finishing touch to his picture by describing and discussing the Treaty of Bucharest and its results. But to expect an absolutely final book on the Balkans is to imitate Horace's yokel, waiting on the river's bank till the stream should have ceased to flow.

The author writes throughout in a spirit of moderation, rare in works dealing with racial questions. He justly points out that the real reason for getting rid of the Turk from the Balkan peninsula is that Turkish rule has been incompetent and paralysing in every country with which it has been concerned. The most backward Balkan government is far more progressive than the Turk at his best. A system which allowed Valona to rot in her marshes, Durazzo, once "the tavern of the Adriatic," to become a fever-stricken roadstead, Macedonia a wilderness, and Crete a roadless chaos, stands self-condemned. Nor, in judging of the newly emancipated Balkan States should we ever lose sight of two facts: that they emerged from the long night of Turkish misrule much in the condition of our ancestors at the close of the Wars of the Roses, thus stepping at a bound from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries; and that their subsequent development has been systematically hampered by the jealousies and ignorance of the Great Powers, whose management of their own affairs has not been so conspicuously successful as to make them desirable guardians of Balkan races. Hence the school, of which Dr. Seton-Watson is so distinguished an exponent, advocates "The Balkan Peninsula for the Balkan Peoples," or, as Prince Alexander of Serbia recently put it to the King of Italy, "if we in the Balkans want to cut each others' throats, that should be our own affair." Scores of instances might be given in which Balkan statesmen with accurate local knowledge have been overruled by ill-informed Western diplomats to the disadvantage of all concerned, and the British Foreign Office, the most sincere of all such establishments in its disinterestedness towards the Balkan races, has been perhaps the worst offender by reason of its ignorance. One Sir William White in a generation does not atone for the harm done by bureaucrats ignorant of the history, languages, and mentality, and contemptuous of the aspirations, of the Balkan races.

Dr. Seton-Watson deals in considerable detail with the Balkan League and the two Balkan Wars of 1912-13. The reviewer can confirm from a conversation with the then Italian Foreign Minister, the late Marchese Di San Giuliano, his theory of the Austrian encouragement to Italy in the Libyan War. That diplomatist also underestimated the value of Greece and Serbia in 1912, unlike the author, who, however, curiously omits the Greek victory at Sarantáporon. He brings out well the salient point of Serbian policy at that time—the desire for an outlet on the sea. Once the Serbs were ousted from their hard-won occupation of Durazzo by Austria (supported by San Giuliano),¹ the second Balkan War became inevitable.

The author, himself a Scot, draws an interesting parallel between modern Serbo-Bulgarian relations and those between England and Scotland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A few slight

¹ *Diplomatische Aktenstücke betreffend die Ereignisse am Balkan.* (Wien. 1914.) Pp. 43, 48, 51.

errors in the historical part of the book are doubtless due to his absence from London. Thus the second Russo-Turkish War of the last century began in 1828 (p. 53), the Triple Alliance was signed in 1882 (p. 115), there is some repetition in Chapter IV. and on p. 120 (*cf.* p. 69). It is not quite correct to say that Bosnia "was reduced to the condition of a vassal State" by Dushan in 1350. The great Serbian Tsar invaded Bosnia in that year, but failed to capture the Bosnian capital of Bobovatz, and retired to his own city of Cattaro. Only at the last gasp of mediæval Serbia was the virtual union of Serbia with Bosnia achieved for a brief year under the Bosnian Crown Prince, Stephen Tomashevich. Much information about early Bulgaria and its capital of Pliska, unknown to Jireček, may be found in Prof. Bury's *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, where the question of Cyril and Methodios is fully discussed. New editions of Driault and Yakshitch have appeared since the excellent bibliography was compiled, and Finlay should be cited in Tozer's edition. We shall look forward to a second edition of this admirable book.

WILLIAM MILLER.

Japan: the Rise of a Modern Power. By ROBERT P. PORTER.
Clarendon Press. 1918. 348 pp. 5s.

THIS is a handy volume, crammed full of interesting information, designed to show how the old Japan, a unique mediæval kingdom of fifty years ago, has been developed in the course of some fifteen hundred years of history, and how that kingdom finally rose as if by giant steps to be a modern State, a Power among the Great Powers of to-day. The first two-thirds of the book are historical (which we learn from the preface are mainly from the pen of Mr. James B. Rye), written in an interesting style, special pains being taken to point out every trace of contact between Japan and Europe. At one time towards the end of the sixteenth century Japan came near being a Roman Catholic country, though at last Christianity was prohibited and the Jesuit and other missionaries expelled. The country was closed at the same time to all intercourse with Europeans, except the Dutch, a few of whose traders were allowed to stay under severe restrictions at Dejima, in Nagasaki. This state of things lasted over two hundred years, till the middle of the last century, when the country was again thrown open to the world. The strictly historical part is followed by chapters on the occidentalising of Japan, the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and the Great War. And the latter part of the book contains chapters on the resources and industrial progress, trade and industry, etc.

The greatest difficulty with Europeans in their attempt to become acquainted with the history of Japan must lie in the strangeness of the names of persons and places. These are generally written in Chinese ideographs, and very often the distinction between one and another lies, when they are pronounced alike, as often happens, only in the difference of the ideographs in which they are written. This difficulty is almost impossible to remove. But the author has taken pains, as already pointed out, to show that there have been a great many more points of contact between Europe and Japan than most people would imagine; and doubtless this fact will help the readers of this book to become more interested in its contents. After all, the

East is as human as the West. If the two have occasionally met in the past, the time has now come for them to be joined together, nevermore to part from each other. To bring about the closer union of the East and West, no book can be more heartily recommended than this little volume on Japan.

TOKIWO YOKOI.

British Foreign Policy in Europe to the End of the Nineteenth Century. A Rough Outline. By Prof. H. E. EGERTON. Macmillans. 1917. Pp. xi+440. 6s.

The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century. By SIR AUGUSTUS OAKES, C.B., and R. B. MOWAT. With an introduction by SIR H. ERLE RICHARDS. Clarendon Press. 1918. Pp. xii+403. 7s. 6d.

Wars and Treaties, 1815 to 1914. By ARTHUR PONSONBY, M.P. Allen and Unwin. Pp. 100. 2s.

The Secret Agreements. With a Preface by CHARLES RODEN BUXTON and nine maps. National Labour Press. 1918. Pp. 19. 3d.

PROFESSOR EGERTON'S rough outline of British foreign policy in Europe is the best account of the subject we have read, and it will be none the less welcome to a majority of readers because it offers a vigorous and stubborn defence of British action throughout, except perhaps when Professor Egerton follows somewhat too closely the trenchant criticisms which the late Lord Salisbury, then Lord Robert Cecil, contributed to the *Quarterly Review* on Lord John Russell's action or inaction over the Schleswig-Holstein question. The great merit of the book is due to the extent to which it is based, not on other histories, but on the despatches and State-papers of men like Castlereagh, Canning, Palmerston, and Lord Salisbury, and the liberal extracts here printed are often extraordinarily *à propos* of current problems of foreign policy. Nor, while Professor Egerton makes no secret of his own point of view, does he palliate or deny the blunders committed in the past by his own as well as other parties. But if the wisdom of Castlereagh (which no competent scholar now denies) and of Canning (to whom Professor Egerton is perhaps hardly just) and their successors is a source of legitimate satisfaction, we read with something of a shock the arguments, used in the British Press a generation ago and quoted by Professor Egerton, in favour of a German right of way through Belgium in the event of another Franco-German war. Our chief criticism of the book arises from the limits its author has imposed upon himself. A defence of British foreign policy which excludes all other continents than Europe cannot be convincing or complete. German criticism, for instance, has been concerned less with Britain's conduct in Europe than with her methods of expansion in other continents. We abandoned aggression on the Continent in the sixteenth century because we had found our true vocation on the sea; and our successful expansion in every other quarter of the globe deprives us of much credit, save on the ground of prudence, for the absence of annexationist aims in our European policy. The same consideration has determined our attitude towards the Balance of Power; we have upheld it in Europe, because the more evenly Europe was balanced the freer we should be upon the sea and in other continents. But we never had any affection for a balance of power upon

the sea, in North America, Africa, or Australia; we do not much concern ourselves with it in South America, and the wrongs of a little Uruguay threatened by Brazil or the Argentine would assuredly never move us to a passionate crusade.

The three other books or pamphlets before us supply or attempt to supply the documentary materials for a view of nineteenth-century European history. That by Sir Augustus Oakes and Mr. Mowat is the only one calling for serious notice, and it cannot be commended without some reservation. The documents are, of course, valuable, and they are well-selected, though the translation leaves something to be desired. There was surely no need to retain the old translation of "Council of Confederation" for *Bundesrath*, and "Imperial Diet" for *Reichstag*; the "Balloon of Alsace" is not a happy rendering of the *Ballon d'Alsace*, and to say that "the German Government shall be surrogated in respect of all the rights, etc.," is no more English on p. 286 than it would have been on p. 287, where *serait subrogé* is translated "should acquire." But the introductory pages to the various treaties are brief, sometimes jejune, and not always accurate. The account of the French Revolution on pp. 16-19 is unnecessary and almost puerile; and the Belgian guarantee of 1839 is misinterpreted as binding the signatory Powers to make war in defence of Belgium's neutrality. That was the purport of the treaties of 1870, which were only to remain in force until one year after peace had been concluded. It is no more correct to say that "Holstein owed allegiance to Denmark" (p. 186) than it would be to say that Scotland owed allegiance to England from 1603 to 1707; and the whole of the Schleswig-Holstein problem is inadequately and inaccurately treated. The authors write of the Holy Alliance when they mean the Quadruple Alliance (pp. 36, 99), imply on p. 328 that Turkey retained Albania in 1913, and state on p. 5 that, according to the Constitution of the United States, "the treaty-making power is vested in the Senate."

Mr. Ponsonby's booklet is not a cheap two-shillings'-worth. The introduction is a sterile fragment of pacifism equally contemptuous of war and of diplomacy as means of settling international disputes. Wars, we are told, are "to the generation that experiences them unmixed evils." How many Americans, Greeks, Italians viewed their wars of liberation in that light, and what is the sense of pretending that Waterloo was an unmixed evil to us, Sadowa and Sedan unmixed evils to the Germans, or Marathon and Salamis to the Greeks? The text of the treaties is not given, and the comments are singularly inept. Sardinia is said to have joined in the Crimean war for "tactical" reasons (p. 36); the American Civil War is introduced with the remark that "the cultivation of cotton progressed under very different conditions in the North and South" (p. 42); on p. 33 the achievement of Hungarian autonomy is introduced without any reference to the war of 1866, and that war (pp. 50-51) is treated without any mention of its Hungarian or its Italian consequences.

We call attention to the *Secret Agreements*, which were published by the Bolshevik Government in November, 1917, mainly to disclaim the singular notion that it is patriotic to ignore the truth that is known in every neutral and enemy country; but we can note with gratification that our own Government appears to have had nothing to do with the proposal for dismembering Germany contained in the first of these documents. We cannot, however, escape responsibility for

the terms upon which Italy was induced to enter the war, though the agreement has been so comprehensively broken or ignored that we may hope it has lost its binding power; and it is no less a matter for satisfaction that the Russian Government mainly concerned in the other agreements no longer exists.

A. F. POLLARD.

Problems of the Peace. By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON. Allen and Unwin. 1917. Pp. 365. 7s. 6d.

The Bulwarks of Peace. By HEBER L. HART, K.C., LL.D. Methuen. 1918. Pp. xiii + 221. 3s. 6d.

The Pan-German Programme. With an Introduction by EDWYN BEVAN. 1918. Allen and Unwin. Pp. 32. 1s.

The League of Nations. By VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, K.G. Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. 15. 3d.

THE four treatises reviewed in this notice all deal from different points of view with the nature of the settlement to follow this war. Mr. Dawson prides himself upon "the unexpected moderation" which friends who read some of his chapters discovered in them, and it is well to have placed before us arguments for a case with which most of us will not agree; for it is certain that we shall make no permanent peace out of the passions of war, nor on conditions which ignore every interest but our own. A good deal of Mr. Dawson's criticism is sound, and every Englishman who is capable of reasoning instead of merely feeling about the war and its issues will be the better for pondering Mr. Dawson's contentions. Nevertheless, we cannot avoid the conclusion that Mr. Dawson's long familiarity with German ideas has led him to adopt some arguments and principles which seem to us unsound. He is vigorous enough in his denunciation of German autocracy and militarism, but appears to have considerable sympathy with the foundations upon which that autocracy and militarism have been built; for, after all, they are symptoms of political disease rather than the disease itself, and if we admit, as Mr. Dawson seems to do, that Germany must retain the mines of Lorraine because her armaments depend thereon, and will starve unless she is given "a larger tropical empire" (p. 123), we can hardly blame her for cherishing the militarism whereby alone she could secure these things and the autocracy which is its culmination. But even on Mr. Dawson's own showing the population of Germany is only 310 per square mile against the 618 of England and Wales; it is not our colonies which save us from starvation, and the burden of militarism was an obstacle rather than a help to Germany in seeking a similar solution in domestic industry and overseas trade. The fallacy is the characteristically German autocratic and militarist idea that nations can only rely for subsistence upon trade with their own dominions, and that trade expands with the growth of dominion and shrinks with its contraction. It was the increase of our trade with the United States after the loss of our American colonies which cured us of that pernicious doctrine; and the examples of Holland, Belgium, and Denmark also disprove that notion of prosperity depending upon military power which underlies Mr. Dawson's plea for tenderness towards German might. The defects alike of his history and his logic are illustrated in his ingenuous remark that Frederick the Great

"held the elective principle in such regard" that he and Catherine the Great insisted upon its retention in Poland! Their reason, of course, was that they knew the elective principle had been one of the chief causes of Polish anarchy, and they were bent on maintaining that anarchy until the time was ripe for the final partition of Poland.

Dr. Heber Hart is less concerned with the details of the settlement than with the general basis of peace. He calls his volume a "Primer of Peace," and it is a sort of manual, in which he analyses and explains the ideas and assumptions underlying the "League of Nations." From this point of view it is a lucid and valuable piece of work, and we entirely concur in most of the "propositions" with which Dr. Hart sums up and concludes his various arguments. His criticism of International Law, of the "super-State," and of "the dogmas of the independence of every separate State and of the equality of all States with one another," and his demonstration of the increasing predominance of public opinion over law, are admirable; and three-quarters of the book can be heartily commended to students of the problem of peace-organisation. It is a pity that in the concluding chapters of the book Dr. Hart's almost fanatical advocacy of Imperial Federation should have apparently upset his balance and betrayed him into propositions anything but conducive to the end he has in view. This break is partly due to an inadequate historical equipment. It is almost amusing nowadays to find a writer quoting Sir James Mackintosh on Magna Carta as "the immortal claim of England upon the esteem of mankind," and asserting that "neither the Parliament nor the judicial system of England was in any sense a natural growth"; and one can only smile at the naivety of the proposition that, "inasmuch as federation is necessary, any difficulties in carrying it into effect must be surmounted." But it is a serious blot on the sanity of this book and on its usefulness as a contribution to the cause of peace when its author concludes with the dogma that "the federation of the British Commonwealth of Nations is an essential condition of the maintenance of general peace," more especially when that federation is to include a host of hitherto independent States, who are told that their weakness will in any case be fatal to their independence, and when its ambition will be to realise Kant's ideal of "a common centre . . . around which other States would cluster in order to secure their liberties." What a charming prospect for the "little peoples" whose cause we are supposed to be championing, and what an attractive programme for our greater Allies! Was there ever anything more Pan-Germanic in its conception than this proposal of a Pan-Anglo-Saxondom to embrace and dominate the world? Truly some of our apostles know not the spirit they are of.

There is, however, no mistaking the spirit of the Six Associations and the German "Intellectuals," whose petition and manifesto have been edited with an introduction by Mr. Bevan. These documents date from 1915, but we know from the more recent domestic history of Germany that nothing save defeat will wean it from the doctrine they contain, and we are glad to have them on record in a cheap and handy form. They also provoke a smile which can seldom be extracted from the grimness of the war; for after demanding the annexation of Belgium, parts of Luxemburg, the Briey district, Verdun and Belfort, "the natural line of fortifications of France," the coast

and the Channel ports as far as the Somme, "at least parts of the Baltic Provinces," a colonial empire "adequate to satisfy Germany's economic interests," the disintegration of Russia, and a war indemnity exacted from England "without any consideration whatever," these delightful Germans proclaim that they "must not strive to dominate and exploit the world like the English," and conclude as follows:—"The German Mind is, in our opinion, beyond all doubt our one supremely valuable asset. It is the one priceless possession amongst all our possessions"!

There could be no greater contrast than that between this insensate German arrogance and greed and the sober idealism of Viscount Grey's pamphlet on the League of Nations. It hardly needs bringing to the notice of our readers because we can hardly imagine an intelligent English man or woman who has not read it. Possibly its most important content consists in the grave statement of the conditions essential to any such organisation of peace. That, in one or other of its less ambitious forms, it is a practical proposition cannot be doubted; whether it will be adopted is another question. It will not without a determined effort, for there are abundant signs that in every country the attitude of many will be that, this war once over, there will not be another anything like it for many years, and that it is not worth while sacrificing to the problematical interests of our children the gain which unfettered sovereignty and the unrestricted exploitation of our advantages may bring to the present generation of profiteers.

A. F. POLLARD.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE Very Rev. Sir George Adam Smith's *Syria and the Holy Land* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1918, pp. 56, 1s. net) should be of great value alike to students of ancient history and those interested in the social, economic, and political problems of modern Palestine. There are two excellent maps on a large scale of Syria, Mesopotamia, and adjacent lands, and of Palestine ancient and modern. The first part contains a sketch of the principal geographical features of the country; the latter part discusses the prospects of Zionism and the dangers which must be faced in any resettlement of the Jews in the Holy Land. Amongst much purely ephemeral literature, this is a pamphlet to be bought and kept; it is a wonderful shilling's-worth.

N. H. B.

The Climax of Civilisation, by Correa Moylan Welsh (Sturgis and Walton Co., New York, 1917, pp. 150), was originally written as the introductory part of a single work intended to bear the title *Socialism and Feminism, with an Introduction on the Climax of Civilisation*. The material, however, proved too copious, and the introduction is thus published separately; the two succeeding volumes are entitled respectively *Socialism* and *Feminism*. The author's aim is to show the great danger to the modern world alike of Socialism and Feminism—especially of Woman Suffrage. The book was written before the war, and much of it already seems strangely antiquated. The present volume is devoted to a consideration of civilisation cycles and the

causes of decay; the conclusion is drawn that "we have already entered the culminating period of our western white men's cycle of civilisation," but have not yet reached the period of decline. But seeds of decay are taking root, and the last chapter is devoted to "the problem of retardation," i.e., the retardation both in matters physical and moral of the lethargy of decay. Together with much crudity the book contains many suggestions which would repay closer study and development. The most arresting section, in the judgment of the present reviewer, is Chapter III. on "Comparison of Cycles"; the most elaborate chapter (Chapter VI. on the "Decay of Ancient Institutions") is vitiated by the fact that too little attention is paid to chronology: Cicero rubs shoulders with Salvia, and the Lex Papia Poppaea with the Theodosian Code. But however little students may agree with the author's conclusions, Mr. Walsh's book should at least challenge the reader's criticism and stimulate his interest.

N. H. B.

MISS NANNIE NIEMEYER tells us that her *Stories for the History Hour from Augustus to Rolf* (Harrap, London, 1917, pp. 253, 3s.) "are written solely for the purpose of being told. They are not intended for children's reading, but for teachers' telling. The stories will owe everything to anyone who will speak them well"; their aim is "to put the most important truth which a child can comprehend into a form which a child can understand." They cover the period 50 B.C. to A.D. 900. The stories are well chosen and well told—told with a living imagination and wide sympathy. They are so interesting that a hardened historical student read them for the joy of them, and then to support his own very favourable judgment lent the book to teachers and to mothers who had a wider experience than his own of what would appeal to children; and the judgment of one and all was unhesitating, "This is a good book," and thus fortified he can only wish Miss Niemeyer's work all success, and hope that she may give us from later periods yet more stories for the history hour.

N. H. B.

UNDER the general editorship of Drs. Caroline A. J. Skeel, H. J. White, and J. P. Whitney, the S.P.C.K. has begun to publish a useful collection of "Texts for Students" in the original Greek and Latin without translation. It might be suggested that these booklets would be of even greater use to students if in each case a select bibliography were given of those recent studies of the texts which have not yet found their way into the popular manuals. Thus in these *Select Passages from Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio Cassius, illustrative of Christianity in the First Century*, arranged by H. J. White, D.D., the editor might have referred *inter alia* to K. Linck's essay "De antiquissimis quae ad Jesum Nazarenum spectant testimoniis" in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XIV., 1 (Giessen, 1913); to A. Harnack's study "Der jüdische Geschichtsschreiber Josephus und Jesus Christus," *Internationale Monatschrift*, June, 1913; and to E. Norden's article (separately reprinted: Teubner, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 30, from the *Neue Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, etc.*, I. Abteilung, Bd. XXXI., Heft 9 (1913), pp. 637-66), "Josephus und Tacitus über Jesus Christus und eine Messianische Prophetie," as well as to Burkitt's treatment of the subject in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1913, pp. 135-44. Mention should further

have been made of the admirable work of Leon Hardy Canfield, *The Early Persecutions of the Christians* (with full bibliography) in "Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," vol. LV., No. 2 (New York, 1913), Chapters I. and II., and of F. C. Conybeare's *The Historical Christ* (London, 1914), Chapter V.

N. H. B.

It is difficult to understand the purpose of these volumes on *William Caxton* by Susan Cunningham, on *Cardinal Wolsey* by René Francis, and on *Queen Elizabeth* by Beatrice Marshall, 2s. 6d. each, in Harrap's series, "Heroes of All Time." Neither the choice of material, except, perhaps, in *William Caxton*, nor the style will make them attractive to children; the older reader will find little to help his historical thinking; the teacher or upper-form boy who looks for material for lessons or essays must be warned against inaccuracies of fact and a misleading emphasis which is still more dangerous. The volumes show the evils of the attempt to write historical monographs by people whose minds lack an adequate historical background. So long as the writers are concerned with political or biographical details they follow their authorities with fidelity if without discrimination, but when they give generalisations, especially on economic and constitutional matters, or allude to periods outside those with which their reference books immediately deal, their statements are surprising. "The English, as a nation, . . . have never contented themselves for long with any compromise. That is why England has Magna Charta, hereditary succession, constitutional Government, a National Church, an ideal of Imperialism"; "the distribution of the land was still [in the fifteenth century] on the old Saxon village plan: strips of arable field here, strips of pasture there"; "Elizabeth had been brought up in the religious principles which had dictated Henry VIII.'s policy of reforming the Church in accordance with a wider understanding of the Bible"; "the House of Commons [in Wolsey's time] insisted on its right of free debate and free vote, refusing, as it always has done since, and doubtless will always do in the future, to allow any ministerial influence to affect either debate or vote." In view of such remarks as these it seems mere cavilling to point out that Earl Rivers was not Lord President of the Council of the Marches in the second decade of Edward IV.'s reign, and that "the Rev. Silvester Horne, M.P.," would have been more astonished than the author of *Cardinal Wolsey* at "the spectacle of [himself as] a priest in the House of Commons." The merit of the three books is unequal, but the sentences quoted at random sufficiently illustrate their general weakness. The English in which they are written, and the full-page illustrations, do not increase their value. The most attractive part of the volumes is the publishers' paper wrapper.

C. B. F.

Miss E. GRIERSON's happy skill in writing for youthful readers is well maintained in her latest volume, *Our Scottish Heritage: A Simple History of the Scottish Church* (S.P.C.K., 1917, 5s. net). By the "Scottish Church" is meant the religious body officially known as the "Episcopal Church in Scotland," and the book is intended as a text-book of Scottish ecclesiastical history, from Roman times to the present day, for the younger members of that communion. In these circumstances, the High Church bias of the

authoress may perhaps be considered a necessity, but it precludes the recommendation of the book as an impartial sketch of the subject.
H. W. M.

MR. H. F. B. WHEELER'S *A Little Book of Napoleon Wisdom* (London, George G. Harrap and Co.) does not quite fulfil the expectation raised by its title. It is less a collection of such Napoleonic *dicta* as would be generally considered wise than a collection of *dicta* illustrating Napoleon's moods at different periods of his life, or the different parts which he chose to assume for political ends. As such, it is fairly compiled, presenting, together with flashes of real insight and outbreaks of real feeling, much that is merely commonplace or insincere. It is not, however, extensive enough to give an adequate selection of Napoleon's military or political aphorisms.

F. C. M.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S three lectures on *Nationalism* (Macmillans, 1917) are something more than an opportune contribution to the discussion of Indian reform; they are an addition to the literature of the world. They are a protest against that "organised self-interest of a whole people, where it is least human and least spiritual," which Sir Rabindranath calls the nation and we should call the State. The British *rāj* presents to his mind precisely those features which most appal us in the Prussian State—its ruthless repression of other loyalties than that to itself, its efficiency, and its octopus-like embrace. It is a natural protest from peoples who know much of caste, but little of national organisation, and to whom the idea of Indian nationality itself is the exotic offspring of British domination. Accustomed to the hand-made products of village industry, they miss the human touch in the machinery of European government and industry; they would prefer the personal rule of a native despot to the bloodless abstraction and cold efficiency of the Indian Civil Service, and *Nationalism* is the pathetic cry of a child's heart for personal guidance. There is poetry in it, too, and Sir Rabindranath (why did he accept so banal a Western bauble as a knighthood?) himself refers to the Japanese criticism of his writing as "the poetry of a defeated people." But there is wisdom as well, and "a sense of vision, the vision of the infinite reality in all finite things"; and we may well ponder his criticism that the idea of the nation or State is "one of the most powerful anæsthetics [? narcotics] that man has invented."

A. F. P.

PROFESSOR G. B. ADAMS'S *Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History* (Yale Univ. Press, 1918, 1.75 dollars) is a rapid but readable sketch of the growth of central government since the Norman Conquest. It is somewhat of a thesis based upon conclusions elaborated in his own *Origin of the English Constitution* (Yale Univ. Press, 1912, 2.50 dollars), and only students with some knowledge of constitutional history will appreciate the importance or the implications of his theories. Being confined to the central government, the essay perhaps naturally starts from the assumptions that the origins of our Constitution are Norman and Angevin rather than Anglo-Saxon, and that the fundamental feature of its development is that "England began its history with an absolute, and France with an almost powerless, monarchy." Hence progress in England took the form of limiting monarchy and in France of strengthening it. This view

requires some qualification, as does its corollary that Magna Carta was "the first attempt ever made in history to put into constitutional form the principle that the Government must obey the fundamental laws of the State" (p. 49). How would a thirteenth-century publicist have translated into language he could understand "the fundamental laws of the State"? Our impression is that he talked rather of mutual rights and obligations which the individual based upon laws which were certainly not the laws of the State; so far as there was a "State" at all—as distinct from general conditions of society like the feudal—it was the *regnum*, and its "laws" were those writs of Henry II. which the barons regarded as infringements upon their fundamental rights. Nor can we discover much substance in the usual talk about the right and power of Parliament to alter the succession in 1399, 1461, and 1485. In each case, if the king *de facto* was not also the king *de jure*, his writs were invalid, and the Parliament summoned thereby was no Parliament. It could have no right to do anything, not even to declare the king a usurper unless that king who had summoned the Parliament were a rightful king. The obvious explanation of the subservience of Parliament on each of those occasions is that no Parliament could declare itself incapable of making a declaration.

A. F. P.

IN *Janus and Vesta: A Study of the World Crisis and After* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1916) Mr. B. Branford writes as a seer and not as a historian. The prosaic historian has only to note that Mr. Branford's forecast of the future derives much of its inspiration from the study of the past, so that the facts of universal history, somewhat idealistically regarded, provide much of the material for our author's interesting vaticinations. His knowledge is wide; his interests are wider; and if plain facts from history are sometimes juxtaposed in strange and bewildering relations, they are seldom stated amiss. One of the most interesting sections, on "The Evolution of Universities," includes a translation of the striking address of Carducci on the occasion of the eighth centenary of the University of Bologna. All who read Mr. Branford's book will respect the sincerity, enthusiasm, and idealism of the writer, and most students will find some part of what he says that makes a real appeal to them. The only *caveat* there is need to put in is that it requires something of the prophet's imagination always to realise the practical bearing of Mr. Branford's views. Unluckily, historians who have latterly donned the prophet's mantle have been so discouraged by their pet predictions speedily refuting themselves that they are perhaps less sympathetic than they ought to be to the prophet's office.

T. F. T.

MR. C. GORE CHAMBERS' *Bedfordshire* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1917, 2s. 6d. net) is the latest addition to the admirable series of condensed "County Handbooks." Within the limit of some 200 pp. the author puts before us a very readable and instructive summary of the salient features necessary to afford a clear conception of the evolution of this county as a unit of civilisation. The work is divided into twenty-one sections, not the least interesting of which are those on geology, antiquities, and ecclesiastical architecture, and the excellent illustrations add much to the interest of the book. The sections on agriculture, market gardening, and industries would, however,

have been better placed at the end of the work. Especially interesting is the author's reference to the late Mr. Worthington Smith's discoveries of palæolithic remains at Caddington and Kensworth, which set at rest any doubt respecting the theory advanced concerning the discovery of similar remains at Abbeville in the middle of the last century. The Roll of Honour or list of Worthies is fairly comprehensive, but would have been more complete with the addition of the following names: Lord Fanhope, Lord Wenlock, Sir John Gostwick, John Lord Mordaunt, Sir Edward Anderson, C.J., Sir Oliver Luke, Sir Lewis Dyve, and Sir Peter Osborne. In alluding to Sir William Harper, Lord Mayor of London and founder of the Bedford Grammar School, it is curious that so careful a writer as the author should adhere to the corrupt form of "Harpur," in spite of conclusive evidence that "Harper" is the correct form. On p. 15 "Charlton" should read "Chalton," and on p. 74 "Durobrivæ" should read "Durocibrivæ."

F. A. P.-T.

THE collection of *Cambridge Papers*, by W. W. Rouse Ball (Macmillan, 6s.), originally published in Cambridge magazines or read before Cambridge audiences, is to be welcomed as a clearly written and interesting contribution to the history of education. Ten of them deal with the history of Trinity College, the remaining five with the University of Cambridge generally. The paper on the Mathematical Tripos is a model historical sketch, combining the first-hand evidence of such men as Peacock, Whewell, and Airy with the personal knowledge of Mr. Ball himself. We could have wished that in speaking of private coaching at Cambridge in the nineteenth century Mr. Ball had offered an opinion as to the effect of the teaching of Hopkins and Routh on the reputation of Cambridge as a mathematical school. The paper on University discipline is amusing rather than instructive, and the same may be said of that on the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Undergraduates, cruelty being compulsory attendance at chapel. Of the ten papers on Trinity College several are of more than parochial interest. The growth of the tutorial system is typical of what took place elsewhere both at Oxford and Cambridge. The account of the college auditors shows that the University don did not submit his accounts to professional auditors until the end of the last century; and although Mr. Ball does not say so, we have reason to believe that the same bursar who introduced this innovation was also the first to engage a firm of accountants to draw up a businesslike scheme for keeping the college accounts. In somewhat different style from the rest of the book is an account of a winter journey of a number of scholars from Cambridge to York by water in the reign of Edward II. We commend Mr. Ball's book to the general reader as well as to the student of University history.

A. E. S.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

GUIDE to the specimens illustrating the Races of Mankind, 3rd ed. 35 pp. British Museum (Natural History). 1s.

ASOKA. By J. M. Macphail. 88 pp. Milford. 1s. 6d.

THE DELPHIC ORACLE. By T. Dempsey. 200 pp. Blackwell. 6s. (p. 332.)

VIRGIL (Eclogue iv.) and ISAIAH. By T. F. Royds. xiii+123 pp. Blackwell. 5s. (p. 308.)

LES PROCÉDÉS d' Art de Tacite dans les "Histoires." Par E. Courbaud. Hachette. 3.50 f. (p. 424.)

JUVENAL AND PERSIUS. Trans. G. G. Ramsay. The Loeb Classical Library. lxxxii+416 pp. Heinemann. 6s. (p. 344.)

A HISTORY of the Doctrine of Christ in its ecclesiastical development. By R. S. Franks. 2 vols. xiii+449+vii+443 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 18s.

RUSSIAN CHURCH HISTORY. By W. H. Frere. xvi+200 pp. Faith Press. 6s. (p. 320.)

IRELAND: its Saints and Scholars. By J. M. Flood. x+118 pp. Fisher Unwin. 2s. 6d.

THE FOUNDATIONS of Society and the Land. By J. W. Jeudwine. xxviii+514 pp. Williams and Norgate. 18s. (p. 300.)

THE LATIN KINGDOM of Jerusalem. By F. D. Ward. 57 pp. Ouseley. 1s. 6d.

INTRODUCTION to the History of Science. By W. Libby. xi+288 pp. Harrap. 5s.

STUDIES in the History and Method of Science. (St. Hildegard; Vitalism; Renaissance Anatomy; Cramp Rings; John Weger and the Witch Mania, etc.) Ed. C. Singer. xvi+304 pp. Clarendon Press. 21s. (p. 296.)

THE SPIRIT of PROTEST in Old French Literature. By M. M. Wood. Columbia University Press (Milford). 6s. 6d. (p. 370.)

THE KING'S MIRROR (Konungs Skuggsjá.) Trans. L. M. Larson. xvi+388 pp. The American Scandinavian Foundation. (Milford.) 12s. 6d.

EUROPEAN LITERATURE in the Centuries (11th-16th) of Romance. By Laurie Magnus. xvi+411 pp. Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. (p. 402.)

ENGLISH PAGEANTRY. By R. Withington. Vol. I. (to the 17th Century.) xx+258 pp. Harvard University Press. 15s. (p. 391.)

ANGLO-BELGIAN RELATIONS. By H. Van der Linden and P. Hamélius. 117 pp. Constable. 2s. 6d. (p. 404.)

THE RISE of the SPANISH EMPIRE. By R. B. Merriman. 2 vols. xxviii+529+xv+387 pp. The Macmillan Co. \$7.50. (p. 357.)

ALSACE-LORRAINE, past, present, and future. By C. Phillipson. 327 pp. Fisher Unwin. 25s. (p. 399.)

LES ANCIENNES RÉPUBLIQUES Alsaciennes. Par L. Batiffol. Flammarion. 3.50 f. (p. 324.)

THE EPISTLES of Erasmus. Vol. III. (1517-18.) Trans. F. M. Nichols. Intro. P. S. Allen. xviii+10+472 pp. Longmans. 18s. (p. 332.)

BIJAPUR (15th-17th Century.) By H. Cousens. (Archæological Survey of India, vol. xxxvii.) Bombay: The Government Press. £3 1s. 6d. (p. 312.)

SAINTÉ CHANTAL, 1572-1641. By E. K. Sanders. vii+316 pp. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d. (p. 346.)

TRANSACTIONS: Vol. VI., No. 1, 1918. 128 pp. Baptist Historical Society. 6s.

WALES in the 17th Century. By J. C. Morrice. Bangor: Jarvis and Foster. 10s. 6d. (p. 389.)

AUTOBIOGRAPHY of Th. Raymond, and Memoirs of the family of Guise of Elmore, Glos. Ed. G. Davies. (Camden 3rd Ser, vol. xxviii.) 184 pp. Royal Historical Society. (p. 426.)

LIFE OF LORD CLIVE. By Sir G. Forrest. 2 vols. xxiii+472+438 pp. Cassell. 36s. (p. 427.)

INDEX TO *The Times*, 1 Oct.—31 Dec. 1791. 29 pp. Shepperton-on-Thames: S. Palmer. (Subscribers only.)

THE CONTROVERSY over Neutral Rights between the U.S. and France, 1797-1800. Documents. Ed. J. B. Scott. vii+510 pp. Milford. 15s. (p. 423.)

EVOLUTION of the Dominion of Canada. By E. Porritt. xix+540 pp. New York: World Book Co. (Harrap). 7s. 6d. (p. 446.)

CONFEDERATION (of Canada) and its Leaders. By M. O. Hammond. x+333 pp. Toronto: McClelland. \$2.50.

SOME ASPECTS of the Victorian Age. By H. H. Asquith. 28 pp. Clarendon Press. 2s.

BISMARCK. By C. Grant Robertson. xii+520 pp. Constable. 10s. 6d. (p. 381.)

L'INGILTERRA nel Risorgimento Italiano. By A. Colombo. Milan: Casa Editrice Risorgimento. 1.50 l. (p. 382.)

LA POLITIQUE Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Par J. Larmeroux. Tome I. Librairie Plon. (p. 354.)

NATIONALITY and Government. By A. E. Zimmern. xxiv+364 pp. Chatto and Windus. 10s. 6d. (p. 377.)

NATIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT: The Culmination of Modern History. By Ramsay Muir. xi+312 pp. Constable. 8s. 6d. (p. 319.)

BOUNDARIES in Europe and the Near East. By Sir T. H. Holdich. Macmillan. 8s. 6d. (p. 367.)

MAP WORK (reading and making). By V. S. Bryant and T. H. Hughes. 174 pp. Clarendon Press. 5s. (p. 372.)

CURRENT HISTORY AND POLITICS.

THE STATESMAN'S Year Book, 1918. Ed. Sir J. Scott Keltie and M. Epstein. xlviii+1488 pp. Macmillan. 18s. (p. 320.)

THE STRATEGIC GEOGRAPHY of the Great Powers. By Vaughan Cornish. viii+114 pp. G. Philip. 2s. (p. 386.)

"THE TIMES" DOCUMENTARY HISTORY of the War. Vol. VI.: Overseas. Part. i. xi+520 pp. £1 1s. (p. 330.)

GENERAL SMUTS' CAMPAIGN in E. Africa. By J. H. V. Crowe. Intro. Gen. Smuts. xxiii+280 pp. Murray. 10s. 6d. (p. 355.)

LA CAMPAGNE Anglo-Belge de l'Afrique orientale allemande. Par Ch. Stiénon. Berger-Levrault. 6f. (p. 290.)

LES CAMPAGNES de 1915. Par Général Mallette. Berger-Levrault. 4.80 f. (p. 324.)

GERMAN LEGISLATION for the occupied territories of Belgium. Ed. C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer. 14th Ser. Jan.-March, 1918. 466 pp. The Hague: M. Nijhoff. *Gld.* 7.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE for the War? By T. Tittoni. 120 pp. Paris: Blond and Gay.

DR. MUHLON'S DIARY. xiii+247 pp. Cassell. 5s. (p. 387.)

BEHIND THE SCENES in the Reichstag. By E. Wetterlé. Trans. G. F. Lees. xii+196 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 6s. (p. 335.)

MILITARISM and Statecraft. By Munroe Smith. xix+286 pp. Putnams. 6s.

GERMANY her own Judge. Trans. from the German of H. J. Suter-Lerch. 128 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s.

WILHELM Hohenzollern and Co. By E. L. Fox. xv+239 pp. Hurst and Blackett. 6s.

RELATIONS Between the United States and Germany, Aug., 1914—April, 1917. By J. B. Scott. cxvi+390 pp. Milford. 21s. (p. 307.)

THE IRON RATION (Allied Blockade on Germany). By G. A. Schreiner. xxi+359 pp. Murray. 10s. 6d. (p. 399.)

GERMAN WAR PROFITS. By A. Chéradame. vii+96 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 2s.

THE AWAKENING of the German People. By O. Nippold. Trans. A. Gray. 60 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s.

L'ENTENTE et le Problème Autrichien. Par le Comte de Fels. Grasset. 3.50 f. (p. 312.)

LA QUESTION du Fer (Alsace-Lorraine). By L. Féraçon. Payot. 3f. (p. 318.)

A SHORT CUT to a Splendid Peace. By E. Malynski. 42 pp. P. S. King. 1s.

THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS of Allied Success. By Norman Angell. xxix+350 pp. Putnams. 7s. 6d.

IN THE FOURTH YEAR. By H. G. Wells. xi+156 pp. Chatto and Windus. 3s. 6d. (p. 270.)

GOVERNMENT and the War. By Spenser Wilkinson. xix+268 pp. Constable. 6s. (p. 318.)

LESSONS of the World War. By A. Hamon. Trans. B. Miall. 438 pp. Fisher Unwin. 16s. (p. 318.)

LES ALLIÉS et les Neutres. Par E. Lémonon. Delagrave. 3.50 f. (p. 432.)

THE SOUL of Denmark. By S. Desmond. 277 pp. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. (p. 343.)

THE BOLSHEVIK Revolution. By M. Litvinoff. 54 pp. British Socialist Party. 1s.

WAR and Revolution in Asiatic Russia (The Caucasus.) By M. P. Price. 296 pp. Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d. (p. 379.)

SERBIA'S PART in the War. By Crawford Price. Vol. I. ix+250 pp. Simpkin, Marshall. 7s. 6d.

CONSTANTINE : King and Traitor. By D. Vaka. x+300 pp. Lane. 12s. 6d. (p. 425.)

CYPRUS under British Rule. By C. W. J. Orr. 192 pp. R. Scott. 6s. (p. 295.)

MODERN SONS of the Pharaohs (the Copts). By S. H. Leeder. xvi+355 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 16s.

NOTRE EXPANSION Coloniale en Afrique. Par P. Gaffarel. F. Alcan. 5 f. (p. 366.)

AMÉRIQUE LATINE et Europe occidentale. Par G. Gaillard. Berger-Levrault. (p. 432.)

THE FAR EAST Unveiled. By F. Coleman. xiii+304 pp. Cassell. 7s. 6d. (p. 343.)

MA MISSION en Chine. Par A. Gérard. Plon-Nourrit. 9 f. (p. 331.)

THE FIGHT for the Republic in China. By B. L. Putnam Weale. viii+368 pp. Hurst and Blackett. 21s. (p. 423.)

REPORT on Indian Constitutional Reforms. H.M. Stationery Office. 1s. 7d.

INDIA : Financial Statement and Budget, 1918-1919. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s. 6d.

ENGLAND AND INDIA. By R. G. Milburn. 126 pp. Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d.

THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT of India. By K. Vyasa Rao. xxx+412 pp. Macmillan. 12s. (p. 411.)

THE GOVERNMENT of England : national, local and imperial. By D. D. Wallace. xi+384 pp. Putnams. 8s. 6d.

THE GOVERNMENT of the British Empire. By E. Jenks. viii+403 pp. Murray. 6s.

DEFENCE and Foreign Affairs : a Suggestion for the Empire. By Z. A. Lash. 86 pp. The Macmillan Co. 2s. 6d.

THE HISTORIC CASE for Irish Independence. By Darrell Figgis. 78 pp. Maunsel. 1s.

HOME RULE and Conscription. By Sir H. Plunkett. 31 pp. Fisher Unwin. 6d.

REPORT of the Agricultural Sub-Committee, Ministry of Reconstruction. SUMMARIES of Evidence. H.M. Stationery Office. 1s. 7d. each.

REPORTS of Departmental Committees on the position of various trades after the War : Electrical, 3d.; Iron and Steel, 8d.; Engineering, 8d.; Textile, 1s. 7d. H.M. Stationery Office.

DEMOCRACY at the Cross Roads. By M. D. Petre. 125 pp. Fisher Unwin. 4s. 6d. (p. 410.)

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS of Peace after War, 2nd Series. By W. R. Scott. xii+139 pp. Cambridge University Press. 6s. (p. 378.)

HOW to PAY for the War. By H. H. Smith. xxxvi+186 pp. Bale and Danielssohn. 5s.

A SELF-SUPPORTING EMPIRE. By E. Saunders. x+203 pp. Nisbet. 3s. 6d. (p. 306.)

THE CANADA Year Book, 1916-1917. xvi+720 pp. Ottawa : J. de L. Taché.

THE NEW ZEALAND Official Year Book, 1917. By M. Fraser. xiii+823 pp. Wellington, N.Z. : M. F. Marks.

THE OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK of New South Wales, 1916. By J. B. Trivett. 1248 pp. Sydney : W. A. Gullick. 2s. 6d.

VICTORIAN YEAR BOOK, 1916-17. By A. M. Laughton. vi+906 pp. Melbourne : A. J. Mullett.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT for the British Dominions, Colonies, Possessions and Proctorates, 1901-1915. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 6d.

LOCAL HISTORY.

ANCIENT ARUNDEL. By M. D. Francis. 127 pp. Washbourne. 2s.

LONDON and its Environs. Ed. F. Muirhead (The Blue Guides Series). lxvi+501+72 pp. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. (p. 309.)

THE BERNERS ESTATE, St. Marylebone. By J. Slater. 47 pp. Unwin Bros. (p. 330.)

THE MAKING of Modern Yorkshire, 1750-1914. By J. S. Fletcher. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d. (p. 380.)

E. J. D.

HISTORY

JANUARY, 1919.

THE ORIGINS OF FRANCE

(Continued.)

II.

IN his fourth and latest volume—the nave of the building—M. Flach has set himself a threefold task: (1) He seeks in the first place to elaborate his conception of ethnic groups, to analyse the formation and diverse characters of the regional nationalities through which the rich and varied culture of modern France was given expression. (2) Then he traces the relations between these groups and the crown, showing that they were bound to each other by the tie—not of feudal homage and service, but of the recognition of traditions common to them all as parts of the Gallo-Frankish Empire. (3) In the third place he is led to pay peculiar attention to the political communities which had comprised the Kingdom of Lothair, and especially to Lorraine, the *Francia* whose capital was Metz; for these districts were divided and redivided between France and Germany. Were their ethnic affinities or preferences with east or west in the tenth century, with Aachen or Reims?

M. Flach, of course, does not treat his subject in this cut-and-dried way. He is an independent apostle of what, since he began to write, has come to be called the “regional survey,” and no believer in the regional survey would adopt the scholastic method. The regional State is almost a living organism, whose essential attributes depend on each other and must be considered together. Rather unfortunately M. Flach overstates this part of his case, and distinguishes too little between the facts and the conclusions which he draws from them. He regards freedom from the tie of homage to an external authority as an attribute of the

political life of a "regional nationality" in the tenth century; but it is doubtful if the significance of his description of provincial development is seriously affected by the question whether his views on homage are right or wrong. When the inevitable controversy on this matter has passed, the book will remain as the best—indeed, the only—connected survey of France during the tenth and eleventh centuries. One wishes that the historian had mastered the jurist earlier. Stimulating though the first three volumes are, one would gladly have had them compressed, if those which are yet to come, "devoted to the description of society under all its aspects, material and spiritual," were now in sight, rich with the learning and judgment born of long familiarity with their theme.

Ethnic groups must be carefully distinguished from racial groups. Previous writers have disputed about the rôle of *racés* in the formation of France, and have overlooked the fact that man is subject to an evolution which is not biological. The student of racial characters considers man as a member of a zoological group, the student of ethnic groups considers him as a member of society. The ethnic group may contain various racial elements; its unity consists in community of language, customs, belief, traditional institutions.¹ Such common characters distinguish Frankish Gaul, giving it a national unity denied to the rest of the Frankish settlements; such characters also distinguish the secondary or regional nationalities, of which Frankish Gaul was composed, and whose political origins are studied in this latest volume. M. Flach, as one expects, lays stress upon the significance of common activities rather than upon geographical influences. He does not try to interpret regional characters in terms of soil, situation, climate; although he is far too keen a student of the new geography to overlook the co-operation of nature and history.² Take, for example, from the opening pages of the book the analysis of the growth of Flemish nationality:—

Point d'arrivée des grandes voies de commerce qui faisaient communiquer l'Italie et l'Allemagne avec la mer du Nord et que son trafic maritime prolongeait jusqu'en Angleterre, la Flandre maritime devint le noyau d'une nation de marchands et de marins, antagoniste de la société seigneuriale et féodale qui occupait la France, et rivale de la domination normande. Mais, ouverte à l'envahissement des flots de pirates nordiques, elle dut pourvoir à sa défense par des digues militaires, par une armature puissante. Ne cherchez pas ailleurs le trait distinctif de la nation qui éclôt et qui s'implante

¹ iii, 127; iv, 7.

² M. Flach makes full use of the great work of M. Vidal de la Blache. The English reader will find an excellent "ethnic" survey of France in Professor Fleure's little book, *Human Geography in Western Europe* (London, 1918), p. 54 *seqq.*

entre la Germanie et la France. Il est tout entier dans l'intensité de la vie municipale, que l'agriculture nourrit, que le commerce alimente et que le château fort sauvegarde.

And he proceeds to display the significance of this union of town and castle, the successors of Roman military stations and great Frankish abbeys. The fortresses were not merely lines of defence against invaders, they were like a coat of mail thrown over the country. The prince had the country in his hand. He took the lead in establishing the institutions of the peace and truce of God, and taught the peasantry to grow the vine. The national life of Flanders, *terra valde populosa*, was fostered by rulers, successors of the Baldwin endowed by Charles the Bald, whose independence was in turn maintained by a poor and half savage nobility, living on scattered farms, and by the communities of merchants and fisher folk, full of self determination, who lived under the walls of the *castella* on the river banks.³

The history of Flanders is a comparatively well-worked field, and M. Flach is able to describe the relations of its counts with the crown against a background of more or less coherent detail. When he turns to the other provinces, he is confronted by a more tiresome task. The patient reader who accompanies him will find many a searching or vigorous page, many a pleasant resting place, in the course of an arduous journey. M. Flach's enthusiasm and keen sense of reality will save him from tediousness. But the road is undoubtedly gritty.

In later volumes the social conditions of the time will be examined generally; in this volume M. Flach tries to show how the various States were formed. Brittany, for example, was the outcome of a fusion, in the face of external peril, of two rival traditions—the Breton and the Gallo-Frank—of two houses, Nantes and Rennes. The political unity of Aquitaine was due, not to the gradual victory of Poitou over Auvergne, but to the existence both in Poitou and in Auvergne of a sense of a common Aquitanian life—a historical memory. In the resistance of Aquitaine to Pepin the Short's annual invasions (760-768) Auguste Molinier, "in spite of his habitual abstention from generalities," saw a proof of local unity and common aspirations.⁴ These never died away, and William V., the Great, who in the eleventh century had all the prestige of a king, was able to direct as Aquitanian movements the Peace of God, the revival of letters, and monastic reforms.⁵

The workings of these regional impulses are everywhere

³ iv, 22-31.

⁵ iv, 571 *passim*.

⁴ iv, 479.

obscure. Now and then a great man becomes real to us, as in the splendid pages upon Richard the Justiciar, the founder of the Duchy of Burgundy (880-921).⁶ Very rarely, some gigantic and shadowy figure, otherwise no more than a name, starts into momentary life and blows his horn;—⁷

“non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando.”

But M. Flach's description is in the main technical rather than picturesque. It is an elaborately critical and argumentative study of the sources. The provincial groups are not capable of equal treatment, for the nature and extent of the available evidence varies from place to place, and from period to period. Moreover, at every turn M. Flach has to meet the contention, formulated at length by M. Ferdinand Lot in his essay *Fidèles ou Vassaux*, that these principalities were fiefs bound to the crown of France by ties of homage. M. Flach puts each bit of evidence, charter, chronicle, or life of saint, to one test—its value, namely, as a means to explain the precise nature of the relation in which a particular *princeps* stood to the person who happened at the moment to occupy the Carolingian throne. By this method he reflects, on the whole with success, the confusing variety and spontaneity of provincial society without losing sight of what he calls the dominants of French history. One does not feel so sure, however, that the result justifies another favourite idea of M. Flach's. He likens sound historical writing to the building of a medieval cathedral; every document—in however casual or haphazard a way it has chanced to survive—is a stone to be tested, shaped, and fitted into a definite place. This view, I fear, rests on a fallacy. All such work as this must give the impression rather of an excavation than of a cathedral. A few scattered pieces of workmanship and ordered lines of foundations are revealed *in situ*—the rest of the find is scientifically exposed in the local museum.⁸

⁶ iv, 325-337.

⁷ iv, 476. When Saint Pardoux was dying he heard, as though sounded by an archangel, the trumpet which Eudo of Aquitaine, the last independent duke of the eighth century, used to blow in summons to battle.

⁸ A note may be added upon a few of the striking passages of analysis or criticism in this volume. (a) *The Sources*. M. Flach considers that Dudo is a reliable authority on Norman history if tested and corrected by Flodoard, “that excellent chronicler.” He attaches great value to the compilations made by Le Baud at the end of the fifteenth century in the two redactions of his *Histoire de Bretagne* (p. 206). An interesting note on the formulæ of protestation against the usurpation of King Raoul at the expense of Charles the Simple illustrates Aquitanian feeling from 926 onwards (pp. 519-527). The very gradual change from the title *comes* to that of *dux* in Aquitaine during the later tenth century is shown by the chartularies in which that province is so rich (pp. 555-8, 562 note). (b) The analysis of Norman history is almost

III.

Since M. Flach began to write historical study in France has made great advances. There has been a busy and orderly revolution. How does *Les Origines de l'ancienne France* stand the test of the new learning?

In one sense the question may seem impertinent. M. Flach is one of the teachers of the new learning, and when he is not a teacher, he is an eager student. He has grown with it and keeps abreast of it. One can see, in this latest volume, how clearly the results of recent work are dovetailed into pages drafted some years ago. But on the other hand the outlook of 1918 is not that of 1870. If M. Flach were beginning his work now he would plan it differently. As the book stands, the emphasis differs in each volume, although the original plan is preserved.

Perhaps the change is most apparent in the attitude of French scholarship to Germany. M. Flach remembers 1870. He saw with his own eyes the destruction of the famous library at Strassburg. Like so many of his fellow countrymen who followed Renan into the study of the *origins* of our civilisation, he was determined that Frenchmen should henceforward look at the facts for themselves, free from all prejudices or foreign generalisations. In a well-known essay published in the *Revue des deux Mondes* (May, 1872) Fustel de Coulanges challenged one such generalisation—that the formative element in French history was Teutonic. Flach attacked another side of the same problem, and, starting from what he considered to be the exaggerated significance of Salic Law, investigated the legal and social origins of feudalism. He set himself against the orthodox view that feudalism came from Germany.⁹ But since 1870 the Franco-German problem has naturally changed. To the best minds it has, of course, always been a scientific problem. Hard work, Renan had said,¹⁰ would be the salvation of France, the hard work of minds hardened by a new and stimulating scepticism. As time went on and the results of

entirely directed to show that Normandy was not a fief (*e.g.*, p. 122). The key to Breton history is the union of Rennes and Nantes (pp. 175–8, 224–5). The pages on the ecclesiastical policy of the Duke Nominoé in the Breton schism (pp. 188–193) do not take account of the abbé Duine's paper in the *Annales de Bretagne* (1915). The alleged abolition of serfdom in Brittany is a fiction (pp. 232–4). A masterly geographical survey of Aquitaine should be noted (pp. 451–9) and the description of the regal position of Duke William the Great, who consciously copied Charles the Great (pp. 566–572). There is a good note on the age of feudal majority (p. 575).

⁹ For this view Duruy's famous *History of France* might be cited.

¹⁰ See the interesting recollections of Mrs. Humphry Ward in the *Cornhill Magazine*, April, 1918.

scientific work began to have effect, new issues arose. On the old field much which had been debatable became common ground. Nobody believes now that feudalism came from Germany, or that Roman and Gallic elements did not contribute to the life of modern France. Before 1870 two or three German scholars of singular greatness, such as Rudolf Sohm, had in several ways modified the current view. French and German scholars have worked together on the influence of Roman Law, the significance of the immunity, the origin of towns, and a dozen other problems common to the history of all parts of the Carolingian Empire. Then new ground was contested and, if German thought has been blighted by the conception of race, French scholars have, sometimes too eagerly, turned the tables on their adversaries and tried to show that medieval Germany owed its inspiration to France.¹¹ In architecture, poetry, chivalry, learning, political thought, France gave more than she received. Now, if M. Flach's last volume, revised since the war began, be compared with the preceding, I think that a certain sense of strain, due to this change in the Franco-German problem, can be traced. In the early volumes the stress was laid upon the continuity, under new and powerful influences, it is true, of the royal *mundium*, the Teutonic *comitatus*, the Frankish ethnic group which lived along the valleys of the Seine and the Loire. These forces, as we have seen, were transformed on French soil, but they were links between the Teutonic invasions and the Capetian monarchy as well as the formative elements in feudal society. In the fourth volume the stress is rather upon the cultural affinities which bound together the peoples west of the Rhine in opposition to the barbarians of the east. The traditions of the Carolingian Empire are allowed no influence among the eastern Franks. The Carolingian dynasty is claimed as essentially Gallo-Frank. Charles, by descent, physique, interests, is discovered to have been as much a Celt as a Frank.

Although M. Flach does not always remember his own warnings against the argument from race, and has expressed his views with an anti-German emphasis which would not have appeared in times of peace,¹² this extension of his argument was well worth making. But I doubt if the application of his thesis to the history of Lorraine will find acceptance. The relations between Lorraine and the other Frankish lands should be considered from the

¹¹ Reynaud, *Les Origines de l'influence française en Allemagne* (Paris, 1913). In his delightful essay, *L'art allemand et l'art française du moyen âge* (1917), M. Emile Mâle quotes some astonishing arguments of a racial kind from German scholars, e.g., pp. 111-2.

¹² Thus he argues that Charles the Great was brachycephalic (iv. 314, note 3), and finds in Otto the Great the qualities of modern Prussian militarism (p. 396).

standpoint of fact rather than of right. In civilisation, language, outlook, the kingdom was in no sense German, and always retained its individuality so long as it remained part of the Medieval Empire. The evidence for this view may be found in the excellent books of M. Parisot. "Lotharingia" was more than *Francia media*; it could be described simply as *Francia*, as distinct from *Gallia Celtica* or *Germania*.¹³ Scholars have noted in the letters of Gerbert, and in the annals or hagiographies of the tenth century, a distinct, almost conscious, mental attitude, which sharply separated the valley of the Moselle from the lands east of the Rhine. The final answer to modern German pretensions to Lorraine is that, after the union of Alsace and Lorraine with France seven or eight centuries later, this provincial temper responded to that of France, so that sympathy combined with statesmanship to form an indissoluble sense of unity.¹⁴ Now M. Flach reads the later sense of unity into the records of the tenth century and also seeks to give a *juridical* value to the facts. He has no difficulty in showing that the claims of modern German writers are unfounded, and that the later Carolingian and early Capetian kings of France tried with more or less success to get recognition in Lorraine. But his counterclaim that the chief men of Lorraine definitely preferred union with the West Franks will be found to rest upon a very slight foundation. Indeed, it rests at bottom, not upon any demonstration of national preference, but upon the dogma of Carolingian rights. Thus, after repeating his view that the rights of the Carolingians passed to the Capetians, he argues that, even if they did not, the *suprématie franque* was unaffected:—¹⁵

Elle (i.e., la suprématie) n'était pas attachée à une dynastie, mais au *regnum Francorum*. Supposez que la Lorraine fût restée un tel royaume, fût restée une France, et que le royaume de France occidentale eût disparu (absorbé, par exemple, par les Normands), c'est le roi de Lorraine qui aurait hérité de la suprématie sur la Gaule. Si, d'autre part, la Lorraine a cessé d'être une France, elle n'a pas cessé d'être une entité ethnique sur laquelle les droits du *rex Francorum* ont survécu.

The same scholastic note disturbs what is, perhaps, the finest part of the book—the analysis of Burgundian history. M. René Pourpardin has prepared the way here, as M. Parisot has done in

¹³ Wilmotte in the *Revue Historique* for January, 1918 (Vol. cxxvii., p. 10). Of course, *Francia* was also used of the lands west of the Rhine, as opposed to *Germania*, even in the tenth century.

¹⁴ Compare Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe* (London, 1917), pp. 35-49.

¹⁵ iv, 289.

Lorraine, but as English scholars have helped to show,¹⁶ much good work still remains to be done. M. Flach's analysis is hard reading, but a student who had refreshed his memory of a certain appendix in Lord Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and had armed himself with a good atlas, would find it very interesting. M. Flach shows how Roman culture remained as the roots of social life in the valleys of the Rhone and the Saone and how the brilliant renaissance of Burgundy was directed by the great abbey of Luxeuil and afterwards by Cluny. The geographical structure of the country made political unity impossible for any length of time, and M. Flach describes the formation of the future duchy as a distinct entity around the dominating centre Autun, "the Celtic Rome." Richard the Justiciar, the founder of the duchy, was connected with the Carolingian dynasty, and had both great wealth and great military prestige. Similarly, the county of Besançon, which ultimately became the Free County of Burgundy, was separated from Jurane Burgundy, and its count, who was a son of Richard the Justiciar, refused to recognise the claims maintained by the Saxon emperors. So Jurane Burgundy, the kingdom of the Rudolfs, fell apart. The Transjurane state, Burgundy proper, where Saint Sigismond in 521 had founded the abbey of Saint Maurice of Agaune, the home of the sacred lance, was united to Provence and the march of Vienne, as a result of events which form part of the history of Italy. It was this extended Kingdom of Burgundy, wrongly called by historians the Kingdom of Arles, upon which the Saxon and Salian Emperors set their ambitions. M. Flach investigates these developments with great wealth of detail. He destroys the structure erected by German scholars on the Rudolfine surrenders and the alleged donation to Otto the Great of the sacred lance of St. Maurice.¹⁷ He shows that, so far as opinion was expressed in annals and prophecy, it was definitely against the Emperors. His examination of the charters proves that the mention of the reigning Emperor in the date had no real significance.¹⁸ In short, the German element had no influence in Burgundy, which gradually fell apart into its constituent elements.¹⁹ All this M. Flach shows admirably; but his constructive argument in favour of French supre-

¹⁶ See Dr. R. L. Poole's "Burgundian Notes" in recent numbers of the *English Historical Review*, and Mr. Prévité Orton's paper on Italy and Provence (900-950) in the same *Review* (April, 1917).

¹⁷ iv, 368, 408 *seqq.* The misconception is originally due to Leibniz.

¹⁸ iv, 425 *seqq.*

¹⁹ The kingdom never had any real unity outside the Helvetic lands. M. Flach draws a pathetic picture of Rudolf III. and his nominal authority (p. 403).

macy is not so convincing. Again he falls back upon "juridical consolidation."

There is, indeed, a curious dualism about the book. M. Flach has done as much as anyone to show us the danger of generalities as inconsistent with a clear-sighted investigation of facts in all their natural variety. It will, I think, be impossible to maintain any longer M. Lot's thesis that the provincial states were great *fiefs* in the tenth and eleventh centuries. M. Flach's demonstration of their haphazard relations with the crown is complete. He proves clearly from his amazing knowledge of local charters that there was no hierarchy in France. Nothing can be made of the use of such terms as *marchio*, *princeps*, *dux*, *comes*, etc.²⁰ I think, also, that he shows, if less clearly yet sufficiently, that the unity of France grew from and with the growth of organised regional states conscious of common traditions. The issue between M. Lot and M. Flach reminds one of the old legal discussion whether religion holds society together by the administration of oaths or because it contains the most powerful sanction for good conduct. M. Lot thinks that the tie of homage kept France together, M. Flach insists that it was something much deeper and less definite. So far one agrees with M. Flach. But, beside this stream of thought, we find in his book a persistent straining after formulæ—a sort of juristic simplification. If a great man was astute enough to claim relationship with the Carolingian house, or strong enough to gather together broad lordships, we are invited to watch the *personal* or the *domainial* factors in sovereignty. When, in a fit of energy, a king asserts a successful claim to supremacy, we hear the word "consolidation." This is what the critics mean who say, very unfairly, that what is new in M. Flach is not true, and what is true is not new. There is a great deal that is both new and true. No one else, for example, has got so much matter from the saints' lives, and, as M. Flach justly claims, he was one of the first to study the *chansons de geste* as historical documents. But it is just to say that as the years have gone by French scholarship as a whole has caught M. Flach up, and in many ways modified, or even anticipated, his conclusions; also, that his work is least convincing when he clings to his formulas.

A few examples will suffice. M. Flach has shown that an ordered feudal system was of very slow growth, and that feudal homage is rarely found before the eleventh century. Luchaire and other writers are inclined to agree. But he refuses to recognise any instance whatever of a vassal relation between the crown

²⁰ pp. 247-8, 338-341, 508-9.

and a regional prince before the second half of the twelfth century. This is not so certain; for the texts are very obscure, and M. Flach has to depend upon a hard and fast interpretation of phrases (*e.g.*, *se committere*), which he cannot always maintain.²¹ Moreover, as we learn more about early feudalism, we are faced by several objections to the view that it developed from a society which was first broken up and then reconstructed on the basis of comradeship. If we work backwards from the twelfth century, as M. Halphen has done for Anjou, or Professor Haskins for Normandy, we find that strictly feudal institutions, such as the knight's fee and the service limited to forty days, can be traced back almost to the tenth century. Or if we work forwards from the days of Charles the Great or Louis the Pious, or even from the Merovingian period, we find that there was more continuity than M. Flach seems to allow. Of course, if the system of Charles the Great had been as ironcast in its consistency as the prevailing school of thought imagines, then the disintegration which followed it would doubtless have been complete. But it is far more likely that the growth of law and custom and of tenurial arrangements was continuous, and that the organic diversity, so emphasised by M. Flach, existed in Merovingian times.²² That there was a period of disintegration may be granted, but that the feudalism which emerged from it was the expression of new personal relationships, judicial, administrative, and military, is improbable. Earlier legal fictions and immunities carried over into the new order old territorial relations. M. Flach must compromise with that fine scholar, Guérard, who wrote "ce qui forme la base de la société féodale, c'est la terre."²³

If this be so, it is unnecessary to find a base for the Frankish

²¹ Robert of Torigny's account of the relations between the French crown and the Norman dukes suggests that, early in the twelfth century, homage was the subject of careful legal distinctions (see Flach, iv, 170-1), and it may be possible to trace their origin in the charters and chronicles of previous years. Flach does not do this; and the omission may account for his somewhat arbitrary treatment of the texts. Thus, Flodoard's phrases, *se commisit* and *sui efficiuntur*, are in one place interpreted as homage, in another not (pp. 130, 145, 352, 548). M. Flach does not explain on what principle he distinguishes the various relations covered by the phrase *committere* (pp. 47, 521).

²² By far the best survey and criticism of the extensive literature on this subject is *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, by Professor Alfons Dopsch, of Vienna. This work was published in Weimar (1912-13) in two volumes. Dopsch's main contention is that the prevailing view, of which von Inama Sternegg was the chief exponent, is based upon a false interpretation of both the nature and contents of the evidence, particularly of the *Capitulare de Villis*. There was no conscious striving after a systematic organisation of the *Grundherrschaft* in early Carolingian times.

²³ Guérard's view is repudiated by Flach in Vol. ii., p. 427.

monarchy in a hypothetical ethnic group, a Francia of the Seine and the Loire.²⁴ The monarchy had its roots all over France, broken and disturbed, no doubt, but not all dead. And, although M. Flach is surely right to insist upon the importance of personal ties, scholars would now hesitate to see the Teutonic *comitatus* in the feudal *maisnie* of the epics. A great deal more is known both about the *chansons de geste* and about the conditions under which feudal companionships were formed than was known when M. Flach published his second volume. The *chansons de geste* reflect French society of the twelfth century, not of the tenth. The feudal brotherhoods of the Crusading age were a *renaissance*, like the chivalry of the fourteenth century, not a survival.²⁵ No doubt they can be traced in the tenth century, as they can in all times when war and adventure go together beyond considerations of the State. But they have to be fitted into a more or less ordered and sophisticated society. The more we know about Western society in the tenth and eleventh centuries, of its thought, its architecture, of the activity of its monastic life, the less does this period appear as a chaotic breach in European history.

IV.

M. Flach stands somewhat apart from his contemporaries. He belongs, it is true, to that group of French masters who rescued scholarship from the asphyxiating influence of the Second Empire, and are a link between the labours of Renan and Michelet and the brilliant work of the Ecole des Chartes and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. But since 1870 he has been engaged in a great adventure, the study and teaching of comparative legislation, a subject which is ancient, medieval, and modern, Asiatic, American, European. Between 1870 and 1886 M. Flach published a historical study upon minority, a study upon the administration of mines in the first century of our era, various essays upon Irish agrarian and political history, including an appreciation of Jonathan Swift's labours on behalf of Ireland, an essay upon Cujas and the Bartolists, and several works upon problems of Roman law.²⁶ The only publication bearing directly upon the work

²⁴ M. Louis Halphen has argued forcibly that, among the many meanings of *Francia*, this one, to which Flach attaches most importance, is unhistorical (*Revue Historique*, lxxv., 275).

²⁵ The four volumes of Bédier's *Legendes Epiques* mark an epoch in the study of the *chansons de geste*.

²⁶ Between 1886 and the publication of the second volume of *Les Origines* (1893), M. Flach went still further afield and published writings upon the origins of the Holy Alliance, Mirabeau, and the truth in art and history.

which absorbed most of his time was his "Notes et documents sur l'origine des redevances et services coutumiers au XI^e siècle" (1883).²⁷ As the years passed, the interests of comparative legislation far exceeded the traditional developments of Roman or of feudal law. They embraced the excavations in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, the intricate growth of modern political communities with their imperial and domestic obligations, and the new contact of Eastern and Western civilisations. Hence, M. Flach tells us, the delay in the publication of the fourth volume of *Les Origines* is mainly due to the discovery of the Code of Hammourabi and to the rise of Japan, events regarding which his pen has not been idle.

These preoccupations help to explain the detachment of M. Flach. They also account, I think, for the fact that *Les Origines de l'ancienne France* cannot be described as great, or epoch-making or classic. It is not sufficiently coherent and definitive. Future scholars will not build upon it, as they will build upon the work of Julien Havet, and August Longnon, of Delisle, and Duchesne. But it will remain as one of the most suggestive books of our time. It will give new meaning to obscure sources and stimulate the study of provincial history in England as well as in France, and, by its range and penetrating qualities, it will save younger men from much arid work.

F. M. POWICKE.

²⁷ Other valuable works of later date supplementary to the main theme are his "Études critiques sur l'histoire du droit romain au moyen âge avec textes inédites" (1890) and "L'origine historique de l'habitation et des lieux habités en France" (1899). His recent writings upon mediæval Alsace, and the tenth-century Latin poem, Waltharius, though bearing upon the subject of his fourth volume, are inspired by French national claims.

[NOTE.—Since this paper was written, a review of M. Flach's volume by M. Louis Halphen has appeared in the *Revue Historique* (cxxix., 90-96). M. Halphen agrees with the view of M. Lot that the vassal relation between the crown and the greater fiefs is of early date. With a command of the texts to which I can lay no claim he elaborates a line of criticism similar to that suggested above in note 21. But he does less than justice to the value of other and more important aspects of M. Flach's book.]

THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE.¹

THE history of science is essentially the history of two ideas :— (1) That a working knowledge of any part of the universe is only obtained by the method of observation and experiment. (2) That to obtain results from that method it is necessary for the worker to confine himself to some connected and restricted field. How those ideas developed we may shortly consider.

The earliest philosophy arose in Asia Minor on the confines of the great eastern civilisations. In the social systems of the valleys of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Nile there had accumulated a great mass of observation, and upon them rough generalisations had been erected. These generalisations appear to have been an evolutionary product of what we may perhaps call the social consciousness, rather than the definite fruit of individual minds. Into this heritage the philosophers of the Ionian cities entered, and engaged upon the continuous and active process of cosmical speculation that became the ancestor of Greek philosophy and through it of Greek science.

As time went on knowledge accumulated, and separate sciences were gradually differentiated from the philosophy from which they had sprung. The earliest departments to be thus separated were naturally those in which the idea of number could be invoked. Mathematics thus became the first science in point of time, and by the extent to which mathematical principles can be applied we must still often test the stage that any science has reached. In the course of centuries the sciences became separated more and more from the parent stock of philosophy, but it is peculiar to Greek scientific thought that it never loses its relationship and dependence on its parent. Whether we look to the earliest traces of the scientific spirit in the seventh century B.C., when Pythagoras was working out his first formulated concep-

¹ *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. T. Merz. 4 vols. (Blackwood. 1907-1914. £3 0s. 6d.) *Science and the Human Mind.* By W. C. D. and C. D. Whetham. (Longmans. 1912. 5s.) *Britain's Heritage of Science.* By A. Schuster and A. E. Shipley. (Constable. 1913. 8s. 6d.)

tions of the relation of number to form, or whether we look to the last vitally original works of Greek science in the second century C.E., when Galen was giving to the world those ideas on anatomy and physiology which were to control medical thought for a millennium and a half, from end to end Greek science betrays its relationship to Greek philosophy. It is thus in keeping with the rest of the story that both Pythagoras and Galen were in intimate relation with philosophical sects.

No such ancestry can be ascribed to modern science, and herein we differ, as it appears, from the Greeks. Until lately it was the custom to regard the period of the Revival of Learning as identical with the Revival of Science, but the facts will not altogether accommodate themselves to this point of view. The history of the childhood of modern science has not been adequately written, nor are the facts yet in our hands for such a work. Before it is possible much more research into sources is needed. It is some reflection on the humanist education that has prevailed for four hundred years that while the records of Greek philosophy have been explored from end to end, we still await the material for any comprehensive statement of the developmental stages of the characteristic mode of thought of our own age.

Two things at least seem certain of the beginnings of modern science. Firstly, it did not arise as an offspring of philosophy, nor until it had gained some strength of its own did it form any alliance therewith. Formal philosophy played a subordinate part in the revival of letters, nor were the earlier renaissance philosophers at all in line with scientific discovery. Secondly, the revival of science was not directly related to the revived knowledge of Greek. The early Greek scholars showed little or no sympathy with scientific investigation, and the humanistic period was, on the whole, backward and sometimes even retrogressive in its scientific conceptions.

Attempts have from time to time been made during the modern period to link science to some philosophical system. Bacon and Descartes, Leibnitz and Spencer, among philosophers, devoted much attention to establishing a method of scientific investigation, but neither they nor others who have been occupied in such work have earned the lasting trust or attention of those who actively prosecute scientific research. All these philosophers imagined that human knowledge must extend itself along predicable channels, and that the outline of the form and direction in which science makes its conquests from the unknown

can be foretold on general philosophical principles. Such philosophers have ignored the actual history of the process by which scientific knowledge has been built up in modern Europe. It is this history which provides the key to the modern scientific position. No idea can be understood until its history is known, as was seen long ago by Comte, the first modern philosopher to grasp the full importance of the history of science.

Modern science, we have said, arose in a wholly different medium from ancient science. It arose, not among a group of philosophers thinking at large, and with nothing to check them save the limits of their own intellectual powers and a small and slowly accumulating mass of observations. Modern physical science first emerged in a highly sophisticated society, ruled intellectually by a most rigid tradition, limited by the claims of a priesthood, and reined in constantly by an interpretation of scripture which was only one degree more fettering than the interpretation of such Greek philosophy as had reached that age. In or about the thirteenth century men first began consciously to modify by observation the details of a vast tradition concerning the structure of the universe. Even after the broad outlines of the Greek conception of the cosmos had been abandoned, it was three centuries before the modern mind had fully shaken itself free from the Greek philosophical conceptions of the more minute and intimate details of the structure of the universe. The doctrine of the humours, for instance, was wholly abandoned only within living memory.

For the last half century, however, there have been unmistakable signs that this phase of scientific thought is nearing its close. The study of the history of thought has enabled us more and more to see how the past has shaped the thought of to-day, and it is becoming increasingly obvious that the time is nigh for philosophy and science to draw together again.

In this stage of the development of thought we may even venture to speculate that the long estrangement of science and philosophy has not been wholly a misfortune. We can see that this separation has given time for the accumulation of larger generalisations and more adequate data, so that the thinker of to-day may start to build his edifice with far richer and far sounder materials than was possible of old. Moreover, we have now learnt empirically some of Nature's tricks. We know that our measurements being but approximate, the laws we deduce therefrom can be but approximate, and must be ever undergoing the test and modification of fresh experience. We know at least the

degree of error of the senses, and have realised that at best our scientific results are but descriptions of recurring experiences, and cannot in the end describe the causes. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, we may now start our philosophical excursions in a society which has been organised for the obtaining of scientific data. We know the kinds of mind that are best suited for the collecting of scientific material, and we know something of the conditions under which the best observations are produced.

We may say, therefore, that human society has started this century with every hope of securing advances in its scientific knowledge, and in the control of Nature which that knowledge gives, which will be far greater in rate of accumulation and far more sweeping as to results than in any previous age. No small part of this advance will depend on the general education of the man of science, and the degree to which he grasps the nature of his task and its place in the general development of thought. For this purpose there is no agent so valuable and so truly educative as the history of scientific thought. Every scientist recognises the value of the recent history of his own science. None of his investigations can be successful unless he obtains the views of his immediate predecessors on the problems on which he is engaged. But for the scientist to take his rightful place in the intellectual world it is necessary that he should be able to analyse the character of scientific thought as such, and to that end he must learn something of the history of Science as a whole. The history of *his own* science, still less the *recent* history of his own science, must not be allowed to displace or divert attention from this greater field.

Auguste Comte (1798–1857), in the third decade of the nineteenth century, was probably the first to grasp fully the importance and value of the History of Science, and he did not cease to urge the establishment of a Chair for its teaching. The earliest attempt at a comprehensive work on the subject was made, however, in our own country, where William Whewell (1794–1866) produced in 1837 his *History of the Inductive Sciences*. It is interesting now to recall that this distinguished man, to whom was largely due the recognition of science at Cambridge, regarded his work on the History of Science as introductory to his *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*.

For many years, in spite of the influence and authority of Whewell, seconded by De Morgan, Herschel, and Brewster, the subject attracted little attention in England, though a number of histories of the separate sciences appeared, most of

them based on foreign works of a similar character. In the meantime, however, much was being done in France, Italy, and Germany. An interest in this country was to some extent aroused by the appearance in 1907 of the *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, by the veteran scholar, Dr. J. T. Merz. It is very fitting, however, that the first complete sketch should emanate from Whewell's own university and college, whence Dr. and Mrs. Whetham have sent forth their *Science and the Human Mind*, a very able and attractive though highly controversial account of the development of natural knowledge.

More recently the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and Professor Schuster have sought to awaken Englishmen to a consciousness of the greatness of their scientific heritage. Nothing can have less of the national element and be more truly cosmopolitan in the proper sense than scientific thought, and Dr. Schuster and Dr. Shipley are far too philosophical to regard truth as other than the world's inheritance. Yet it is a fact that from opportunity, arising doubtless from physical environment and social conditions, there have been certain special developments characteristic of the scientific work of each of the Western nations. The contemplation of the great part that Englishmen have played in rearing the magnificent edifice of modern science, and the extraordinarily high-minded and self-denying atmosphere in which their work has almost invariably been carried on, must help to stimulate that type of national feeling which looks to service as its highest ideal. Dr. Schuster and Dr. Shipley must be congratulated on having sounded this truly British note.

CHARLES SINGER

LORD MORLEY ON HISTORY.¹

THE recollections of one who is a man both of letters and of affairs make many appeals to the interest of the intelligent public, but none are so varied or so strong as the appeal they make to the student of history. They are in themselves an original document, a bit of history and of autobiography, illustrating not only the inner and outer course of politics for nearly half a century, but also the intellectual influences which determined the thought of the last generation. There have been greater statesmen than Lord Morley and also greater writers; but seldom has a man of letters been more eminent in politics or a politician achieved such distinction in letters. Apart from the fruitfulness of such a marriage of art and affairs, the combination has a peculiar interest and value for the student of history, because Lord Morley's writings have always had a historical or biographical bent; and in no other man's career and comments should we expect to trace more clearly the influence of historical precept on political practice and of political experience on historical conceptions. What has the student of history, turned politician, to say of politics or the making of history? and what has the politician, versed in affairs, to say of the way in which they are reported and represented by the historian?

The aspects of these "Recollections" which appeal to the general public have been discussed at some length in the general Press. They are mostly matters of current or recent politics on which historical judgment is hardly possible, partly because much of the truth is still veiled by official secrecy and partly because they are too intimately concerned with existing controversies for the critic to feel much confidence in his own impartiality. We can only here allude to the political episodes of the past generation on which Lord Morley's "Recollections" are likely to be of most value for the future historian and are of most help to the

¹ *Recollections*. By John, Viscount Morley, O.M. 2 vols. Pp. x+388, vi+449. (Macmillan. 1918. 25s. net.) *Notes on Politics and History*. By the same. Pp. 112. (Macmillan. 1913. 3s. net.)

student of current politics. From this point of view their interest is somewhat discounted by the fact that Lord Morley inevitably introduced a good deal of autobiography into his biography of Mr. Gladstone. It was through his intimate association with Mr. Gladstone in the Home Rule movement that Lord Morley, in Leslie Stephen's words, "soared into the political empyrean" in 1886; and from that time until Gladstone's retirement in 1894 the two men were almost inseparable in their political fortunes and ideas. There were, however, differences of opinion, and some people will be surprised to read that Lord Morley sided with Lords Spencer and Rosebery over the naval estimates in 1894, and thus helped to precipitate the resignation of their chief. They may also be surprised to learn that Lord Morley was one of the determining factors in the preference of Lord Rosebery to Sir William Harcourt as Gladstone's successor; and in these pages, particularly between the lines, we can discern the reasons which led Sir William's colleagues to prefer service under his rival's standard.

The Irish chapters are, of course, important, though not very well arranged, and occasionally disconcerting in their chronology, as when (i. 377-8) we jump back from a note in a diary dated January 23rd, 1895, to one dated October 25th, 1894. Nor, apart from the story of Parnell's fall, do they throw a great deal of light upon that troubled history. Possibly Lord Morley felt that it is, like those "queries of pith and moment" arising out of the present war to which he alludes on his concluding page, a matter "for something better weighed and more deliberative" than mere recollections. Possibly also he has lost some of his fervour in the Irish cause; at any rate, it is with another and a different problem of self-government that he is chiefly concerned in writing these pages, and nearly two-thirds of his second volume are devoted to the question of Indian reform. His five years' tenure of the Secretaryship of State for India occupy ground which is not covered in his life of Gladstone; and the importance of the subject and value of Lord Morley's services in laying the new foundations need no further advertisement after the publication of the recent Montagu-Chelmsford Report. As a page in Indian and Imperial history these chapters may prove more lasting than anything else in the book, but they are somewhat caviare to the general public, which will find more spice to its taste in Lord Morley's accounts of the changes in the Premiership in 1905 and 1908 and of the political crisis of 1910-11. Of the events which led up to the war there is perhaps naturally, and of the Cabinet discussions which led to Lord Morley's own resignation there is

properly, nothing. But occasional lights on recent developments may be found in the characterisation of some of his colleagues, and his description of Mr. Asquith (ii. 132) as "fair and engaging in temper, but not fertile," is worth more to the historian than reams of laudatory or vituperative journalism.

We turn from politics to culture and find in Lord Morley's "Recollections" what we think is an unrivalled contribution to the *Kulturgeschichte* of the Victorian age. His volumes may have suggested Mr. Asquith's Romanes lecture; they seem to us not only an ampler, but a richer, field. Both, indeed, protest against the pretentious depreciation of that age by the youngest of the young. By what title in truth can post-Victorians deride the epoch which produced Darwin and Spencer, Ruskin and Carlyle, Browning and Tennyson, Macaulay and Froude, Newman and Arnold, Thackeray and Dickens, George Eliot and Charlotte Bronte, Swinburne and Meredith? and all of these, personally or by their works, appear in Lord Morley's pages and contributed to his intellectual development. After a "short spell at University College School in Gower Street—where Chamberlain had preceded me, and Bywater, the great Hellenist [he might, by the by, have been spared the indignity of a dash for his Christian name in the index], was my companion," he went to Cheltenham and thence to Lincoln College, Oxford, where he should have come under Mark Pattison, but fell instead into the faithful but less artistic hands of Thomas Fowler, afterwards President of Corpus. Cotter Morison—a somewhat faded saint of the Comtist Church of Humanity—was the most influential of his undergraduate friends; but his course in the schools was discursive rather than strict, and his interest in the classics was derived from what they said rather than from the way in which they said it. Hence he did not distinguish himself in examinations, and hence, perhaps, we find him retaining enough Greek to read it late in life and enough Latin to interpolate in these "Recollections" a disquisition on Lucretius. He once sent in a poem for a prize, and, as he has often related in private, was rewarded by being told that in it there could be discerned the makings of a sound prose style.

From Oxford he came to London to combine literature with journalism and politics. His path was smoothed by Alexander Macmillan, the head of the firm to which Lord Morley became literary adviser, and for which he edited the "English Men of Letters" and the "Twelve English Statesmen" series. At the age of thirty he succeeded George Henry Lewes as editor of the *Fortnightly*, and made it for fifteen years (1867–1882) the chief

organ of those who were Radicals in politics and religion, science and art. His two great mentors in England were John Stuart Mill and Meredith, and abroad Comte, Victor Hugo, and Mazzini. There is much about all of them in these pages, and something, too, about Georges Sand and George Eliot and Swinburne, while in addition to some of these, his editorship brought him into relations with Matthew Arnold, D. G. Rossetti, Bagehot, Huxley, Pater, F. Harrison, Dicey, Leslie Stephen, Pattison, and F. W. H. Myers. Of the dead he owed most to Burke, whom he agrees for once with Macaulay in calling "the greatest man since Milton." Burke was, indeed, his great fount of political wisdom, and Radicals thought it as odd as that Lord Morley's first French study should have been of the Catholic Joseph de Maistre. One is almost reminded of Frederick the Great beginning his career with his refutation of Machiavelli, but the gibe would be unjust; for Lord Morley remained throughout life an admirer of Newman and a reader of his sermons, and except in opinion—to quote Carlyle on himself and Sterling—differed less perhaps from the Cardinal than from most of his radical friends. He was at least faithful to his maxim of "preferences, but no exclusions," which represents a truer catholicism than we have had in any church since the Reformation.

Burke and de Maistre seem far enough, however, from Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists, to whose vindication Lord Morley devoted the best of his literary work, though Turgot—Lord Morley's ideal of a practical statesman—helps to bridge the gap. These studies were provoked by Carlyle's contemptuous treatment of the eighteenth as a bankrupt century whose shams and sophistries were exploded by the Revolution; and it was Gambetta, we think, who remarked that Lord Morley was born to interpret the French to the English mind. He is, however, provokingly brief in his autobiographical references to this aspect of his career. There are descriptions of visits to Taine and Renan, and a tantalising sentence, interjected (ii. 186) in a letter to Lord Minto written thirty-five years later, "I was much in with Gambetta, Clemenceau, etc., after the smash of the Empire, and the battle for the Republic"; but that is all, and here at least his readers may complain that Lord Morley's preferences have led him to the exclusion of much they would like to have seen in his "Recollections." But, as he says, *multum diuque vixi*; and recollections embracing all his activity might well have been thought by their author tedious and prolix. Still, our own preference would have been for a little less correspondence with Lord

Minto over Indian reforms and a little more with Gambetta, Clemenceau, Victor Hugo, and Taine over the establishment of the Third French Republic. We may hope that at some distant date a full "Life and Letters" will fill the gaps left by these somewhat scanty recollections.

Gradually Lord Morley's absorption in letters gave way to affairs, and his interest in politics became more practical and more insular. The *Fortnightly* led on or down to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the studies of eighteenth-century philosophers were followed by an official biography of Cobden; and first Chamberlain and then Gladstone took the place of Mill and Mazzini, Gambetta and Victor Hugo. The "English Men of Letters" yielded to the "Twelve English Statesmen," and the author of "Compromise," or rather "No Compromise," produced an excellent plea for Walpole. Again, the ghost of Frederick and his *Anti-Machiavel!* Politics, Lord Morley has said, are almost always a case of the second-best (i. 301), and he was not able to escape the truth of his own maxim even in his literary work. The lives of Cobden and Walpole, and even that of Gladstone, excellent though they are in their way, lack the original inspiration which produced the *Voltaire*, the *Rousseau*, the *Diderot*, *Compromise*, and the *Miscellanies*. Success in politics does not consort with the Muses; and literature, like the churches, suffers most from prosperity. Only once in his later years has Lord Morley re-scaled the heights of his youth, and that was when, amid the disintegration of the party he helped to lead and the swelling triumph of ideas he detested, he delivered at Oxford his Romanes lecture on Machiavelli. Then once more we heard the clarion note of challenge to the boasting of efficiency over principle, of political strategy over eternal truths. It was repeated with vigour, but not with quite the same incisiveness, in the *Cromwell*, the best of Lord Morley's political biographies, because it is the least cumbered with details and correspondence, and confronts most clearly the life of a man with the ideas of his age and the principles of conduct between which he must make his choice.

But how does Lord Morley regard his own progress from history to politics? Like a wise man he does not quarrel with the bed he has made and on which he has chosen to lie. Experience has not led him to the shallow cynicism of the ignorant that politics are "a dirty trade," and that most men in politics are knaves. Gladstone had a longer experience of politics than anyone else with whose life and thought we are familiar, and Lord Morley quotes with approval his maxim, "It is always best

to take the charitable view, especially in politics." He also quotes Cobden on Palmerston, whom Cobden did not like—"I believe he is quite sincere; the older I get, the more do I believe in men's sincerity"—and he recounts how Eldon once asked Pitt whether men were oftener governed by motives low and corrupt, and how Pitt replied that the majority were really actuated as a whole by fair meaning and intention (i. 195-6). Nevertheless, he says that "most of the men I have known would rather have written the *Decline and Fall* than have been Mr. Pitt" (i. 187). The remark is reminiscent of Wolfe's comparison between the taking of Quebec and the writing of Gray's *Elegy*, and it is a sort of retrospective preference. What men would really like is the career of Pitt combined with the posthumous fame of Gibbon, to be Pitt in the eye of their own generation and Gibbon in that of posterity. At any rate, few have made the deliberate sacrifice of power in life to fame after death; and when the choice has offered they plunge into politics, feeling perhaps that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. Lord Morley, at least, seems to have no regrets that are not compensated by his political career; he would not, if he had the choice, retrace his political steps and start once more from the point at which he abandoned the single-minded pursuit of letters.

Neither, on the other hand, does he pretend that Clio is not a Muse whom it is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all. "History," he writes (i. 95), "has advanced with powerful stride to a commanding place within the last forty or fifty years, and a vigorous contest now stimulates and entertains us as to the true genius of the historic Muse, or whether she be a Muse at all, or only kitchen drudge; whether a Science reducing great bodies of detail to concentrated and illuminating law, or that very different thing, an Epic Art, a source of bright and living popular influence." The best answer to Lord Morley's conundrum is contained in his maxim "Preferences, but no exclusions." His antithesis implies the exclusion of either science or art from history, whereas both are indispensable; and Clio would be but a butterfly if she relegated all her drudgery to the kitchen. We have our preferences, and Lord Morley's are pronounced: after quoting "a historical student of remarkable power and knowledge" on Lord Acton to the effect that "it is better to have produced one solid monograph on the minutest point—better to have edited a single pipe-roll or annotated a single short chronicle—than to have accumulated for forty years unwritten learning that goes down to the grave and is lost," Lord Morley continues,

"Yet if I may for an instant associate myself with posterity, I undertake, in the four volumes of lectures and essays [of Lord Acton] collected by the pious zeal of his Cambridge pupils, to find at the very least one pregnant, pithy, luminous, suggestive saying in any three of their pages. As I turn them over, I am dead against the pipe-roll." That pipe-rolls would not appeal to Lord Morley we might have inferred; there is no allusion in these recollections to Maitland or Vinogradoff, and in spite of being a barrister and a statesman Lord Morley shows little sign of interest in the vast strides which legal and constitutional history have made in the last generation. Nor is the issue quite fairly stated between research and literature in the above passage; the criticism of Lord Acton was written before the lectures, on which he relies for its refutation, were published. Lord Acton's inaugural lecture had, however, come from the Press; and it alone would have provided material for a pointed contrast with the pipe-roll. Most of us would, like Lord Morley, be dead against the latter, but even so we should agree that the pipe-roll is better than an omniscience which is *spurlos versenkt*!

Most of these comparisons are, however, idle as well as invidious. Lord Morley has (ii. 67) an excellent remark that "true history is the art of *rapprochement*—bridging distances of place and circumstance." That is the comparative method, and it is the only method by which history can be brought to bear upon politics and raised to the level of literature and philosophy. This is no doubt the highest function of history, but it is not the only one. Even the comparative method is worthless unless the comparison is between real phenomena; and we need the most rigorous and scientific research to establish that truth in detail without which our general impressions are invalid and our comparisons quite fallacious. The specialist bent on contributing to accurate knowledge of detail is making true history no less than the profoundest dealer in generalisations, though the relative value of his labour may be less. There are many mansions in the palace of truth, and it is vain to press all the workers into the same laboratory and condemn them all to the use of the same machinery. The editor of pipe-rolls need not aspire to the fame of the man of letters or the philosopher, and we do well not to expect too nice a respect for evidence or too great a skill in research from the literary historian. To quote Virgil's allusion to Lord Morley's favourite Lucretius, *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*; but a knowledge of the causes of things hardly comes of an epic art which is "a source of bright and living popular influence" (i. 95).

We may admit that palæography, diplomatic, sigillography, numismatics, and the other scientific equipments essential to the discovery of historical truth do not make their votaries historians in the highest sense of the word. But neither does literary art, and Lord Morley hits the nail on the head in his remark on Macaulay's history, "full of cleverness, full of detailed knowledge, extraordinarily graphic and interesting, but I cannot make myself like the style. *That is not the way in which things happen*" (ii. 133). That is precisely the kind of criticism we want from men of affairs upon historians. Palæography and the rest teach us how official and other documents are constructed, but there is all the difference in the world between the way in which things happen and the way in which they are recorded; and when we have all our documents collected, collated, sifted, and arranged, we still need the intuition and the imagination to discern behind the parchment the play of human minds. For in all ages the most vital and intimate decisions are reached by unrecorded discussions and conveyed by word of mouth, and even the spoken word often conceals the real intention. The sense of how things happen and what men mean is the supreme qualification for the historian; it is his bond of sympathy and affinity with the statesman, and we could wish that Lord Morley, using this criterion, had given us his impressions of the many historians he cursorily passes under review. As it is, there is often more about the style than about the matter.

His most comprehensive survey of historians in general follows upon his criticism of Macaulay. After noting that he was reading Motley, "one of the most interesting of all the great European stories, told with fervent feeling," he goes on:—

Of what historian, then, do you say that he best knew the art of telling things as they really happened? Bare chronicles apart, I suppose Thucydides. He warns us that the strictly historical character of his work may disappoint the ear. . . . He is charged with missing the force of Aristotle's truth that civil confusions spring from trifles in occasion, but decide great issues. In fact, however, what he does is to envelop things of the occasion in the general reflections suggested by them on human nature, and the course of human events to which they belong.

For weight and imagination added to direct narrative, what passes Bacon's *Henry VII.*? I need not name the histories of the great Italians, Machiavel, Father Paul, Guicciardini. Be it noted that I am only answering my own particular question, and offering no general prescription either to myself or any other reader, to the presumptuous exclusion of Macaulay, Froude, Newman, and all others of a justly famous and popular band. Preferences, but no exclusions.

Of Thucydides, as of all ancient historians, the obvious criticism is that documents are so meagre that we have little means of checking them or determining whether events really happened as they described them; we are somewhat in the position of the art critics who, before the date of Holbein's death had been discovered, attributed to him hundreds of his pupils' pictures on the ground that their technique resembled his! And if the "bare chroniclers" may have known "the art of telling things as they really happened" better even than Thucydides, why should they be excluded from the rank of great historians? Of Bacon we do, indeed, know that he had ample experience of how things really happened, and that is his great qualification as a historian; but it did not save him from being misled by mere transcriber's errors into relating things which did not happen at all, and the statesman gave hostages to the palæographer when he based an account of Henry VII.'s entry into London after Bosworth and a theory of his conduct upon a misreading of *laetanter* for *latenter*. The historical fiction was comparable to that which Simeon of Durham fashioned about Alfred the Great's navy out of misreading *cum dom' irent* into *cum dormirent*. A general knowledge of how things happen is not an infallible guide to how they happened on any particular occasion.

On the other hand, this political experience is the greatest safeguard against the mere academic treatment of history, and Lord Morley puts this point in a criticism of Goldwin Smith (i. 387). He is "very unhistoric in spirit, and, what is more rare in him, essentially unpolitical; I mean he shows no perception of necessities and practical limitations; makes no allowances for inveterate antecedent circumstance; is conscious of no responsibility for showing a way out of difficulties; treats the problem as neither capable of solution nor requiring solution." It would be well if all historians remembered that the statesmen on whom they sit in judgment did not occupy easy chairs, that action was with them a necessity, and that criticism of what they did is idle unless a better way is pointed out. Gibbon himself has testified to the value of this practical sense, even though in his case it was based on an experience no more extensive than that of a captain in a yeomanry regiment; and Gibbon is the supreme historian to Lord Morley's authorities. T. Fowler "puts Gibbon far the first in one order of historians, Thucydides in the other" (ii. 66; the "orders" are not explained), while Mommsen, a better judge, was "full of enthusiasm" for him. Of Mommsen himself we read (i. 274) that he was "a man of inexhaustible energy; at

Oxford rose at 7; got to work by special arrangement in the Bodleian; breakfast at 9.30; back from 10 or so to 3; then a walk; then another hour at Bodley; then dinner and endless talk until 2 a.m. Has fifteen children!"

There is a more critical estimate of Froude in the following passage (i. 280):—

Began Froude's *Erasmus*. Readable as a novel, yet a cynical taste about it. No sincere historic sense—no depth of faith in any principle—cynical at bottom and misleading. One ought not to idealise in biography; not overmuch at any rate. But cheap satirical realism of this sort is falser than even over-idealism. I don't see how these lectures can do young men any good. The question, however, is no longer active. Poor Froude will lecture no more. He was the easiest of companions at table or in a walk, fond of truth in his own way, but too ready to snatch her by the hair of the head, and to think the quarrel between Protestant and Catholic the only thing in the universe that matters.

The odd thing is that this comment is dated August 6th, 1891; Froude did not lecture on Erasmus till 1892, and he continued lecturing until 1894. Later on (August, 1897, ii. 66) we have the admission that "it seems as if Froude were going up in the world, rather than down," and Fowler's reported opinion that Froude was "roughly and generally right about Henry VIII., etc." This illustrates Lord Morley's *flair* for catching the rising breeze of historical opinion; so does his remark (i. 273) made to Mr. Balfour in 1891, "the more I study the matter, the more do I feel that time makes Castlereagh bigger and Canning less." There was need for a better appreciation of Castlereagh, but less reason on that account for depreciating his rival.

To other historians we have but the briefest references. Stubbs (ii. 66) was "not a good writer; has no power of phrase, but he is a master of knowledge. His generalisation about Force, Right, and Idea² interesting, but he does not go to the root of the matter. Fowler told me, by the way, that Stubbs was loud in praise of my Machiavelli, praise worth having." The saying about Hallam that he was "the magistrate of history," is thought to be true "in a far deeper sense" of Acton (i. 233). Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* is "capitally written"; Burnet was "an enlightened fellow" (ii. 68). Gardiner (ii. 50) is merely described as "our laborious historian of the epoch" of Cromwell, but there is a warmer tribute in the preface to Lord Morley's *Cromwell*. Lord Morley has a few pages on the political considerations which led him to make that excursion into seventeenth-century biography; but he is very chary about his methods,

² In *Seventeen Lectures*, 1887, pp. 238 *sqq.*; cf. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, iii, 509-10.

and the historical beginner will not get many hints from these "Recollections" as to how he should set about writing history. Something is doubtless due to reticence, but historical students would have been glad, for instance, of some account of that Sunday afternoon in 1900 when Frederic Harrison took Lord Morley to call on Professor Firth at Oxford; the three biographers of Cromwell must have had something of interest to say between them.

Of ancient historians except Thucydides Lord Morley has little to say; Herodotus is mentioned once, and so is Tacitus, but Xenophon and Livy not at all. Sallust appears to have been his favourite Roman historian. There is even less about the German school, and Lord Morley belongs to that generation upon whose mind German historical scholarship only impinged of late, except when it dealt with ancient history; there was not even a translation of Treitschke into English until the war had forcibly brought home to Englishmen the trend of German political thought. With the French historians he is naturally more familiar, though Taine and De Tocqueville and Renan are the only French historical writers who figure in these pages. Taine and De Tocqueville were unavoidable as historians of the French Revolution, and Lord Morley gently reproves Taine, as he also did Lecky, for their lack of faith in democracy. "I cannot but fear that the first product of the application of so much talent to so vast a subject, or set of subjects, will be no deep or penetrating contribution to effective thinking about either past or present" (i. 301). Not that Lord Morley himself suffers from superabundant enthusiasm. Low spirits, he remarks (i. 275), "are what we call the mood in which we see things as they are." "You know," he writes later to Lord Minto (ii. 346), "the French saying, and a fine saying it is, that great thoughts come from the heart—to which I am always for adding a little rider that is apt to scandalise my friends, 'Yes, but they must go round by the head.'"

Recollections, however, are apt to be random, and Lord Morley's thoughts on history and historians are seen to better advantage in his brief *Notes on Politics and History*, an address to the university over which he presides as Chancellor that compares with Lord Acton's inaugural lecture, though we miss the wonderful appendix of notes and illustrations which recommends Acton's reflexions to the student if not to the general reader. Here we find evidence of reading which is not apparent in the "Recollections," references to Michelet and Guizot, Treitschke and

Sorel, Maitland and Fustel de Coulanges, the absence of which from the "Recollections" tends to mislead the historical reader. It would almost seem as though Lord Morley wrote his "Recollections" for politicians and his "Notes" for students. The thesis is not, perhaps, as clear as some would wish; but the controversies about the scientific, artistic, and other possible characters of the historic Muse leave no doubt that Clio is something of a sphinx, and her riddles do not admit of mathematical solutions. There is wisdom enough of his own and other people's in Lord Morley's "Notes," because rather than in spite of the absence of demonstrations. Some of us have preached on the text that "institutions are not made, but grow" (p. 41) without knowing that it was Lord Morley's. More profound is his answer to Rousseau, "Man is born two thousand years old" (p. 29). That, he remarks, "is what history means to our plain man, if he had time and patience to meditate beyond the hour." Similar is his quotation from Sorel, "history never does stop short" (p. 72). That is its unbreakable link with politics; history has made us what we are. We may differ from Lord Morley's judgments of history and of politics; but we all of us owe him a meed of thanks for the testimony he has borne in word and deed to the value of historical studies.

A. F. POLLARD

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE war having come, practically if not formally, to an end, peace has become the most urgent problem before us, and on all sides the question is being asked what, if any, contribution history has to make to a solution? We print two letters bearing upon the subject, and one of them, written on behalf of a Committee of the League of Nations Union, expresses, we understand, the views of such well-known writers as Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. J. A. Spender, Mr. William Archer, Canon Streeter, and Mr. F. S. Marvin.

* * * * *

THE point of these letters is a plea for the more efficient and sympathetic teaching of European history in our schools, a plea which has often been heard at the annual and other meetings of the Association and in the columns of this Review. It will need a lot of repetition before it becomes superfluous; but with all due deference to these writers, we think that the hour demands something more immediate, more practical, and less vague. If we are to wait for the effects of the influence of a re-inspired and re-educated staff of teachers upon children now at school, we have to postpone for something like a generation the realisation of that influence upon the actual course of politics. No doubt it will be invaluable, and the permanence of any form of internationalism will depend upon the cultivation of an international mind. But meanwhile, the question whether or no this war is to lead to a League of Nations will be decided in the next few months; and has the Historical Association nothing to say upon the bearing of history on that issue, or no means of saying it?

* * * * *

THE Conference of Educational Associations is devoting January 6th from 10.30 to 1 to a discussion of "Education and the League of Nations"; but the more immediate question of what light history throws upon the possibility or impossibility of any such organisation is surely a matter upon which the voice of historians should carry some weight. It might well be made a subject for discussion among the Branches, and there are always the columns of HISTORY open. We need hardly remind our readers of the series of pamphlets inaugurated by Viscount Grey and published by the Clarendon Press at 3*d.* each; and the same publishers have since issued two more elaborate treatises on the subject at 1*s.* each, one by Mr. Ernest Barker and the other by the Editor.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MOHAMMEDAN HISTORY.

SIR,

Upon reading the "Summary of Historical Examinations" published by the Historical Association I cannot fail to remark upon the entire absence of any examination in Mohammedan history except so far as it may be treated in the study of one particular country—namely, India. At such a time as the present, when the Islamic nations of the Near and Middle East are once again coming into prominence, it is surely a pity that the youth of Great Britain, which is one of the greatest Mohammedan Powers, should grow up in enforced ignorance of the history of countries to whom Europe owes much of its learning and civilisation. It is obvious that such a study could only be undertaken when a groundwork of European history had already been laid, or else there would be a danger of losing the perspective, but I feel sure that some knowledge, however slight, of the Caliphate and of Persia—to quote only two examples—would be beneficial and might well find a place in historical teaching.

I am, yours, etc.,

CHARLES A. PETRIE.

[Mr. Petrie may be glad to learn that one University at least is seeking to establish a Chair of Islamic Culture, and is proposing to make Oriental History one of the branches of history in which an Honours Degree may be taken.—ED.]

HISTORY SYLLABUSES.

The Maria Grey Training College,
Brondesbury, N.W.

SIR,

I note that in the October number of HISTORY you make sympathetic reference to the deputation received by the President of the Board of Education in July with the object of encouraging the study of Imperial history and geography. You comment that "greater emphasis in the ordinary school teaching of British history could and should be laid on its Imperial aspect," but that "so far as schools are concerned the main difficulty . . . is that of time." I should like to suggest that the time difficulty might be solved in many schools by the "scrapping" of much of the detail in which English history is taught, especially to middle forms, not only in the interest of Imperial studies, but in that of the teaching of world history on a wide basis.

The ignorance of the customs, ideals, and history of other Euro-

pean nations, which is so marked a characteristic of the ordinary man and woman of to-day, must be largely due to the fact that they were only taught British history at school, or, at the best, "British history and European history so far as it relates to Britain." I for one was astonished to discover at a recent conference of teachers of history in how many schools this type of syllabus still exists.

I would plead for the teaching of history on a broader and less insular basis, being confident that the interest and understanding of pupils in the subject will be materially increased, and that a deeper knowledge of the peoples of other countries and a wider outlook must make for the future peace of the world.

PHYLLIS WOODHAM SMITH.

HISTORY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

SIR,—“A League of Nations” is on the lips of everyone and in the hearts of many. But most of us know all too little about any other nations than our own. If the League is to be a reality this must be changed; we must learn to understand something of the problems and aspirations, the difficulties and triumphs of our fellow-members.

Full knowledge, of course, is a counsel of perfection, but the dense ignorance shown in the past—and too often in the present—with all its crops of prejudice, apathy, intolerance, and ill-will, can be, if we choose it, fought and to some degree mastered. No better weapon could be found than in the wise and large-hearted teaching of History. The history of Europe is, after all, essentially one, more intimately one perhaps than that of any other congeries of States equally diverse and equally vigorous ever known on the planet. All honour to the historians who have taught us this, from Carlyle—interpreter both of France and Germany to a generation accustomed to think of the first as a natural enemy and not to think of the second at all—down to G. M. Trevelyan in our own days, English writer of the most thrilling of all works ever written on the Italian Garibaldi.

But an enormous amount still remains to be done. Every teacher of History to-day has a heavy, if glorious, responsibility laid on him. Appealed to alike by reactionaries and faddists, overwhelmed too often by unwieldy classes and a crowded time-table, pestered by papers and parents, he must, if he is to rise to the height of his calling, thrust his way somehow through all obstructions, and make his scholars realise that the history of England, great as it is, is only part of something much greater, so great that England's own task cannot even be understood unless her children learn this and profit by the learning.

F. MELIAN STAWELL,
(on behalf of a Committee of the League of
Nations Union).

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

IX.—GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND THE BRUT AS SOURCES OF EARLY BRITISH HISTORY.

It was during the anarchy of King Stephen's reign that Geoffrey Arthur, commonly known as Geoffrey of Monmouth, completed one of the most influential books ever written in this country, the *History of the Kings of Britain*. Stories of these kings, Geoffrey says, were current by word of mouth, yet Gildas and Bede knew nothing of them—neither of those who had reigned before Christ, nor after, nor of Arthur himself. Whilst he was pondering over this, "Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, offered me a very ancient book in the British tongue, giving the actions of them all, from Brut to Cadwallader" [died circa 664 A.D.]. Geoffrey professes to be merely the translator of Archdeacon Walter's book, and claims that this book gives him knowledge not open to contemporary historians. Thus he concludes his *History*: "I leave the kings of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. But concerning the kings of the Britons I bid them be silent, seeing that they have not that book in the British tongue which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Brittany, and which I have made it my business to translate."

Some of Geoffrey's contemporaries admitted his claim to have made a great historical discovery. Henry of Huntingdon, in a long letter to a friend Warin, gives a summary of the whole of Geoffrey's *History*.¹ Walter of Newbury, on the other hand, denounced Geoffrey as guilty of shameless untruth, and his book as "raving against the faith of historic verity."² Giraldus Cambrensis was even more unkind, telling of a certain Welshman, who was much beset by evil spirits: the sufferer obtained relief when the gospel of St. John was placed on his bosom; "but when the gospel was removed, and the *History of the Britons* by Geoffrey Arthur was, as an experiment, substituted, the spirits settled not only upon his body, but upon the book, in greater numbers and for a longer time than usual."³

The popularity of Geoffrey's work was remarkable. A contemporary, Alfred of Beverley, made a summary of it, because, as he said, to be ignorant of these stories of the British kings was "to stamp oneself as uneducated."⁴ The great number of MSS. is a proof of this popularity—the British Museum alone has well over

¹ *Epistola Henrici ad Warinum*, in *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., ed. Howlett, iv. 65-75. (Rolls Series, 1889.)

² *Chronicles of Stephen*, I. 13. (Rolls Series, 1884.)

³ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, I. 5, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Dimock, vi. (Rolls Series, 1868.)

⁴ *Alfredi Beverlacensis Annales*, ed. Hearne, 1716, p. 2.

thirty, and of these eight or nine are of the twelfth century.⁵ This wealth of MSS. would render a critical edition a very laborious business; but there is great need for a reliable text of Geoffrey's *History* to form a basis of comparison with its numerous versions.⁶ The *History* was paraphrased into Latin verse.⁷ A French verse translation was made by Wace,⁸ and the translation of Wace was rendered into English verse by Layamon.⁹ The two manuscripts of Layamon vary on every page, and it is at present very difficult to say exactly what is the relation of Layamon to Wace, because the different manuscripts of Wace show such fluctuations that, pending a critical edition, no satisfactory standard of comparison is forthcoming.

There are at least four other French verse translations extant,¹⁰ and a fifth by Gaimar has been lost. Geoffrey's kings were adopted by the vernacular English chroniclers, by Robert of Gloucester,¹¹ and again by Thomas Castelford,¹² and again by Robert Manning¹³ of Brunne. Then there is the French prose *Brut*,¹⁴ and the English prose *Brut*.¹⁵ The Latin chroniclers accepted Geoffrey's *History*, as did, later, the English Tudor chroniclers.

In Welsh also many versions of Geoffrey's *History* exist. Three typés, extant altogether in thirty manuscripts, are enumerated by Mr. J. G. Evans.¹⁶ Many of these manuscripts are avowed translations of Geoffrey, but some have at the end a note to the effect:

"I, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this book from Welsh into Latin, and in my old age have again translated it from the Latin into Welsh."

That is to say, some manuscripts of the *Welsh History of the Kings of Britain* (and these, as it happens, the latest in date) claim

⁵ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, I., pp. 203-77—a most valuable account of Geoffrey, his MSS., and the versions dependent upon him.

⁶ These different versions are discussed from the point of view of the *Lear-story* by W. Perrett (*The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1904), and from that of the *Arthur-story* by R. H. Fletcher (*Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, No. x. of *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1906).

⁷ *Gesta regum Britannie, a metrical history of the Britons*, ed. Francisque Michel. *Cambrian Archaeological Association*, 1862. For an account of the Museum MS., see Ward, I., 274-7.

⁸ *Le roman de Brut par Wace, avec un commentaire par Le Roux de Lincy*. 2 tom. Rouen, 1836-8. For the Museum MSS., see Ward, I., 260-7.

⁹ *Layamon's Brut*, now first published by Sir Frederic Madden. 3 vols. London, Soc. of Antiquaries, 1847. See also Ward, I., 268-72.

¹⁰ (a) The Munich *Brut*. (*Der Münchener Brut*, herausg. von K. Hofmann u. K. Vollmöller. Halle, 1877.) Some have identified this with the work of Gaimar, supposed to be lost. (b) The version given in the British Museum MS. Reg. 13, A, XXI. (Partly the text of Wace, but ll. 53 to about 7,750 show an independent version.) (c) The version in the British Museum MS. Harl. 1605, consisting of five fragments. See Ward, I., 272-4. (d) *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft* (ed. T. Wright, Rolls Series, 1866-8.)

¹¹ *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. W. Aldis Wright. (Rolls Series, 1887.)

¹² Unique MS. at Göttingen.

¹³ *The Story of England by Robert Manning, of Brunne*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Rolls Series, 1887): (following Wace and Pierre de Langtoft).

¹⁴ Based (partially at least) on Wace.

¹⁵ The historic importance of this consists, of course, in its continuations. See Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 115, etc.

¹⁶ *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. by J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1890, pp. xiii-xix.

to be, not translations of Geoffrey, but copies of the source from which Geoffrey claims to have translated. To this version of the *History* the name *Brut Tysilio* has been given.

The *Brut Tysilio* varies in certain details from Geoffrey, but not more so than many of the other versions of Geoffrey mentioned above. Were it not for this claim to be a copy of the actual book of Archdeacon Walter, the *Brut Tysilio* would merely strike the reader as being yet another of the numerous versions of Geoffrey's *History*.

After this catalogue of existing *Bruts*, it remains to mention one which does not exist, but the assumed existence of which has been the cause of much confusion.

Geoffrey, we have seen, asserts that he is translating a book brought out of Brittany. Now, both Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* conclude with the mention of King Athelstan, who died A.D. 941. Therefore, if Geoffrey is speaking the truth about his sources, he presumably used a Breton book, which since it presumably mentioned Athelstan, but mentioned no one later than he, was, presumably, compiled in his reign. To this theoretical Armorican source, the *Biographie Bretonne* applied the name *Brut y Brenhined*. Since Geoffrey speaks of himself as a mere translator, the contents of this Armorican source were presumed to be identical with those of Geoffrey.

Dr. Hodgkin, however, misunderstood this reference in the *Biographie Bretonne*, and read it as being a reference to an actual existing document, "the *Brut y Brenhined* written in Brittany in the Breton dialect in the time of Athelstan [921-941]." Speaking of Geoffrey's account of Maximus and Conan, Dr. Hodgkin says: "All the main points of the story are to be found in the *Brut y Brenhined*, and were therefore not invented, though probably much adorned, by Geoffrey." "I owe this reference," he adds, "to De la Borderie's article 'Conan Meriadoc' in the *Biographie Bretonne*."¹⁷ But if anyone will turn to that article¹⁸ he will see that the *Brut y Brenhined* is simply the name there applied to the presumed Armorican original of Geoffrey, and that De la Borderie expressly states that such presumed original no longer exists. Yet this theoretical Breton *Brut*, assumed on the strength of Geoffrey's assertion, is repeatedly quoted as if it were an existing document confirming that assertion, and the great reputations of Dr. Hodgkin and Prof. Petrie have given to this view a currency which it would otherwise hardly have attained.

It needs, therefore, to be stated most unequivocally that this Armorican *Brut* does not exist. Its supposed existence arises from a slip made by Dr. Hodgkin in 1911. This is disappointing, for the references to it in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* must have led many students to hope that a new document was at last forthcoming, throwing light on a puzzling problem.

The Welsh text of the *Brut Tysilio* was printed in 1801.¹⁹ Ten

¹⁷ "Cornwall and Brittany," by Thomas Hodgkin. See the 78th Annual Report of the Cornwall Polytechnic Society. (New Ser., Vol. I., Pt. 3, 1911, p. 443, footnote.)

¹⁸ Levot, P., *Biographie Bretonne*, 1852-7, p. 411.

¹⁹ *The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales* [ed. by O. Jones, etc.], London, 1801-7.

years later a translation of it into English by Peter Roberts²⁰ appeared, and a translation of this English version into German²¹ was published in 1854. All these three works, though they differ in detail as to their views, accept the *Brut Tysilio* at its face value as representing the work which Archdeacon Walter gave to Geoffrey.

This view has recently been vigorously maintained by Professor Petrie in his paper on "Neglected British History."²² Professor Petrie not only believes that the *Brut Tysilio* is substantially the book of Archdeacon Walter which Geoffrey used; but he further believes it to be "based upon documents extending back to the first century A.D.," and "the fullest account we have of early British history." Consequently, he censures strongly the many historians who have overlooked it. It is proposed to discuss this question in the next number in a joint paper between Professor Petrie and the writer.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

²⁰ *Collectanea Cambrica. The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, transl. from . . . Tysilio.* London, 1811.

²¹ *Gottfried von Monmouth und Brut Tysilio, herausg. von San Marte [A. Schultz], Halle, 1854.*

²² *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. VIII. (Read Nov. 7, 1917.)

REVIEWS.

A History of Ancient Coinage, 700–300 B.C. By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.B.A. 463 pp., with 11 plates. Oxford University Press, 1918. 18s. net.

PROFESSOR GARDNER, returning after many years to that branch of archæology in which he first made a reputation, is like a distinguished traveller who comes back after a long journey, during which communication with home has been difficult and irregular. He sees things from a new angle and in longer perspective, and is ready to pass over details, which may seem, to those who have been working them out, to be of importance. His distinguished career should make the stay-at-homes, the numismatic specialists, listen with respect when he implies that they are working in a narrow groove, and that they are neglecting certain things the importance of which is very evident to himself. They have not gone the right way about extracting from coins the evidence which they can, if properly coaxed, yield about the economic, commercial, and political relations of the Greeks, the chief source of such evidence being the standards on which the coins of the innumerable independent states of the Greek world were issued. They are also too prone to study the coinage in geographical compartments, following, for instance, the history of the Athenian or the Carthaginian mint from beginning to end, without considering the other contemporary coinages with which it must have been in relation, or divorcing Rhegium from Messana, or Chalcedon from Byzantium, because of the straits that separate them. It is as well that these criticisms should be made, and the advantages of the comparative method demonstrated. If the history of the English coinage cannot be fully understood without a study of the coinages of France and the Netherlands, it will hardly be denied that the Greek coinages must equally be studied from the point of view of inter-State relations. The "pure" numismatist will, of course, go on with his cataloguing and minute arrangement of separate series; Professor Gardner would be the first to admit that, unless he did so, those who take "broad historical views" would be at a loss for material. The specialist will plead also that Greek history, as distinct from the history of Greek cities, begins just where Professor Gardner leaves off, with Alexander the Great, and a sectional treatment of the earlier period is partly justified by the character of Greek politics. When he sets to work to criticise, he will be able here and there to find errors and omissions in the great mass of detail, and to prove that much of the evidence of ancient money standards is untrustworthy or unintelligible, owing to inaccuracy of weights. He will also probably argue that the book is both too long and too short: too long, because the principle which the author seeks to establish is clear enough after one or two chapters, and the demonstration only loses

force when it is dragged all over the Greek world at the tail of the author's conscientious desire to cover the whole ground, traversing regions in which his interest would appear to be slight; too short, because metrology can only be made interesting and convincing if it is carried out in great detail and the problems really thought out. All Professor Gardner's previous writings have been models of lucid exposition, and we cannot think that it is merely the subject, thorny though it be, that makes it impossible to give the same praise to this. But enough of the grumbling of the specialists, which may, after all, be a sign of an uneasy conscience. Professor Gardner's method of "taking cities in groups rather than separately, tracing lines of trade influence from district to district, trying to discover the reasons why particular coin standards found acceptance in one locality or another," though it has not been entirely neglected in the past, will certainly be more widely practised in the future, thanks to the stimulus of his book. He employs it with signal success in some passages, such as those which deal with the Ionian Revolt, the Athenian Empire, and the gold coinages of Asia Minor. These chapters may, indeed, be read first by those who wish to understand the method and to learn how the study can really illuminate history, and whose hearts may fail them at the mass of details, not very attractive to most people, which are marshalled in the remaining pages. A reviewer of a certain book on the historical aspect of Greek coinage once said that he did not see the use of such archæological aids; they only raised new problems and upset existing opinions. Professor Gardner's book would have fallen under the same condemnation, which one class of teachers, at least, will regard as no small praise.

G. F. HILL.

The Land of the Two Rivers. By EDWYN BEVAN. London: Edward Arnold. 1917. Pp. viii + 126 with map. 2s. 6d. net. (4½ in. by 7½ in.)

IN the light of recent events in the Near East it was a happy idea to sketch the history of civilisation in *The Land of the Two Rivers*—of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Mr. Bevan has supposed himself "addressing someone with no special knowledge of ancient history beyond those general notions attached for everybody to Greece and Rome and certain familiar Bible names." "My object has been," he says, "to do in writing what one might do in conversation if anyone casually put the question: What, as a matter of fact, has Mesopotamia stood for in the past?" Unfortunately, one cannot but feel that Mr. Bevan has missed his opportunity. One recalls such brilliant popularisations of ancient history as those of J. L. Myres (*The Dawn of History*) and D. G. Hogarth (*The Ancient East*) in the Home University Library, or R. A. S. Macalister's *A History of Civilisation in Palestine* (e.g., especially c. III), and Mr. Bevan's book will not stand the comparison. To interest the general reader such a sketch must give a picture of life as it is lived under strange conditions, and the present reviewer has sadly missed that sense of vividness, of concrete detail, which makes the story a thing seen. Two instances will suffice. Contrast Mr. Bevan's geographical outline with that recently given by A. T. Olmstead,¹ or compare the single arid para-

¹ *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xxxiii. (July, 1917), pp. 285 sqq.

graph which Mr. Bevan (p. 33) devotes to the Hammurabi code with the brief but illuminating sketch of social life in early Babylonia given by C. H. W. Johns in his Schweich Lectures,² and the difference will be obvious. Indeed, the book will probably be most useful as a *résumé* for students who have already studied the subject in larger works. The sections on the Hellenistic period are, as might have been expected, the best in the book; perhaps Mr. Bevan will give us a second edition. If he does, there are many points which might be reconsidered, of which one or two only can be noted here. Thus the Amorites appear for the first time on p. 31 without a word of explanation; the reader could not infer how complete is our ignorance on the subject of the Amorites—that, indeed, to us the name is hardly more than a conventional term characterising the Western Semites.³ Mr. Bevan seems to restrict the Sumerians (p. 21) to the southern part of the alluvial land of the two rivers; but such a view must be qualified in the light of the startling discoveries made as far north as Asshur of sculptures which “if offered for sale without a knowledge of their provenance would undoubtedly have been accepted as coming from Tello or Bismâya, the sites of the early Sumerian cities of Lagash and Adab. . . . The evidence suggests that the Sumerians . . . were also at a very early period in occupation of Assyria.”⁴ Sargon’s ships, we read (p. 27), went across the great “Sea of the Sunset” to establish his authority in Cyprus. L. W. King has shown that the statement of Sargon’s omen tablet is due to a confusion, and that the true reading should be the “Sea in the East.”⁵ The death of Attalus III. placed in 153 B.C. (p. 92) is obviously a misprint for 133 B.C. In Mr. Bevan’s account of Rome’s policy on her Eastern frontier the importance of Armenia especially from a military point of view is not clearly brought out. A paragraph might be added giving the results of B. W. Henderson’s study of this subject.⁶ “Rome never tried to latinise its E. provinces” (p. 102)—“until it was too late” should surely be added; Mr. Bevan has forgotten the unsuccessful efforts of the fourth-century emperors. In the account of the relations between Constantinople and the Sassanid empire it is strange that the reign of Anastasius is not mentioned, memorable as it was for the foundation of the great frontier fortresses of Daras and Martyropolis, while Mr. Bevan has not noticed that it was the religious motive of protection of oppressed Armenian Christians which opened up afresh the struggle between Byzantium and Persia under the Emperor Justin.⁷ Rome’s Eastern wars of

² *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples*. Schweich Lectures, 1912. 2nd. edn. 1917. Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press. pp. 5 sqq.

³ cf. L. W. King: *A History of Babylon*, c. iv. (London, 1915.) For the extent of our ignorance of the Amorites, cf. M. Jastrow: *Enc. Biblica*: art. Canaan, col. 642.

⁴ L. W. King: *op. cit.* pp. 137 sqq., with reproductions of these primitive sculptures.

⁵ L. W. King: *A History of Sumer and Akkad* (London, 1910), pp. 234 sqq. For our accounts of Sargon’s campaigns in the West, cf. Olmstead: *op. cit.* pp. 311 sqq.

⁶ B. W. Henderson: *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (Methuen, 1905), c. v. cf. P. Pascal Asdourian: *Die Politischen Beziehungen Zwischen Armenien und Rom*. Freiburg (in der Schweiz) Dissertation. Venice, 1911, and E. H. R. xxv. (1910), pp. 625–643.

⁷ Cf. A. Carrière: *Sur un chapitre de Grégoire de Tours relatif à l’histoire d’Orient*. Bibl. des Ecoles des Hautes Etudes (Sect. hist. et philol.): *Annuaire*, 1897–8. pp. 5–23.

the end of the sixth and early seventh centuries are, indeed, the first Crusades. Mr. Bevan makes the Emperor Heraclius in 622 convey the Roman forces to Alexandretta and then cross the Taurus; Tafel proved more than sixty years ago that this statement was simply due to a misunderstanding—Heraclius sailed into the Gulf of Nicomedia⁸—but an error which has once got into the text-books bears a charmed life!

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

An Introduction to Early Church History: Being a Survey of the Relations of Christianity and Paganism in the Early Roman Empire. By R. MARTIN POPE, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1918. 4s. 6d.

A GOOD book on the Church history of the ante-Nicene period is a pressing need. We have in English some admirable monographs on detached subjects, and one excellent little volume, by the late W. H. Simcox, *Early Church History*, which covers only just half the ground. Even in French, Duchesne, masterly as is his treatment of the fourth and fifth centuries, is relatively disappointing for the centuries that precede. Any attempt, on whatever scale, to fill the gap may be sure of benevolent welcome. Mr. Pope's modest little volume does not profess to be a history proper; its plan is to isolate certain aspects or elements of primitive Christian history, and to give a connected account of each of them in turn. The idea is admirable, but one doubts a little whether such a book is best suited for the beginner; for his purpose there are perhaps too many impressions and too few facts, and facts must, after all, be the only adequate basis of history. On the other hand, it should be useful for the rather more advanced student as giving him a series of points of view under which he can group the facts he has acquired. And for the more advanced student it will not matter that Mr. Pope's estimate of early Christian history is sometimes rather one-sided. So much in the evidence is difficult to appraise at its exact value that we hesitate to rule out any interpretation; yet one would have thought it quite impossible to deduce from Tertullian's language that he protested against the use of the sign of the cross (p. 68, n. 1). But we gladly pass over any such dubious statements or other minor blemishes in order to dwell on the freshness of the book as a whole; and as examples of the method employed we would specially commend the chapters entitled "Rival Faiths and Philosophies" and "The Verdict of the Outsider."

C. H. TURNER.

The Lausiaca History of Palladius. Translated from the Greek by the REV. W. K. L. CLARKE. 188 pp. S.P.C.K. 1918. 5s.

THE *History of Palladius*, originally composed for the edification of Lausus, Chamberlain at the Court of Theodosius II., has long been known to scholars as one of the main sources of detailed information concerning the modes of life of those multitudes of ascetics who went to make themselves uncomfortable in the Egyptian

⁸ G. L. F. Tafel: *Theophanis Chronographia. Probe einer neuen kritisch exegetischen Ausgabe.* Sitzungsberichte d. Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil. hist. Classe. ix. Vienna, 1852, cf. Sir W. M. Ramsay: *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor.* Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers. iv. (London, 1890), pp. 187, 201; and *E. H. R.*, xix. (1904), pp. 694—702.

deserts in the fourth century of the Christian era. Until 1898 it was, however, a source very difficult to use, because of the great divergence between three different versions of it which were in existence, and because of the obvious corruptions in the texts of them all. But during the years 1898-1904 Dom E. C. Butler, of Downside Abbey, published a critical edition of the text, in which corruptions are emended and the relation of the three manuscripts to one another conclusively elucidated. It is this pure and reformed version which Mr. Lowther Clarke has rendered into excellent, although judiciously euphemistic, English.

The *Lausiac History* is a book of extraordinary interest, both human and divine. For Palladius (c. A.D. 363-c. A.D. 420) was himself an ascetic who spent some twelve years among the lonely eremites of the desert of Cellia or in the large and ordered monasteries of Pachomian Tabennisi. He came into intimate contact with men who had known the great St. Antony himself, and he was himself possessed of the faith and the enthusiasm which filled the pioneers of the monastic movement. He gives us sketches of the lives and spiritual achievements of some seventy "inspired athletes of Christ," as he calls them. These sketches contain vivid descriptions of long-contested wrestling matches with demons; they tell of frequent and successful efforts to break all previous records in austerities and self-abnegation—e.g., in going without food, in battling with sleep, in multiplying prayers, in being stung by mosquitoes, and in remaining unwashed. It is incredible how long some of them stood it. One old lady whom Palladius saw had endured for no less than eighty years. Those to whom this sort of athleticism appeals will no doubt be edified; those to whom it does not will nevertheless derive much curious and interesting information concerning deluded human nature and perverted piety.

F. J. C. HEARNshaw.

Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation. Compiled by G. C. COULTON. Cambridge, 1918.

MR. COULTON's book gives us the most attractive reading. Under many quaint and vigorous headings he leads us, by way of chronicle, poem, homily and other record, through the true Middle Ages and the transition period which followed them down to the sixteenth century Reformation. It is a long and delightful journey as we pass from the "land and folk" of John of Trevisa and Ralph Higden—turning back where necessary to pick up a clue, as, for instance, from Pope Gregory the Great—to Erasmus's visit to England in 1514. We learn from their own lips, as it were, how our forefathers lived in town and on the manor, something of their houses, architecture and arts, their dress and sports, their education and travel, their superstition and their science, their fighting and their justice, and finally their thoughts on religion. Mr. Coulton places so generously at our disposal the fruits of a reading in the times in question wider than most living Englishmen can boast, and with such charming effect, that criticism seems almost ungrateful. The great difficulty of the book, however, is the grouping on one canvas, as it were, of figures and facts drawn from so wide a range—from the history of a civilisation which passed during the period under review through well-marked stages of rise to a kind of zenith in the late twelfth

and early thirteenth centuries, and of decline and fall. It is with a certain shock that one turns from Erasmus's feelings at the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham in the early sixteenth century to the Flagellants of the Great Plague of 1348-9; or even to Gerald of Wales lecturing at Paris in the late twelfth century; or to a thirteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury threatened with excommunication with bell, book, and candle for delayed payment of his debts to the merchants of Lucca. But the picture is a fascinating one, and the figures, though far apart in time and development, are drawn from the very life of their century and with a humour and sympathy which rarely fail. Nor has Mr. Coulton missed the more difficult aspects for his purpose of mediæval life, as, for instance, the cosmopolitan setting in Church and State even of the more remote and isolated units of that life, the manor and small town. He rightly quotes without apology a German account of the relations between clergy and people in a good parish side by side with the enactments of an English Archbishop, and even the observations (though through an English source) of that keen observer, James of Vitry. From this point of view perhaps he hardly does justice to the vast labours in England as elsewhere of the great European order of S. Benedict, but his account of the friars is admirable from this as from every point of view. The character of their work can be illustrated as well or better from Jordan of Giano as from our own Thomas of Eccleston, and he uses both.

That this delightful book illustrates the writer's view of the Middle Ages is inevitable. That the best life of those ages was failing, moreover, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries—in spite of the appearance of the classic expression of their religious feeling in the *De Imitatione Christi*—few would deny. But Mr. Coulton opens one of his leading sections by the statement that the Middle Ages “may be looked upon as a long process of suffering and convalescence from the barbarian invasions,” and chooses passages to illustrate this under the heading “A Dying World.” Here he may be said to join issue with one of the greatest mediævalists of our time, who has warned us against regarding even feudalism itself as a disease rather than as a “stage of progress.”

A. M. COOKE.

Protestantism in Germany. By KERR D. MACMILLAN, President of Wells College. Princeton, N.J. 1917. \$1.50 net.

THIS is a timely, interesting, and exceptionally well-written book, sound in scholarship, and crisp in style. Mr. MacMillan is as familiar with the history of Protestantism, both Calvinistic and Lutheran, as with the inner life of Germany to-day. And this is what really accounts for the merits of his book.

The book consists of lectures given in the Theological Seminary of Princeton, N.J., and hence its sympathy with Calvinism rather than with Lutheranism. Or, rather, the author criticises Lutheranism from the point of view of those democratic principles for which, as von Ranke¹ pointed out, the United States is indebted to the Synod of Homberg, 1526, and so, ultimately, on the one hand, to Zwingli (for Lambert, the inspiring genius of the Synod, was a convert of Zwingli), and on the other to Luther himself. The

¹ L. von Ranke, *The Reformation in Germany*, 461. (Routledge, 1905.)

Synod of Homberg is dependent, as Mr. MacMillan shows, on Luther's *German Mass*. These democratic principles, now cherished by every American, and once held, but abandoned, by Luther, give us the standpoint from which we are to answer the question whether Luther can be rightly charged with responsibility for the war.

The charge has been made by M. l'Abbé Paquier, who lays the war to the charge of Luther. In examining this charge, Mr. MacMillan finds "a remarkable similarity between the mental attitude of the German people" in the seventeenth century and in the twentieth. It is "arrogance and intolerance," now as then, though their outlook in the period of Lutheran orthodoxy, or Protestant scholasticism, was theological, whereas now it is political. He then asks to what is this temper—and the war which arose from it—really due? And he answers, Not to the Lutheranism of Luther, but to that of the Lutheran theologians and Courts of the age that succeeded him. It is the consequence of territorialism, and its issue the absolutism of the State.

This thesis is then historically sustained by a rapid but thorough survey of the history of German Protestantism. In Chap. I. the author shows how the influence of Luther became at once, and has since continued, paramount. The Reformation there, as in every country except England, was a one-man movement. Neither Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, nor Knox had an equal or a successor. Luther's views, then, are determinative, and one might naturally have expected them to be so in the matter of Church government. Chap. II. is devoted to examining them in this sphere, and it is shown that, so far as his doctrine of Christian liberty permitted government at all, they looked towards congregationalism. But the German people were not ripe for it, as Luther was the first to perceive. So, after the Peasants' War, 1524, when Luther threw himself on to the side of the princes against the peasant, and Lutheranism lost for ever any prospect of gaining a hold upon the masses, Luther abandoned congregationalism, and acquiesced in territorialism. This is the drift of Chaps. III. and IV. Thus the German Reformation was scarcely launched before it lost religious vitality in proportion as it threw itself upon and was exploited, for political purposes, by the princes. The author then traces the acquisition of the supreme authority in Church affairs, by the territorial sovereigns, specially in Brandenburg and Prussia.

Here the prince acquired his ecclesiastical powers, not as "the eldest son of the Church"; for when John Sigismund, 1608-19, or the Great Elector, 1640-88, ruled there, the Sovereign was a Calvinist, and yet the Churches of Brandenburg and Prussia were obliged to accept as their supreme lord a prince of another faith. Nor did the prince rule the Church as the heir, in spiritual things, of the bishop, though bishops had given place to superintendents because superintendents were cheaper; the prince did not claim to preach and to administer the sacraments. But the prince did rule as prince-bishop—i.e., as territorial Pope, or the head of a *Polizei-staat*. Such is the state of things made clear in Chap. V. on "Theories and Practice." True, there were rival theories—e.g., the collegiate theory, insisting on the rights of the *collegia* or congregations, and this theory had its appropriate champions in the Pietists. There was also the theory of natural rights, put forth under the influence of the Enlightenment. But these rival theories availed

nothing. What survived was the power of the State, as expressed in the Prussian Land Law, which "carried the spirit of Frederick the Great's ecclesiastical policy" on from his own day (1740-86) to "the year 1900." "All Churches are but legal associations under the control of the State." In other words, Prussia, for all the Lutheran origin of its religion, presents us with the supreme example of the State in which liberty, religious, and other, is really extinct. It is no *communitas communitatum*—i.e., a rule under which voluntary societies can functionise—though this liberty is not denied to individuals; but, in the doctrine of Treitschke, it can recognise no other interest than its own power.

In Chap. VI. the President then goes on to show how Frederick William II., 1786-97, "clubbed the Church into submission," while Frederick William III., 1797-1840, subjected it to the Royal Will by the help of his minister Altenstein and the *Agenda Borussica* of 1822. He could not, of course, plead the authority of Luther for his Liturgy, but he could and did insist with truth on what Luther acquiesced in, viz., the authority of princes. And, moreover, it was "the prince as prince that exercised the jurisdiction: the *jus episcopale*" being "not annexed to, but immanent in, the civil government." The result of this system on the religion of Prussia is the subject of Chaps. VII., VIII., and it has been appalling. So absolute were the rights of patrons, royal and noble, that while there was no bishop, but only an examination of the candidate to act as a check upon a patron's right of presentation, this examination was held, not before, but *after*, presentation; and one qualification of the presentee was, not infrequently, that he should "marry the patron's mistress."

It is true, then, that if Luther had stuck to his original principles—Christian liberty and congregationalism—the State absolutism and the irreligion resulting from it, which are largely the causes of the present war, would have had less opportunity of developing out of the territorialism in which he acquiesced. Mr. MacMillan, we consider, proves his case that it is territorialism, and not the genuine opinion of Luther, which is to blame. A very interesting proof it is, intrinsically of greater value than the passing question which led to its presentation. But we think, too, that there are elements in genuine Lutheranism which have contributed to make the temper of the German people what it is and so to bring about the war. The first is Protestant individualism. "Religion," as the Social Democratic Party says, "belongs to the individual." A Catholic would not deny the importance of personal religion, but he would see in this individualism the essence of Protestantism, and that is it which, according to Mr. MacMillan, leaves every man free to make his own religion and Germany to fashion "the German God." Then there is Pietism, a native instinct of Luther's; but Pietism is subjectivism, and where it rules absolute standards vanish. They give way to "judgments of value" and to the theologies of mere experience, which in England many have borrowed from Ritschlianism to-day. These tendencies Mr. MacMillan sees in Lutheranism, and he estimates their consequences at their true value. But has he ever considered the direct responsibility of Luther for modern German rationalism? Next to Marcion, Luther is the most distinguished heretic who has claimed to interpret the Scriptures by a Gospel of his own making instead of taking the Scriptures as accredited for

him by the Church and shaping his Gospel accordingly. This is rationalism: to interpret the Scriptures, and even to accept or reject them, in accordance with some *à priori* standard. With Marcion it was the essential opposition of matter to spirit; with Luther it was justification by faith; with modern German criticism it is anti-supernaturalism. Whatever is inconsistent in the Scriptures with one or other of these *præjudicia* must go. And, so far as German rationalistic criticism—we are no opponents of scientific criticism, but convinced advocates of free inquiry—is responsible for undermining Christian belief and practice and to that extent for the irreligion which has produced the war, to that extent the war may be laid to the door of the parent of modern rationalism—*i.e.*, Luther. Nevertheless, if all teachers were to be held to the ultimate consequences of some of their positions, consequences which they themselves would have been the first to repudiate, who is to throw the first stone?

B. J. KIDD.

France: The Nation and its Development. By W. H. HUDSON. Harrap. 10s. 6d.

A Short History of France. By MARY DUCLAUX (Mary F. Robinson). T. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d.

A Short History of France. By VICTOR DURUY. (Translated.) Everyman's Library. 2 vols. 1s. 6d. each.

IF English readers remain ignorant of French history it will not be for want of books on the subject. A short time ago we reviewed Mr. Macdonald's three volumes. Kitchen's *History of France* still holds and deserves an honoured place. The excellent volume—excellent alike in its illustrations and the clearness of its narrative—by Jarvis, better known as *The Student's History of France*, and recently edited by Mr. Hassall, ought also not to be overlooked. And here are three more books on the same subject, each in its way worthy of a hearty welcome.

Professor Hudson's book is a clear, well-informed narrative of the course of French history from its dim beginnings down to the foundation of the Third Republic. The most recent part of the story is treated very summarily. Ten pages cover the period from 1852 to 1871, while Henry IV.'s reign has twenty-five pages. This implies a false sense of proportion, and is all the more curious because the writer's sympathies are warmly with modern France in her aims and principles. He sees in the French Revolution of 1789 the key to modern history, and, in an unfortunate phrase, welcomes the Russian Revolution, "which happily gives every promise of stability." The lack of space devoted to modern France is to be regretted, because it is precisely the modern period that English people are as a rule least acquainted with. But after this I have nothing but praise for the book. A good deal of attention is given to social and literary topics. The book is admirably illustrated, and the pictures are made more useful by short notes as to their origin and the significance of the objects represented. Professor Hudson can always be relied on for a clear narrative of even the most tangled periods. He gives no bibliography, but is clearly well acquainted with the French and English literature on the subject.

Madame Duclaux's book is of a different kind. She writes, she

says, "neither for schoolboys nor historians," but has in view "the class of cultivated and ignorant men and women to which I myself belong." But the student of history will be unwise if he neglects a volume of great charm, and he will be much better informed than the present reviewer if it does not teach him much. The tone is personal throughout. Madame Duclaux does not hesitate to give her opinions upon men and policies. She introduces many French passages, which are admirably selected and often accompanied by translations either in prose or verse that are never commonplace. My only complaint of the book is that the author (on p. 95) tells us that she has "no time nor skill" to tell the story of Joan of Arc. She sends us instead to other books on the subject, which are all good; but the best does not reconcile us to the refusal of a few pages from her own charming and picturesque pen. Every chapter has a list of "Sources Consulted," which are, like the whole book, personal, original, and suggestive. Who but Madame Duclaux would send us to Anatole France's *Clio* and Sainte-Beuve's *Volupté* for further light on Napoleon? I hope I have made it clear that the book is a very valuable and original contribution to our list of French histories. It is regrettable that it ends with the Battle of Waterloo. A fine and finely translated quotation from Ronsard on the last page shows how well Madame Duclaux realises that the history of France does not end there. On the last page but one she quotes the words of the German Gneisenau: "L'Angleterre ne veut pas qu'il arrive de mal à la France." It is one of the many quotations we have to thank her for.

The Everyman Library has been well advised in issuing a translation of Duruy's *Short History of France*. Duruy had a great knowledge of history, and the gift, which the French possess beyond any other people, of clear and interesting presentation of a compressed narrative. The translation by L. Cecil Jane and Lucy Menzies reads easily and keeps much of the interest of the original. On p. 508 of Vol. II., "La force prime le droit" is curiously translated "Force excels law." On p. 515 (in the appendix) we are told that Ollivier "has repudiated his famous saying" that he accepted the war of 1870 "with a light heart." But, on the contrary, he admits in *L'Empire Libéral* that he used the words, but explains the phrase as implying only that his heart was light because his conscience was easy, and the war was essentially defensive and inevitable.

A. J. GRANT.

La Corruption parlementaire sous la Terreur: Études Robespierriistes.
Par ALBERT MATHIEZ. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1917.
3.50 f.

THOSE who believe that the plenitude of original sources can ensure certainty and uniformity of historical judgment may well study the French Revolution. Although the contemporary witnesses are counted by thousands, and the contemporary documents by millions, the character of every public man who took a notable part is still the theme of furious controversy. Professor Mathiez writes for Robespierre and against Danton. He returns to the well-worn theme of Danton's corruption. The main facts in this debate are few. Danton began life a poor man. His practice at the Bar was modest; his time as a Minister was short; his pay as a deputy was not high; yet he left

a small but appreciable fortune. Professor Mathiez, who has scrutinised the evidence with the keen eye of a prosecuting counsel, declares that Danton left property of all kinds to the amount of about £7,000 English. Could he have accumulated so much by means strictly honest? It is doubtful, the more so as Danton was a careless man of large appetites. On the other hand, if he was grossly corrupt, why did he not gain more? At certain times he wielded immense power, and could have made himself opulent. Again, why did he invest so large a proportion of his gains in land, which could not be concealed, and land in his native district, where his youthful poverty was well known?

That some of Danton's friends and acquaintance were men of little character or no character at all is true, and Professor Mathiez makes the most of this against Danton. Hence his study of the career of the Abbé d'Espagnac. The circumstances of the time and the financial policy of the assemblies had opened an immense field to adventurers. The Abbé was a speculator and a contractor apparently of a scandalous type. He was on friendly terms with the Dantonists, and perished with them. Another study is devoted to Julien of Toulouse, a deputy intimate with D'Espagnac. While he long maintained the reputation of a zealous patriot by supporting atrocious decrees in the Convention, and even copied Gobel in publicly recanting his faith (he had been a Protestant pastor), he busied himself, either from pity or from love of lucre, in saving individual aristocrats from the guillotine, until at last he was blown upon and was glad to find a hiding-place.

Corruption, then, was not rare under the Terror. What conclusion does our professor draw? The favourite conclusion of a certain school, that Robespierre was the one really good and wise man in the Convention. He quotes at length and seemingly adopts in full the panegyric on Robespierre by Buonarrotti, himself a Robespierrist. According to Buonarrotti there were not in the whole Convention fifty honest men. A still more flaming eulogy from the professor's own pen follows. Robespierre was the wisest of leaders, the most practical of statesmen, the most fervent of philanthropists, the most consummate of orators, a sage moved solely by love of right and by compassion for the poor, popular with nearly the whole nation, idolised by women of all ranks, the victim of a paltry clique whose conspiracy his high soul had not suspected—in one word, a socialist, the first saint and martyr of socialism. *Quot homines, tot sententiae.*

F. C. MONTAGUE.

French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778. By E. S. CORWIN, Ph.D. Princeton Univ. Press. (Milford.) 1916. 8s. 6d.

A Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany, 1914-1917. By J. B. SCOTT. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, American Branch. 1917. 21s.

THE only point in common between the two volumes here dealt with is that they are both concerned with the foreign relations between the United States and a single European Power, and that in both cases British interests were deeply affected by the line of policy adopted.

The main characteristic of Professor Corwin's interesting volume is its good sense and fairness when dealing with matters of controversy. The publication of Doniol's monumental work, in five volumes, *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, correspondance diplomatique et documents*, has made it difficult for future students to add much to the sum of human knowledge on this subject. But every one has not the time or opportunity to wade through thousands of pages, and Mr. Corwin has conferred undoubted service on English, no less than on American, readers by making Doniol's conclusions available in the handy form of a volume of some 400 pages.

It seems impossible to disagree with the author's explanation of the reasons why France supported the American Colonies in the War of Independence. Indeed, were it not that high authorities have sought other motives, the question would seem hardly open to argument. Whatever may have been the opinion of Chatham and other patriotic Englishmen on the Treaty of Paris, to French public opinion it presented itself as a direct slap in the face; and Vergennes was only carrying on the tradition of Choiseul in his determination that that wrong must be wiped out and avenged. The punishment of England was the one object aimed at, though it must be admitted that the position of Vergennes, in the face of the monarchical prejudices of Louis XVI. and of his Spanish ally, was by no means an easy one. Professor Corwin is exceptionally happy in his treatment of the complications caused by these cross-currents of policy. How far did France show herself ready to betray the interests of the Americans? and how far did the American Commissioners prove themselves false to the French alliance by concluding separate articles with British agents? These are questions which have become matters of acute controversy. Here, as throughout, the author treads the middle road with conspicuous fairness and moderation. "Spain," the French Ambassador reported, "regards the United States as destined to become her enemy at no remote future," and was therefore especially concerned with keeping them off from the banks of the Mississippi. When Spain reluctantly entered into the war, her only interest in it was connected with the promises held out of obtaining the possession of Mobile and Pensacola and the restitution of Gibraltar. What wonder, then, that Vergennes found it difficult to satisfy at the same time both France's new ally and her partner of the Family Compact. And, if solicitude for Spanish interests caused France to approach perilously near the line of betrayal of American interests, similarly experience of Spanish diplomacy caused Jay, the ruling spirit among the American Commissioners, perhaps to overemphasise his distrust of European entanglements and to lay exaggerated stress on the view that it was not the interest of the French that the Americans should become "a great and formidable people," although it may be argued that the dismay with which the provisions of the proposed Treaty was received in Paris is the best justification of their wisdom, from the American point of view. Be this as it may, there can be no question that Professor Corwin has written a most careful and scholarly account of an important episode in world history.

Mr. Scott's exhaustive survey of the relations between the United States and Germany, from the beginning of the Great War till America's entrance into it, calls for little comment in the pages of

HISTORY, because it is mainly concerned with questions of international law rather than with historical facts, except so far as these furnish the background. Mr. Scott writes with authority, and the cold marshalling of the official document makes a stronger impression than could any amount of impassioned argument. The introduction contains a collection of extracts illustrating German conceptions of the State, international policy, and international law, amongst which the views of Arndt and of Adolf Lasson are especially noteworthy. Every reader of these papers must agree with Mr. Scott that "it is impossible to read the correspondence between the United States and Germany without being impressed by its uniformly kind and courteous tone, and without noting the stress laid upon the friendship to which appeal is constantly made, and which the American Government at that time apparently thought existed between Prussianised Germany and the United States. The reader experiences a shock, on turning from the German to the British correspondence, to note the cold and unyielding terms in which American rights concerning only property were insisted on." It was the madness of Germany that decided that the weight of America should be thrown into the scales on behalf of what its more thoughtful people had, from the first, recognised as the cause of civilisation.

H. E. EGERTON.

Evolution of the Dominion of Canada, its Government and its Politics. By E. PORRITT. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. York: World Book Co. (Harrap.) 1918. 7s. 6d.

MR. PORRITT is the author of at least two books of acknowledged reputation. He is also an Englishman, living in the United States, keenly interested in Canadian questions, and, as such, well-fitted to act as interpreter to the American public on matters relating to Canadian history and politics. His book, though there is no formal recognition of such division, really divides itself into two separate portions: a historical summary, and a popular and up-to-date commentary on the British North America Act of 1867. There can be no question that the latter portion of the volume is by far the more satisfactory. Mr. Porritt is here speaking of things of which he has first-hand knowledge, and his comments are, for the most part, terse and to the point. Occasionally, however, as in his treatment of the famous section 93, which deals with the subject of education, he is less successful. He recognises that the section is "complicated," but adds that "it must be understood." Nevertheless, one may doubt whether his own explanation leads to such understanding.

Turning to that part of the volume with which readers of HISTORY are more directly concerned, we must confess to a feeling of disappointment. The facts are throughout presented from a one-sided point of view, without any attempt to realise the difficulties in the way of progress that arose from any cause save the obstinate pig-headedness of British governors. The case for the British minority in Lower Canada, as disclosed in the reports of Lord Durham's Assistant Commissioners, is outside the range of Mr. Porritt's observations. Occasional slips seem to suggest a superficial knowledge on the part of the author. Thus Colonel Barré figures as "Barrie"; Metcalfe is described as a Conservative, though

in English politics he was a Radical; and Dent's statement that Bagot was censured by the home Government for his proceedings is repeated, though the Canadian Archivist has shown that it is not borne out by the Bagot Papers. Mr. Porritt persists in speaking of the Quebec Act of 1791, though common usage has, for a long time, known it as "The Constitutional Act." Mr. Porritt, as is natural, is most at home when explaining and criticising the economic policy which took the title of "National." It may be added that his economic beliefs perhaps somewhat incline him to underrate the part played in Canadian history by Sir John Macdonald.

H. E. EGERTON.

American World Policies. By WALTER E. WEYL. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. 307. 2.25 dollars.

The English-speaking Peoples. By GEORGE LOUIS BEER. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xiv + 322. 1.50 dollars.

THESE two volumes illustrate in sharp contrast two of the main tendencies in American public opinion since the beginning of the war and before America's entry into it; and that the American people should have become so united bears about equal testimony to the statesmanship of President Wilson and to the folly of the German Government. Mr. Weyl's book was written in the autumn of 1916, and gives expression to a school of thought bent upon the avoidance of war and anxious about developments which seemed to be driving America straight in that direction. These tendencies were, in Mr. Weyl's opinion, mainly, if not exclusively, economic, and his book is an extreme, and it seems to us somewhat crude, application to America's foreign politics of the economic interpretation of history. All wars, he thinks, are the product of economic causes: "To kill or to starve is the eternal choice. . . . Even the Crusades partake of this economic character" (pp. 22-23); and economic development, unless wisely controlled and directed, leads naturally to war. It is a depressing thesis, and we should be more depressed by it were historians not conscious that the economic interpretation of history is something of a back number, and had we not been assured by Professor McLaughlin that, in considering whether to enter the war or not, at no time did the Americans measure their duty or their interest in dollars and cents, or scan with mean avidity the pages of their ledgers.

We cannot traverse in detail the arguments by which Mr. Weyl endeavours with considerable ability to show that imperialistic exploitation is the inevitable cause of all our wars, nor discuss the means by which he would have saved America from succumbing to the common fate. Briefly, his prescription is, or was, that the United States were to be kept pacific by a more intensive agriculture, a restriction of the birth-rate, economic self-sufficiency rendering competition for colonial and foreign markets superfluous, and a more equitable distribution of wealth to cut the claws of those financial magnates who are mainly responsible for the impulse towards exploitation. We can only remark that this book, like so many others of its kind, seems to be based on the assumption that trade only follows the flag, and that therefore nations can only rely upon markets over which they exercise political dominion and military control. We are

convinced that this is a delusion originating in the German militarist idea that nothing is safe unless it depends on the sword; it is only pertinent if we conceive of war and disguised hostility as the natural relation between the nations of the world. In point of fact, the merest fraction of British trade and a still more insignificant fraction of German trade were done before the war by those countries with markets over which they exercised control; and the problem which is most troubling the German commercial mind at the moment is how Germany is to subsist after the war without that trade with countries over which, even if she wins, she cannot exercise dominion. There is also the pernicious fallacy which underlies so much of our modern thought that mankind can only trade and act in antagonistic groups which we call States. Again, it is Germany who has by her practice forced this notion to the front; but unless it is corrected by organised internationalism on the one hand, and individual freedom on the other, the war will have been fought in vain, and peace will be a will-o'-the-wisp.

As a contribution to this international organisation, Mr. Beer has written a scholarly and powerful plea for at least closer co-operation between the British Commonwealth and the United States. It is anything but mere idealism and sentiment; for no historian is better equipped with a knowledge of the history of the two English-speaking peoples than Mr. Beer. His criticism is mainly directed against the past self-centred isolation of the United States under the influence of a one-sided interpretation of the Monroe doctrine; and when he censures the weakness of British foreign policy in 1907-14 he shows that that weakness was largely due to the absence of American support for international policies in which both countries had an equal interest. In Chapter VII. there is an excellent reply to the economic interpretation of history favoured by Mr. Weyl, and a demonstration of the economic interdependence of America and the British Commonwealth as making not for war, but for peace and friendship, and the last chapter illustrates further aspects of the community of policy between the two peoples. Of almost wider import is Mr. Beer's discussion of "international anarchy" and "nationalism and sovereignty." Mr. Beer sees, like other students of history and the war, that the fundamental obstacle to international peace is the superstition of the State. Altogether his volume is one of the best applications of historical science to the problems of politics that this war has produced.

A. F. POLLARD.

Political Education at a Public School. By VICTOR GOLLANCZ and DAVID SOMERVELL. Collins. 1918. 130 pp. 3s. 6d.

Education for Liberty. By KENNETH RICHMOND. 253 pp. Collins. 1918. 6s.

THERE is no doubt that books about education are very much more interesting than they used to be. At one time they were the deadliest and dullest of works that could in any sense be called literature. They tended, indeed, to fall into the same category as cookery books or tables of technical formulæ. Now they are written in some sort of style, and above all they are marked by originality of thought and boldness of pronouncement. Convention is being cast aside; old methods are being abandoned; new principles are being advocated; varied experiments are being propounded or described.

The two volumes before us well represent the new and lively way. The very short essay by Messrs. Gollancz and Somervell—for with its big print and wide margins it runs to only some 25,000 words—is an extremely vivacious and irresponsible production. Its authors are obviously very young men with a very limited experience of teaching. But they have generated between them one idea concerning the soundness of which they have no doubts whatsoever, and they proclaim and commend it with remarkable literary skill coupled with a good deal of dialectic force. It is, briefly stated, that in public schools education should be neither classical nor scientific in nature, but political. It should be consciously directed towards the training of citizens, and it should centre round history, ethics, and economics. The methods of teaching commended include dialogue, the composition of speeches, the running of a newspaper, and the holding of a special "politics class." The authors relate their own experiences, which seem to have been short and cyclonic. They must have been a source of anxiety to the headmaster who was ultimately responsible for them.

Mr. Kenneth Richmond, the writer of that notable book *The Permanent Values in Education*, is a teacher of much larger knowledge and much steadier outlook. In *Education for Liberty*, which he explains to mean education for fellowship, he makes a powerful and convincing plea for the practical recognition of the unity of knowledge, and in particular for the teaching of language rather than languages; the teaching of science rather than sciences; and the teaching of history as a key to the comprehension of both science and language, as well as of man.

F. J. C. HEARNshaw.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE plan by which the *Athenæum Subject Index to Periodicals*, issued at the request of the Library Association, is divided into Class Lists has been altered; the List for 1916, entitled *Historical, Political and Economic Sciences, including the European War, Geography, Anthropology, and Folk-lore* (119 pp., the *Athenæum*, Bream's Buildings, E.C. 4, 5s. net), contains entries corresponding to those distributed in three separate lists for 1915. This arrangement is probably more convenient to students of history, who may desire to consult papers classified under any of those headings; but they will still need to refer to another List, *Theology and Philosophy* (48 pp., 2s. 6d. net), to which have been relegated all entries concerning ecclesiastical history.¹ For the sake not only of individuals, but of specialised libraries, it is to be hoped that the process of amalgamation will not be carried much further, and that the separate Class Lists will continue to be issued as well as the complete, but bulky and expensive, *Index* itself (£2 10s. to subscribers), with its entries on every possible subject, arranged alphabetically. The editors are right in their belief "that the alternative form of the Class List has many advantages, and that the circulation of these lists . . . should eventually justify the cost of their publication." The two we have received are indispensable to anyone desiring to keep fully abreast

¹ Apparently Archæology is to be included with Fine Arts, in yet another List, which we have not received.

of current work in history. The first contains entries from 305, the second from 187, periodicals, including many published abroad and several, e.g. *Science Progress* and the *British Medical Journal*, in which articles important to the historian are rarely found. Especially valuable are the numerous references to papers and documents printed by local societies, archæological and scientific. Most of these are entered only under place-names; they would be even more valuable if cross-classified under headings such as "Manorial Records," "Charters." From the historical point of view the system of cross-classification needs further development in other directions, e.g. there should surely be a reference under "Parliament" to the additional papers on that subject entered under "British Empire: Constitution"; "England: Constitution, Parliament, Politics, and Government"; and "Representative Government"; and to "Byzantine History" under "Constantinople." But anyone can make such additions in his own copy of the List, and it seems ungracious to complain of omissions when so much has been admirably accomplished. Titles of articles in magazines are often misleading, but we have noticed only one slip due to this: a famous American institution, Sing Sing, is entered under Prisons: CHINA. A Loan Library corresponding to the whole *Index* is administered by the Central Library for Students, 20 Tavistock Square, W.C. 1; the subscription to this is 10s. 6d. per annum, and articles can be borrowed singly at a charge of 4d. each.

E. J. D.

AN Oriental Society was established at Allahabad with the name "The United Provinces Historical Society" in November, 1915. The field of its investigations comprises history, language and literature, ethnology and primitive culture, archæology and sociology; and its object is not only to publish the work of scholars, but also to interest others to bring forward information that may further such historical research. It has now issued the first part of its *Journal* (208 pp., vii. plates, Longmans, September, 1917). Sir G. E. Knox describes some excavations made many years ago, the Rev. E. S. Oakley discusses the folklore of Kumaon, Professor C. J. Brown offers remarks on the Mughal currency, Pandit Tara Datt Gairola and Mr. Baker explain the games and festivals of Garhwal, and Professor S. B. Smith writes about Hakim Mehdi of Lucknow. The chief article is a Sanskrit poem, the Shringāra-shataka of Bhartṛihari, which Mr. Dewhurst edits with a commentary in old Hindi, elucidating both with full critical notes. The *Journal* concludes with notes and queries and an account of the Society's constitution and proceedings. The Society has a magnificent field, and this part makes an excellent beginning.

F. E. P.

DR. R. L. POOLE's paper, *Benedict IX. and Gregory VI.* (Milford, pp. 37, 3s. net: From the Proceedings of the British Academy), is a stiff little essay, but should please even those for whom history is merely a quarry for good stories. The more fortunate class of people who like to ask questions will find it full of interest. Dr. Poole takes the well-known story of Benedict IX., the boy who, according to Rodulf Glaber, a monk of Auxerre, was made Pope at the age of ten or twelve years, and who sold the Papacy to Gregory VI.¹ The story

¹ Readers of Mr. Little's *Studies in English Franciscan History* will remember that Benedict was one of the evil examples pilloried by the fourteenth-century preachers (p. 152, quoting from the Eton MS. of the *Fasciculus Morum*).

comes in various inconsistent versions from scrappy annals and papalist or imperialist partisans. It played a large part in controversy, for Gregory VI. was the friend and patron of the great Hildebrand. Suppose that our knowledge of England in the later eighteenth century depended upon the text of two or three statutes, a few scurrilous pamphlets, a wise page by Montesquieu or Benjamin Franklin, half a dozen epitaphs from the monuments in Westminster Abbey, some gossip from a historiographer at the Court of Catharine of Russia or from the correspondence of the Spanish Ambassador, and we may form a rough idea of the difficulties which beset the conscientious student of Roman politics in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The probable story of Benedict and Gregory is reconstructed by Dr. Poole, with his customary patience and skill, from sources almost as incoherent as these. Early in the eleventh century Gregory *de Tusculana*, the naval prefect, gained the upper hand in the political life of Rome. His victory over the rival house of Crescentius was followed by the appointment as Pope of two of his sons in succession, Benedict VIII., "an able and vigorous pontiff," and John XIX., "a colourless person, timid and inert." These were succeeded by their nephew Benedict IX., who when he became Pope was nearer thirty than ten years of age. He was undoubtedly negligent and unworthy of his high office. Now in the Jewish quarter of the city beyond the Tiber lived the family of Baruch, or Berachiah, known after his conversion as Benedict the Christian. They were very wealthy people, devoted to good works and supporters of the reforming movement in the Church. One of them, John, surnamed Gratian, who was perhaps a son of Benedict the Christian, and was a member of the "set" which had its centre in the Cluniac monastery of St. Mary on the Aventine, was so distressed by the rule of Pope Benedict IX. that he bought him out. His own election to the Papal chair as Gregory VI. was welcomed even by the austere reformer Peter Damiani. It should be added that, before these events, a third Pope, Silvester III., had for a time driven out Benedict IX. When the great Emperor Henry III. came to Italy, the claims of all three were set aside at Sutri (1046). The details of the proceedings at the council are obscure. Gregory went to Germany, accompanied by a young admirer, who, like him, was familiar with the society at St. Mary on the Aventine. It is possible that this young man, Hildebrand, afterwards the greatest of the Popes, was connected with Gregory VI. through the marriage of an aunt with the latter's brother Leo. In later years Leo and his son Peter Leonis were certainly the most powerful supporters in Rome of Hildebrand, both before and after his elevation to the Papacy as Gregory VII., a name which he took in proof of his attachment to Gregory VI.

It is not hard for anyone who has learned something of the force and passion which moved Gregory VII. and his forerunners to breathe life into a story like this. The tragedy of the son of Benedict, the converted Jew, of the reformer who did wrong that good might come, is the more poignant when it is stripped of extravagant detail.

F. M. P.

BENEDICT IX. has a place in the history of the Papal Chancery, for he appears definitely to have given the title of Chancellor to the librarian, the official whose *datum* at the end of a Papal document

was the certificate of its genuineness. This and other matters of greater importance are discussed by Dr. Poole in another paper, *Imperial Influences on the Forms of Papal Documents* (Milford, pp. 13, 1s. net). The use of the pontifical instead of the imperial year, the introduction into Papal documents of the *annus domini*, the distinction between the *scriptum* (showing the responsibility of the scribe) and the *datum*, the reconstruction of the Pope's *subscriptio* by Leo IX. in the beautiful form of the Rota and Monogram, are traceable to Frankish influence and emphasise the stages in the history of the political relations between the Papacy and the Empire in the West.

F. M. P.

THE idea of Mr. F. Waterton's little book, *A Brief Survey of the Political Development of Europe* (192 pp., Drane, 2s. 6d.), is excellent. It is to bring together into one broad and comprehensive survey the general outline of European history and the main developments of political theory. The two are usually studied separately, and there is no doubt that both suffer from their lack of relation. Mr. Waterton here presents us with a sketch of the Greek city state in conjunction with the ideas of Plato and Aristotle; an account of the Roman Empire side by side with the conceptions of the Roman lawyers and the Christian Fathers; a description of the founding of the modern state together with a summary of the doctrines of Machiavelli and Bodin, and so on. But his realisation of his idea is not quite so admirable as the idea itself. He quotes freely from secondary authorities, and his authorities are not always up to date. It would, indeed, be possible to make a rather formidable list of minor errors. One example must suffice. On p. 54 occurs the statement that Philip IV. of France "compelled the new Pope, Clement V., a Frenchman, to quit Rome permanently and reside at Avignon." Now, not Clement V., but Benedict XI., was the "new Pope" who immediately succeeded Boniface VIII.; Clement V. was not strictly a Frenchman, but a subject of Edward I. of England; he was not forced to quit Rome, because he never went there at all; he was not compelled to reside at Avignon, but chose it as his dwelling-place of his own accord after four years' experiments in other places. In spite, however, of blemishes in detail the book is an original and instructive one. It is worthy of better print, better paper, and better binding than those of the present edition.

F. J. C. H.

ARCHDEACON CUNNINGHAM, in *The Common Weal: Six Lectures on Political Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 1917, 2s. 6d.), collects into a volume six lectures which he originally prepared for delivery in Cambridge, and subsequently published in the pages of the *British Citizen*, the new organ of "patriotic labour." The lectures trace historically the growth of the conception of community and "common weal" in this country from the dawn of modern times to the present day. The first lecture describes the development of the idea of nationality in the later Middle ages, and shows how the passion of loyalty and the theory of sovereignty centred in the monarch. The second tells the story of the Puritan revolution in such a way as to emphasise the transference of loyalty from the monarch to the nation. The third treats of the establishment of constitutional government and the political philosophy of John Locke; the fourth, of the development of democratic theory by

Bentham, on the one hand, and Rousseau on the other; the fifth and sixth, of the spread of the Hegelian theory of the State in the nineteenth century. The aim of the book is practical. It is intended to quicken the sense of citizenship in the working man—also, perhaps, to dispose him to think favourably of tariff reform.

F. J. C. H.

It is difficult to find out the object of *A Shakespeare Dictionary*: part i., *Julius Cæsar*; part ii., *As You Like It*, by Arthur E. Baker (the author, Taunton, 1s. 9d. each). It is not a dictionary in any proper sense of the word. Each part has a meagre introduction; the heading of the rest is "Characters, Place-names, etc." But the contents do not justify this heading. There is nothing in either part that cannot be found in any of the numerous annotated editions of the plays in question. We have also received *King Henry V.*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *King Richard II.* in *The Granta Shakespeare*, edited by J. H. Lobban (Cambridge University Press, 1s. each). They are neat, small 8vo volumes, are well printed and bound; each has an introduction, notes, and glossary. These are done with taste and knowledge; they realise the aim set out in the prefatory note of giving "all that is indispensable for the intelligent enjoyment of the play." The introduction to *Henry V.* is specially successful. The text is based on the 1793 edition of Johnson and Steevens. This is a mistake; there is still much for the editor of to-day to do if he will go back to the quartos and folios. G. F.

THE reader who, attracted by the title of Mr. J. C. Morrice's *Wales in the Seventeenth Century: Its Literature and Men of Letters and Action* (Bangor: Jarvis and Foster, 1918, 10s. 6d.), turns to it in the hope of finding in it that general view of the history of Wales under the Stuarts, which is one of the notable *desiderata* of Welsh literature, will meet with disappointment. What the author gives us instead is a collection of biographical notices, mostly of men of letters, with some bibliographical material—the kind of compilation from fairly accessible sources which figures so largely in the ordinary eisteddfod competition. Mr. Morrice has produced a quite useful work of reference, but we still await the writer who will vitalise the period for us, reawakening the clash of arms and of creeds which agitated Puritan Wales, and recapturing the charm, the simplicity, and the rustic quiet of the Restoration era.

J. E. Ll.

THE affairs of three tiny West India islands that belonged until 1916 to a second-class European Power may scarcely seem to deserve the attention of readers who are not specialists in Colonial history. But the subject of the Chartered Company is still of living interest from the point of view of Colonial problems, and in no direction perhaps can that subject be more profitably studied than in the microcosm of the Danish West India Company, which had as its leading shareholder a royal autocrat, and could count, till its dissolution, upon the support of the Crown. In *The Danish West Indies* (the Macmillan Co., 1917, \$2.50) Dr. W. Westergaard, an American-born scholar of Danish extraction, proves himself a very competent guide in this by-path of history. Much of the material here dealt with has remained for years neglected in the Danish Archives; and, apart from this, the volume fully makes

good the claim put forward in its frontispiece: "How the Colonies were actually governed; what the Colonists did at work and play; how the Mother Country stamped her image upon them, and to what extent the lineaments of that image were modified by contact with local forces—these are matters that interest the reader of to-day." A chapter on "The Brandenburgers of St. Thomas" illustrates the characters of the Grand Elector and of Frederick William I. of Prussia. It may be added that Professor Morse Stephens contributes a suggestive introduction. H. E. E.

IN these days, when everything relating to the working of the American Constitution is of almost as much interest to Englishmen as it is to Americans, a cordial welcome must be given to Professor Corwin's handy and useful little volume on *The President's Control of Foreign Relations* (Princeton University Press, Milford, 1917, 6s. 6d.). After stating the general issue as defined by Hamilton and Madison in their memorable controversy over the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793, and dealing with the various historical cases in which the powers of the Executive and the Legislature have received definition, Professor Corwin arrives at the conclusion that "the net result of a century and a quarter of contest for power and influence in determining the international destinies of the country remains decisively and conspicuously in favour of the President." "It is an outcome calculated to give pause to those who harp so unceasingly on 'secret diplomacy,' to say nothing of those who would wage wars by referendum. For if a nation situated as America has been in the past has found it necessary to centre the control of its foreign policy more and more in the hands of one man, what of European States? One may avoid fatalism, and yet cherish the conviction that historical institutions are seldom correctly assessed in indiscriminate abuse." H. E. E.

IT was a happy idea of the Marquess of Milford Haven to take for the subject of his Rede lecture *The Royal Navy, 1815-1915* (Cambridge University Press, 1918, 2s. 6d.), the century which culminated in the outbreak of the present war. Its comprehensive treatment serves to enforce the too often neglected truth that history must be conceived as ending yesterday, and not at some arbitrary point in a less real past. It is a period of naval history which, owing to its barrenness in fleet actions, has received far too little attention. Even in the short space at his disposal the lecturer is able to show how important was the comparatively obscure part the Navy played in the succession of wars that seldom ceased to vex the century, and how widely its activities in times of peace were woven into the fabric of general history. For half the period he himself served in the Navy, completing his distinguished service at the summit of the hierarchy. He is therefore able to handle with a special grasp the more technical side of the subject, and not only to give a lucid indication of the vast changes in the art of naval warfare which marked this century above all others, but also to present a clear impression of the almost staggering problems which, owing to the still fluid condition of those changes, he and his colleagues had to face when the present war broke out.

J. S. C.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

LEGENDS OF BABYLON and Egypt, in relation to Hebrew tradition. By L. W. King. ix+155 pp. The British Academy. 3s. (p. 506.)

COSMIC LAW in Ancient Thought. By T. W. Rhys Davids. 11 pp. The British Academy. 1s.

XENOPHON: HELLENICA, Bks. i-v. Trans. C. L. Brownson (The Loeb Classical Library). xiv+493 pp. Heinemann. 6s.

THE LAUSIAC HISTORY of Palladius. Trans. W. K. Lowther Clarke. 188 pp. S.P.C.K. 5s. (p. 534.)

RUSSIA, from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks. By R. Beazley, N. Forbes and G. A. Birkett. xxiv+601 pp. Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d. (p. 611.)

FRANCE: a history. By A. Hassall. 319 pp. Clarendon Press. 5s. (p. 518.)

RUSSIA'S STORY. By J. A. Shearwood. xxviii+228 pp. Revised Edn. Jarrolds. 5s.

A HISTORY of Everyday Things in England. Pt. i, 1066-1499. By M. and C. H. B. Quennell. 200 pp. 86 illustrations. Batsford. 8s. 6d. (p. 662, and *Educ. Suppl.*, p. 407.)

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT in Ireland, mediæval and modern. By J. J. Webb. 280 pp. Fisher Unwin. 5s.

THE WAR of Chupas (Civil Wars of Peru, Pt. IV, Bk. ii.). Ed. Sir C. R. Markham. xlvii+386+xxxix pp. The Hakluyt Soc. (p. 433.)

AN EMPIRE BUILDER of the 16th century (Babur). By L. F. R. Williams. xvi+187 pp. Univ. of Allahabad (Longmans). 7s. 6d. (p. 621.)

STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA. By Vincent A. Smith. Revised and enlarged (1st edn. 1908). 384 pp. Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d.

ANCIENT INDIAN Education. By F. E. Keay. 191 pp. Milford. 4s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 337.)

CHARACTERS from the Histories and Memoirs of the 17th C. Ed. D. Nichol Smith. lii+331 pp. Clarendon Press. 6s. (p. 561.)

THE ENGLISH HOME, Charles I. to Geo. IV. By J. A. Gotch. x+410 pp. Batsford. 30s. (p. 533.)

JOSEPH BLACK (1728-99). By Sir

Wm. Ramsay. xix+148 pp. Constable. 6s. 6d. (p. 549.)

L'EXPANSION Française. Par L. Madelin. Plon-Nourrit. 3.50f. (p. 585.)

EN AMÉRIQUE JADIS et Maintenant. Par J. J. Jusserand. Hachette, 4.75f. (p. 577.)

ORATORY, British and Irish, 1760-1832. Extracts. Ed. G. Locker Lampson. xvi+599 pp. Humphreys. 12s. 6d. (p. 576.)

THE PAGET brothers, 1790-1840. Letters, etc. Ed. Lord Hylton. xvii+364 pp. Murray. 15s. (p. 509.)

STUDIES in Napoleonic Strategy. By Capt. R. A. Hall. 127 pp. Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d. (p. 532.)

WRITINGS of John Quincy Adams. Ed. W. C. Ford. Vol. VII., 1820-3. xxiii+516 pp. The Macmillan Co. 18s.

THE ROYAL NAVY, 1815-1915. By the Marquess of Milford Haven. 48 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 2s. 6d.

LES ÉTATS CHRÉTIENS des Balkans depuis 1815. Par L. André. Alcan. 4.55f. (p. 457.)

IL RISORGIMENTO Italiano. By E. Masi. 2 vols. Florence: Sansoni. L.20. (p. 538.)

FRENCH CATHOLICS in the 19th century. By W. J. Sparrow Simpson. 189 pp. S.P.C.K. 5s.

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A CENTURY of Negro Migration (in U.S.A.). By C. G. Woodson. vii+221 pp. Washington: Assoc. for Study of Negro History. \$1. (p. 504.)

LIFE OF LIEUT.-GEN. CHAFFEE. By W. H. Carter. vii+296 pp. Chicago Univ. Press. \$2.50.

THE METAPHYSICAL THEORY of the State. By L. T. Hobhouse. 156 pp. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. (p. 532.)

SOCIAL PURPOSE. By H. J. W. Hetherington and J. H. Muirhead. 317 pp. Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. (p. 532.)

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THE VOICE of Japanese Democracy. By Yukio Ozaki. Trans. J. E. de Becker. vi+108 pp. Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh. (p. 514.)

THE IMPERIAL Japanese Mission (to the U.S.A.) of 1917, with the Notes exchanged in 1908 and 1917. Foreword by Elihu Root. vi+127 pp. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Milford).

SOUTH AMERICA and the War. By F. A. Kirkpatrick. viii+79 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 4s. 6d. (p. 530.)

REPORT on the Natives of S.W. Africa and their treatment by Germany. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s.

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THE GERMAN EMPIRE of Central Africa. By E. Zimmermann. Trans. E. Bevan. lxiii+62 pp. Longmans. 1s. (*The Times*, 4 and 5 Oct.)

LA QUESTION AFRICAINE. Par Baron Beyens. Brussels: Van Oest. 2'50f. (p. 519.)

LA QUESTION d'Afrique. Par R. Ronze. Alcan. 7'50f. (p. 519.)

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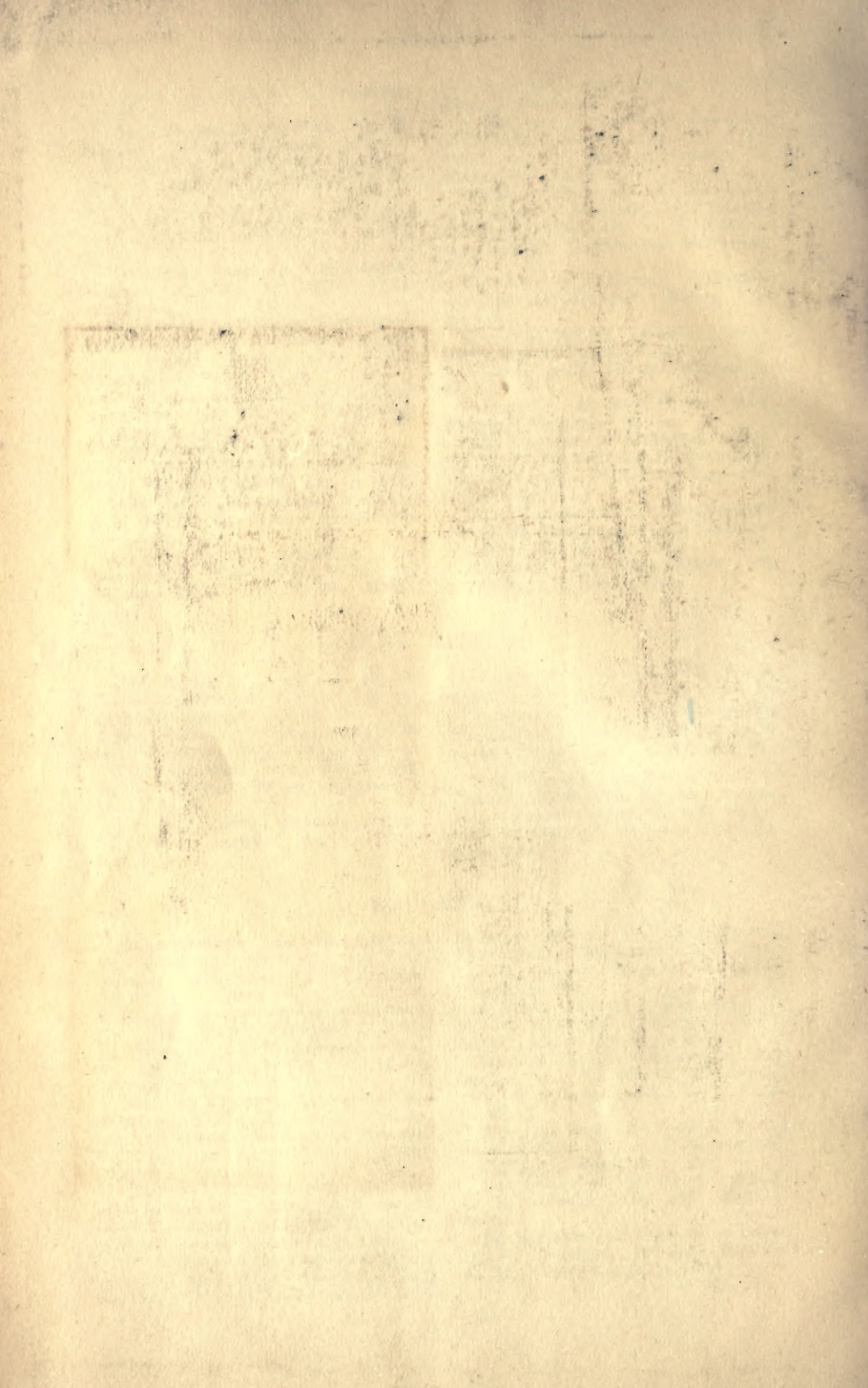
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